

# Proceedings of AFLA 7

The Seventh Meeting of the Austronesian Formal  
Linguistics Association

Edited by  
Marian Klamer

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam  
Department of Linguistics  
2000

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Held at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam  
May 11-13, 2000-07-06

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## Preface

This volume consists of papers presented at the seventh meeting of AFLA (Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association), held at the Vrije Universiteit on May 11-13, 2000.

For the first time in the history of AFLA, this meeting was held outside the North-American continent, and contained contributions by speakers from eleven different countries: New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan, the USA including Hawaii, Canada, the UK, France, Germany, and The Netherlands.

Apart from the languages that are traditionally well-represented at Austronesian conferences, we were happy to see that the program also contained work on relatively small or lesser described languages, such as the minority languages of Taiwan, North-West Borneo, Eastern Indonesia, Papua and Oceania.

Special themes of this conference were Iconicity and Argument marking. The papers in this volume show that the program covered a broad range of subdisciplines -- from discourse grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax, to semantics -- and that the authors are working within various theoretical frameworks. But despite the obvious differences in expertise, interest and background, the atmosphere on the conference was typically AFLA: lively and constructive, with an average rate of attendance of about 80%. The papers in this volume deserve the same rate of attention.

This meeting has again furthered the unwritten mandate of AFLA to encourage the formal study of Austronesian languages, especially work by speaker linguists and junior scholars. Six scholars presented analyses of their native language, and more than half of the 45 participants subscribed as 'student'. This suggests that the future of Austronesian linguistics looks very bright indeed.

The eight edition of Afla will be held in the spring of 2001 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston, USA. The principal organiser will be Ileana Paul.

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### **Proceedings of previous AFLA meetings:**

A Selection of the papers of AFLA 2, in 1995 is published as:  
Paul, Ileana, Vivianne Phillips, and Lisa Travis (eds.). 2000. *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics*. Dordrecht, Kluwer.

The proceedings of AFLA 3 and AFLA 4 in 1996/1997 are published as:  
Pearson, Mathew (ed.). 1998. *Recent papers in Austronesian Linguistics*. UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics 21.

The proceedings of AFLA 6 in 1999 are published as:  
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## Transitivity Alternations in Rotuman\*

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### 1.0 Introduction

The relationship between verbal affixation and structural case assignment has occupied a central position in discussions of Western Austronesian 'focus' systems (e.g., for a recent discussion of these issues in Malagasy, see Paul 2000). Considerably less attention has been paid to related processes in Oceanic languages. This paper is a preliminary attempt to explore the effects of verbal affixation on transitivity alternations in Rotuman. It turns out that several other phenomena, such as negation and voice neutrality, have interesting roles to play with regard to transitivity. In addition, the discussion of transitive suffixes will shed new light on certain aspects of incorporation. Evidence for the claims made in the paper will be based on data from Rotