From Proto Oceanic to Southeast Solomonic: Changes in patterns of distribution of transitive morphology
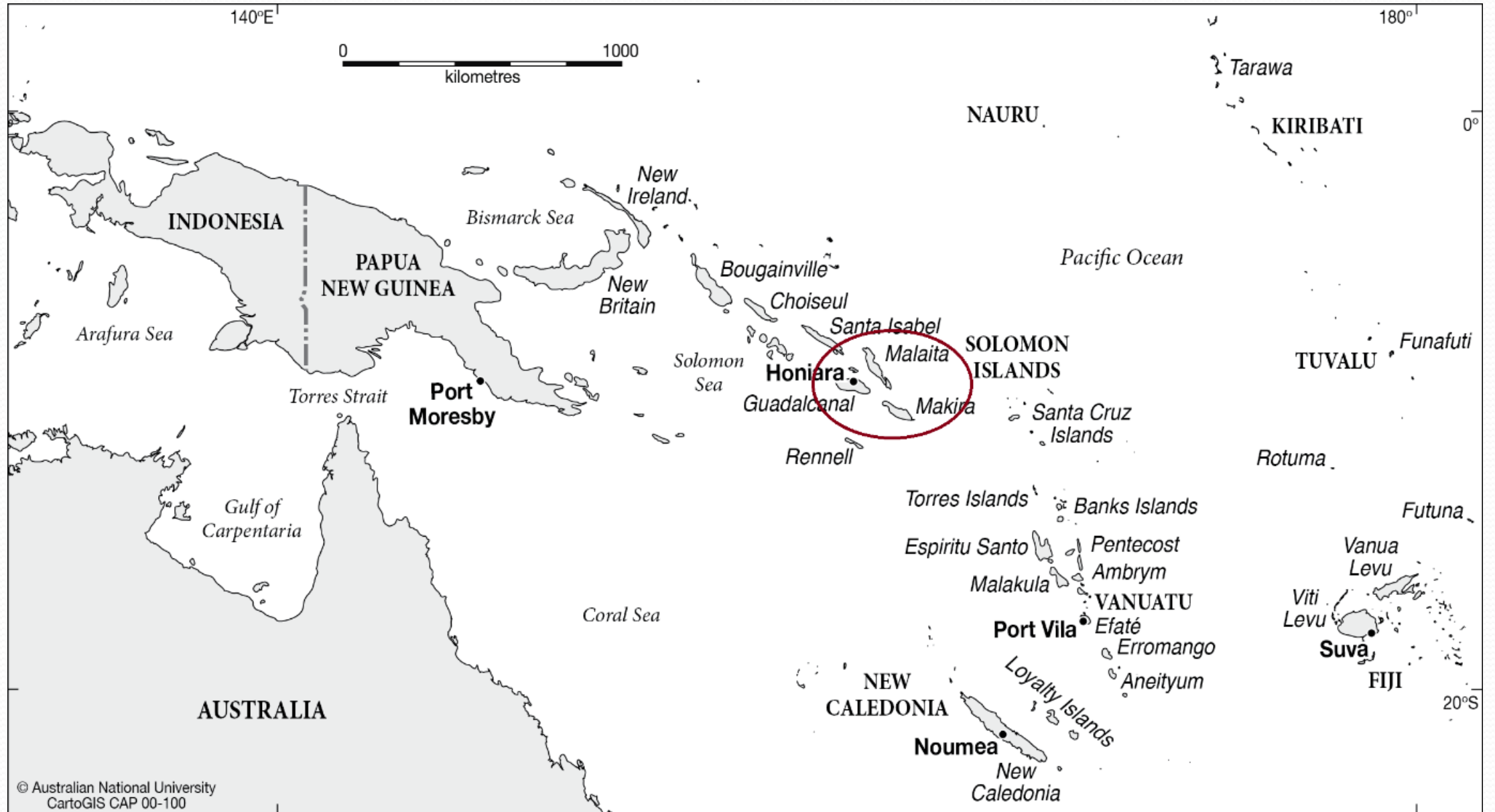
A preliminary report

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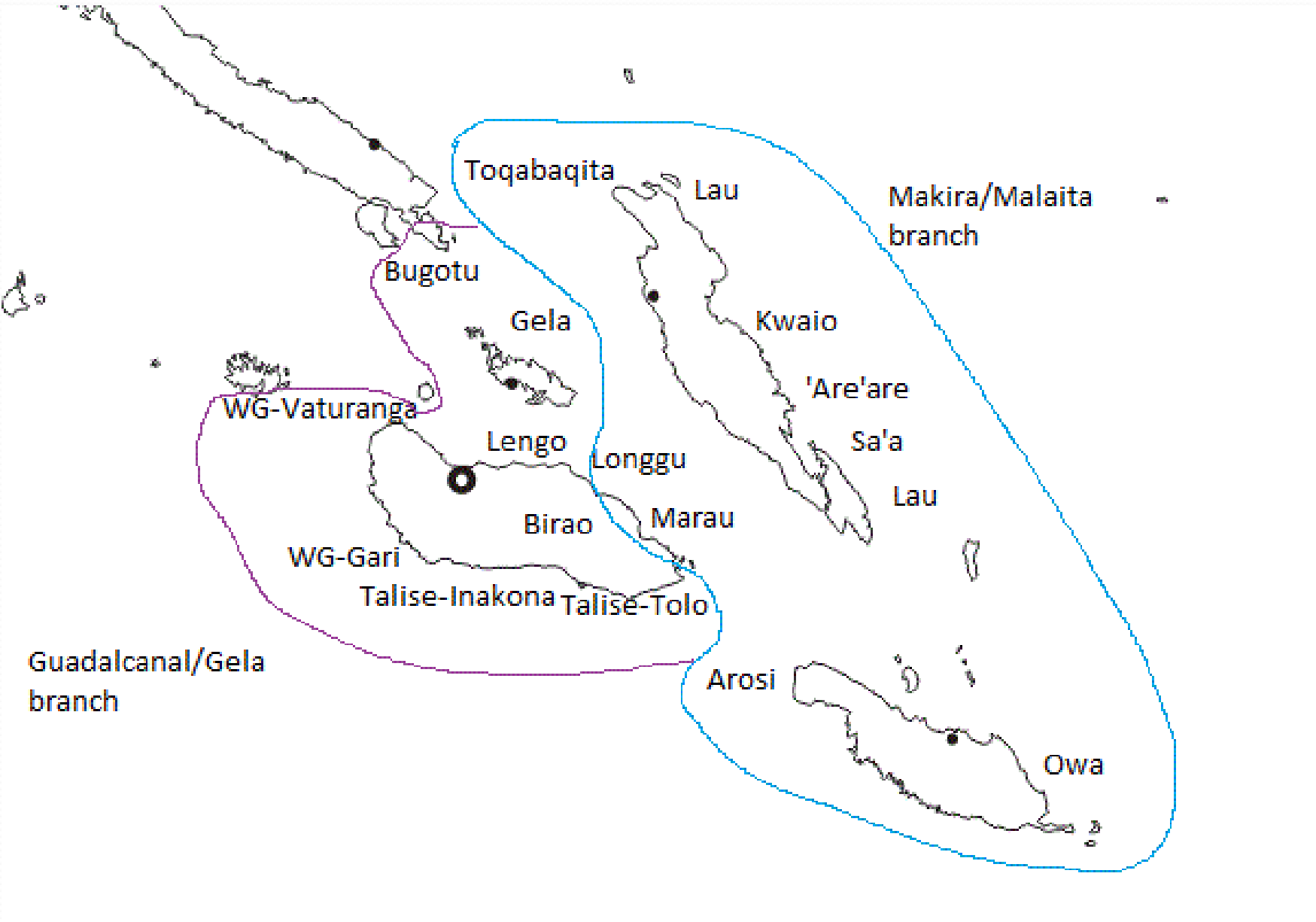
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Southeast Solomonic languages

- Considered conservative
- Same pool of inherited valency-increasing devices

- Different synchronic patterns
  - Changes in distribution of transitive morphology
  - Apparent especially in marking of causative derivations
  - Changes sensitive to verb class

Map 1 Southeast Solomonic languages: Location

Map 2 Southeast Solomonic languages: Branches

Toqabaqita

Lau

Makira/Malaita branch

Bugotu

Gela

Kwaio

'Are'are

WG-Vaturanga

Lengo

Sa'a

Longgu

Lau

Birao

Marau

WG-Gari

Talise-Inakona

Talise-Tolo

Guadalcanal/Gela branch

Arosi

Owa

Southeast Solomonic: Transitive morphology

- Transitivity marking patterns:
  - V + Object marker
  - V + Transitive suffix (short/long) + Object marker
  - Causative prefix + V + Object marker
  - Causative prefix + V + Transitive suffix + Object marker

- Different verbs occur with different patterns

Table 1 Southeast Solomonic: Transitive morphology

Language	Intransitive		Transitive	
Longgu	*pitu*	to wait	*pitu-*	to wait for s.o.
Gela	*idu*	to read	*idu-**mi***	to read s.t.
'Are'are	*hote*	to paddle	*hote-**ra'ini-***	to propel by paddling
Birao	*mauri*	to live, be alive	***vagha**-mauri-*	to resuscitate s.o.
Arosi	*aŋi*	to cry	***ha'a**-aŋi-**si***	cause to cry
Bugotu	*dika*	to be bad, evil	***va**-dika-**laghini***	to spoil or corrupt

Southeast Solomonic: Transitive morphology

- Reflexes of Proto Oceanic (POc) morphemes

  - *-i*   'short' or 'close' transitive suffix

  - *-akin[i]*   'long' or 'remote' transitive suffix

  - *pa[ka]-*   causative prefix

  (Evans, 2003; Pawley 1973; Pawley & Reid, 1979)

Table 2 Types of derivations

Derivation	Correspondence of arguments
Applicative	$S_X\ V_{INTR}$ $A_X\ V_{TR}\ O_Y$
Causative	$S_X\ V_{INTR}$ $A_Y\ V_{INTR}\ O_X$

(Dixon, 2000)

Table 3 POc valency-increasing devices and derivations

Device		Derivation
*-i, *-akin[i]*	$\mathbf{S_X}\,V_{INTR}$ $\mathbf{A_X}\,V_{TR}\,O_Y$	applicative
*pa[ka]-, *-i, *-akin[i]*	$\mathbf{S_X}\,V_{INTR}$ $A_Y\,V_{TR}\,\mathbf{O_X}$	causative

(Evans, 2003)

Table 4 Proto Oceanic: Derivations with U-stative verbs

U-stative verbs: states and properties (be big, be cold, be clever)		
Stem	S_X V	S is or enters into a state, implied lack of Actor
Stem plus *pa[ka]-*	A_Y paka-V-i/OBJ O_X	**A causes O to be in or enter into a state**

(Evans, 2003)

Table 5 Proto Oceanic: Derivations with U-process verbs

U-process verbs: involuntary motion (fall), begin, finish		
stem	S_X V	S undergoes event
Stem with *-i*	A_Y V-i/OBJ O_X	**A causes O to undergo event**
Stem with *-akin[i]*	A_Y V-akini=OBJ O_X	**A causes O to undergo event**
	A_Y V-akini=OBJ O_{INS}	A carries out event using O

(Evans, 2003)

Table 6 Proto Oceanic: Derivations with Actor verbs

Actor verbs: mode of motion (run, swim), speak		
stem	S_Y V	S carries out event
Stem with *-i*	A_Y V-i/OBJ O_X	S carries out the event, affecting O
Stem with *-akin[i]*	A_Y V-akini=OBJ O_Z	A carries out the event along with, because of, producing O
Stem with *pa[ka]*	A_{CAUS} V-i/OBJ O_Y	**A makes O carry out the event**

(Evans, 2003)

Table 7 Proto Oceanic : Causative derivations and verb types

| U-stative verbs: states and properties		
Stem plus *pa[ka]*	A_X paka-V-i/OBJ O_Y	A causes O to be in or enter into a state
U-process verbs: involuntary motion, begin, finish		
Stem with *-i*	A_Y V-i/OBJ O_X	A causes O to undergo event
Stem with *-akin[i]*	A_Y V-akini=OBJ O_X	A causes O to undergo event
Actor verbs: mode of motion, speak		
Stem with *pa[ka]*	A_{CAUS} V-i/OBJ O_Y	A makes O carry out the event

Southeast Solomonic languages

- conservative
  - reflect the Proto Oceanic morphemes
  - reflect some of their functions

- innovative
  - encoding of causative constructions

Map 3 Reflex of *pa[ka] lost or unproductive
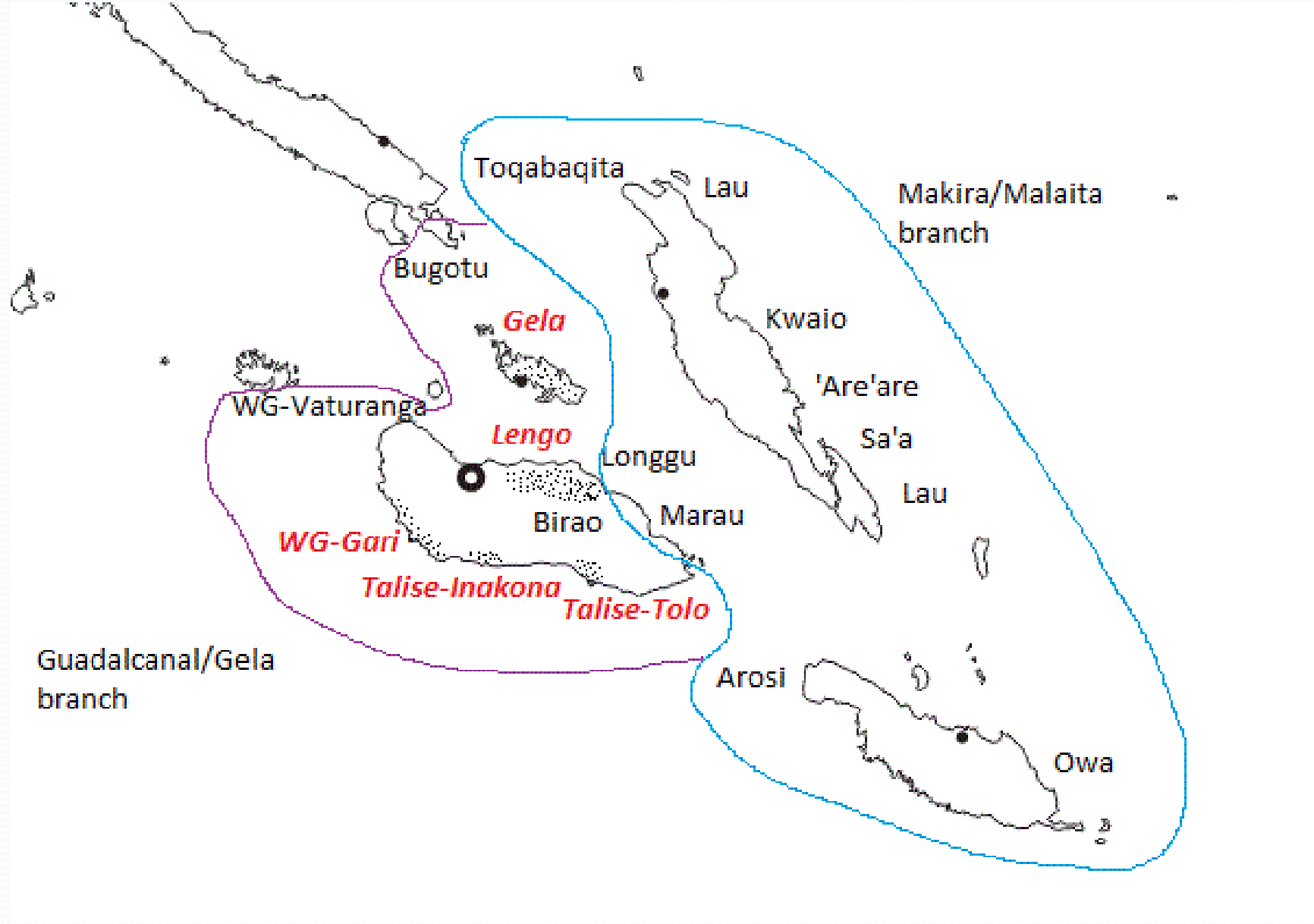
Table 8 Southeast Solomonic: Changes in morphological systems

Language	Intransitive		Causative	
Proto Oceanic	*maqurip*	be alive, live	***pa[ka]**-maquirip-**i**-*	save, cause to live
ToɁabaɁita	*maruki*	be alive, live	***fa'a**-maruki-*	save s.o.'s life
'Are'are*	*mauri*	be alive, live	***ha'a**-mauri-*	revive, cure, resuscitate s.o.
Longgu	*mauri*	be alive, grow	***va'a**-mauri-*	save s.o.'s life
Birao*	*mauri*	be alive, live	***vagha**-mauri-*	resuscitate s.o.
Gela	*mauri* *mau-mauri*	living, thrive flourish, living	*mau-mauri-*	refresh
Gari*	*mauri*	be alive, live	*mauri-**si**-*	resuscitate, cure, rescue s.o.
Tolo	*mauri*	exist, live	*mauri-**si***	develop, improve, help or make grow

(Evans, 2003; Lichtenberk, 2008; Hill, 2011; Fox, 1955; Fox, Miller & Pawley, 2015; Crowley, 1986; *KN field data)

Table 9 Southeast Solomonic: Changes in morphological systems

Language	Intransitive		Causative	
Proto Oceanic	*ponuq*	be full	***pa[ka]***-*ponuq*-***i***-	to fill
Kwaio*	*foŋu*	be full	***fa'a***-*foŋu*- *foŋu*-***ri***-	fill s.t. (external force) fill s.t. (content)
Sa'a	*honu*	be full	***ha'a***-*honu*- *honu*-***li***-	fill fill
Owa	*wonu*	be full	***faga***-*wonu*-*si*- *wonu*-***si***-	fill fill
Birao*	*vonu*	be full	***vagha***-*vonu*- *vonu*-***li***-	fill up (external force) fill up (content)
Bugotu	*vonu*	be full	***va***-*vongu* *vonu*-***ŋi***	fill be full of, fill
Gela	*vonu*	be full	*vonu*-***laghi*** *vonu*-***ghi***	cause to be full, fill be full of, fill

(Ashley, 2012; Evans, 2003; Ivens, 1929; Mellow, 2014; Ivens, 1940; Fox, 1955; Fox, Miller & Pawley, 2015; *KN field data)

Southeast Solomonic: Changes in morphological systems

- Compare reconstructed lexemes with modern reflexes
  - behaviour of individual lexemes across time

  - data not always available
  - verbs can be different class in contemporary language than in POc
  - synchronic systems?
  - only partial picture of changes

- Compare reconstructed system with synchronic patterns
  - meaning sets
  - differences between the two systems

Table 10 Southeast Solomonic: U-state (be big)

Language	Intransitive		Causative	
Lau*	*baita*	be big	**faa**-*baita*	enlarge; respect (person)
Toʔabaʔita	*ba'ita*	be big	**fa'a**-*ba'ita*	show respect (person)
Kwaio*	*ba'ita*	be big	**fa'a**-*ba'ita*	enlarge; elevate rank
'Are'are*	*paina*	be big	**ha'a**-*paina*	enlarge; elevate rank
Owa	*rafa*	be big	**faga**-*rafa*	increase
Marau*	*paina*	be big	**ha'a**-*paina*	make big; elevate rank
Bugotu	*hutu*	be big	**va**-*hutu*	increase
Birao*	*lava*	be big	**vagha**-*lava*	enlarge
Gela	*sule*	be big	*sule*-**laghi**	enlarge, cause to increase in size
Gari*	*loki*	be big	*loki*-**si**	make big

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Gari*	*loki*	be big	*loki*-**si**	make big

Table 11 Southeast Solomonic: U-process (fall)

Language	Intransitive		Causative	
Lau*	*'asia*	fall	***fa'a**-'asia*	drop
To?aba?ita	*'ifu* *thada*	fall fall	*'ifu-* *thada-**laŋani***	cause to fall over throw s.t. down from a height
Kwaio*	*'esia*	fall	***fa'a**-'esi*	drop, cause to fall
'Are'are*	*teke*	fall	*teke-**ra'ani***	drop, cause to fall
Marau*	*teke*	fall	*teke-**la'ini***	drop, cause to fall
Longgu	*dio*	fall	***va'a**-dio-*	drop s.t.
Birao*	*puka*	fall	***vagha**-puka-*	drop s.t.
Bugotu	*sikili*	fall	***va**-sikili*	let fall, drop
Gela	*sata*	fall	*sata-**laghi***	let fall
Gari*	*puka*	fall	*puka-**li***	drop, cause to fall

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Longgu	*dio*	fall	*va'a-dio-*	drop s.t.
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Bugotu	*sikili*	fall	*va-sikili*	let fall, drop
Gela	*sata*	fall	*sata-**laghi***	let fall
Gari*	*puka*	fall	*puka-**li***	drop, cause to fall

(Lichtenberk, 2008; Hill, 2011; Ivens, 1940; Fox, 1955; Fox, Miller & Pawley, 2015; *KN field data)

Table 12 Southeast Solomonic: A-verbs (fly)

Language	Intransitive		Causative	
Lau*	*aango* *lofo*	crawl fly	**faa**-*aango* *lofo*-**taini**	let crawl blow s.t. away
Toʔabaʔita	*lofo*	fly	*lofo*-**tani**	cause or teach to fly
Kwaio*	*lofo*	fly	**fa'a**-*lofo* (f) *lofo*-**le'eni** (d)	teach to fly teach or cause to fly
'Are'are*	*aano* *roho*	crawl fly	**ha'a**-*aano* **ha'a**-*roho*	let or make crawl teach or enable to fly
Arosi	*roho*	fly	**ha'a**-*roho*	fly, let fly
Birao*	*vanovano* *lovo*	walk fly	**vagha**-*vanovano* **vagha**-*lovo*	teach or force to walk teach to fly
Bugotu	*thovo*	fly	**va**-*thovo*	cause to fly, blow away
Gela	*anggo* *lovo*	crawl fly	*anggo*-**laghi** *lovo*-**vaghi**	cause to crawl cause to fly
Gari*	*lovo*	fly	*V lovo*-**saghini**	make fly away (SVC)

(Lichtenberk, 2008; Fox, 1978; Ivens, 1940; Fox, 1955; Fox, Miller & Pawley, 2015; *KN field data)

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Kwaio	*lofo*	fly	**fa'a**-*lofo* (f) *lofo*-**le'eni** (d)	teach to fly teach or cause to fly
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(Lichtenberk, 2008; Fox, 1978; Ivens, 1940; Fox, 1955; Fox, Miller & Pawley, 2015; *KN field data)

Southeast Solomonic: Changes in morphological systems

- U-process verbs
  - *V –i/OBJ → paka- V -i/OBJ (MM, Birao, Bugotu)
  - *V –akini=OBJ

- U-state verbs, Actor verbs
  - *paka V –i/OBJ → V i/OBJ (Gari)

  - ?*paka V –akini=OBJ → V –akini=OBJ (Lau, ToʔabaʔIta, Kwaio, Gela, Gari)

- Same kind of process → different direction of shift across languages

Southeast Solomonic: Changes in morphological systems

- Loss of causative prefix
- Extension of use of suffixes

- What came first?

Southeast Solomonic: Changes in morphological systems

Extension of use → Reduction of use
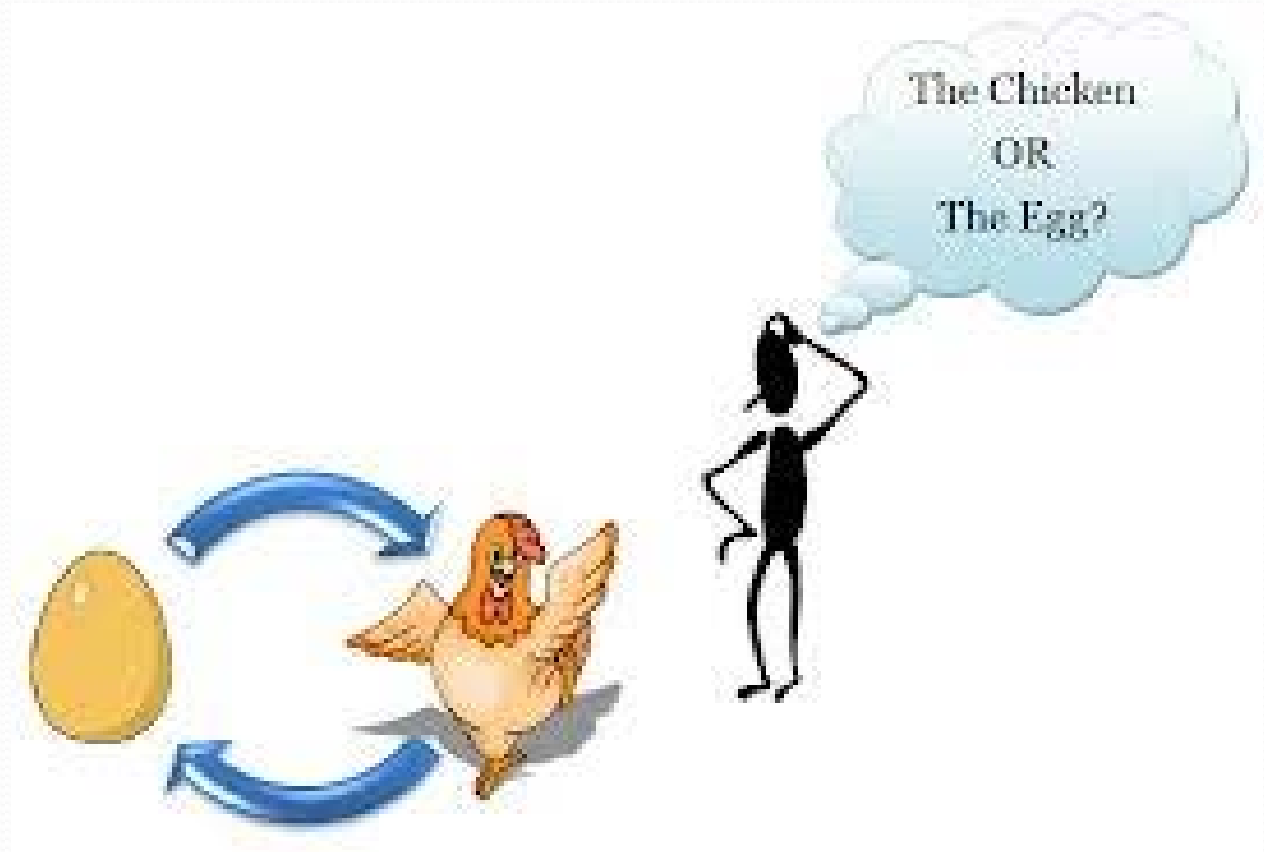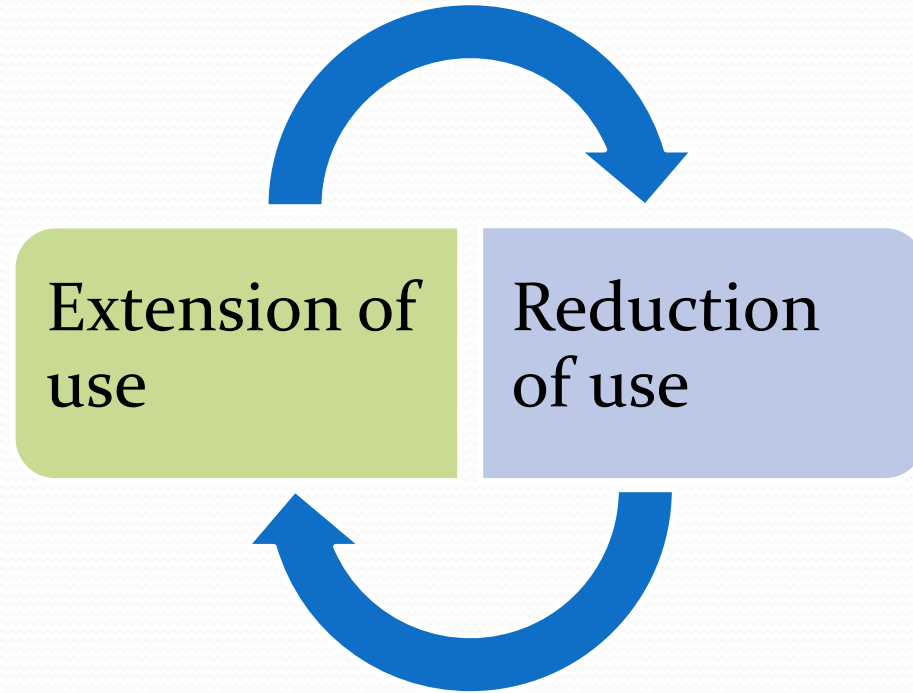
Summary: Findings

- Languages can be conservative and innovative with the same lexical category at the same time
  - Distinct verb classes preserved but how they are defined in terms of morphosyntactic behaviour may change over time

- The same kind of process appears to have different results in related languages

- Useful to compare reconstructions with reflexes as well as synchronic patterns with reconstructed ones to get fuller picture

Summary: Questions

- Language change does not happen in isolation

- "There can be little disagreement among linguists that language changes must be viewed as embedded in the linguistic system as a whole."

- Why does a change affecting a particular feature take place at a particular time, in a particular language, but not at other times, or in another language with the same feature? (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog, 1968)

Summary: Questions
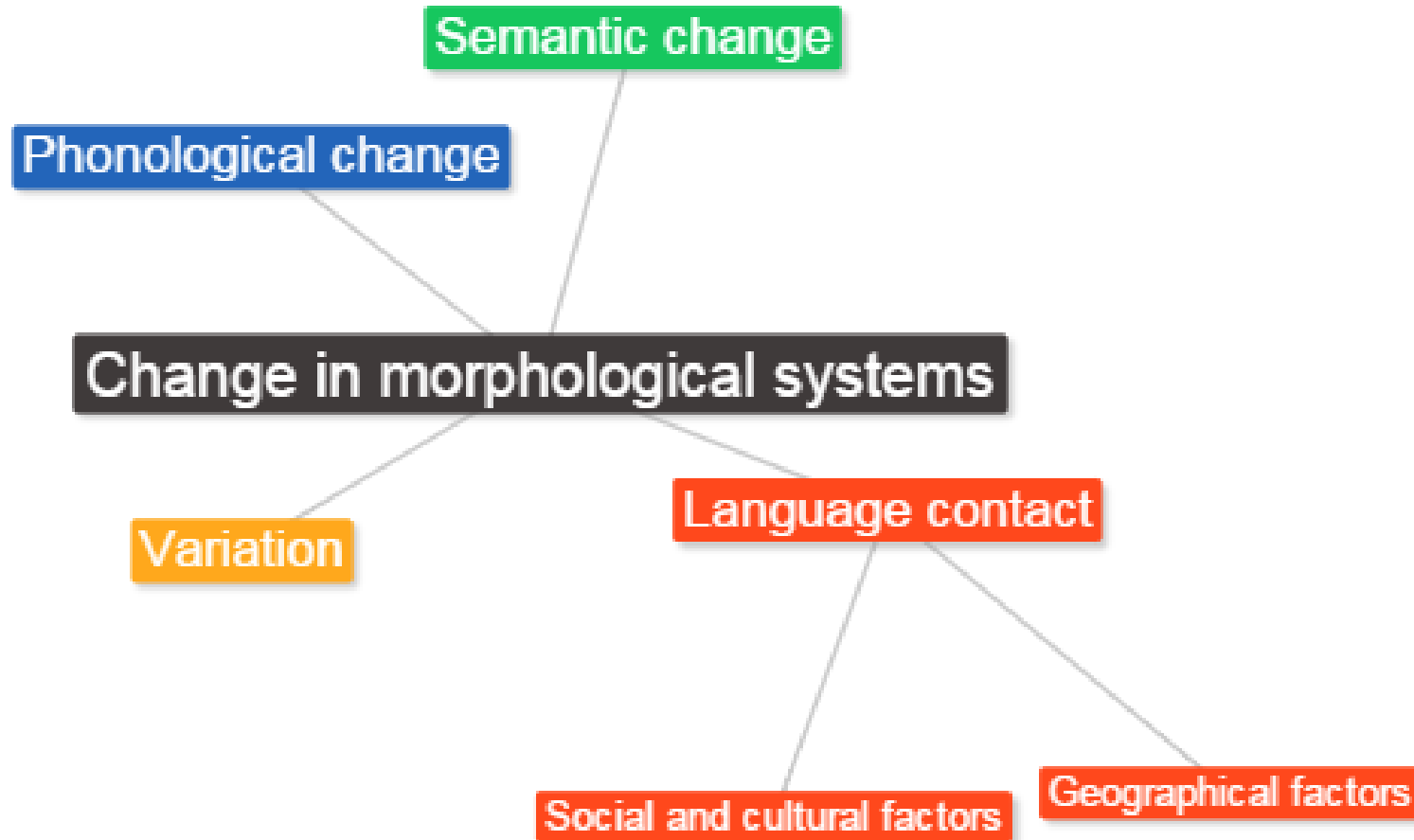
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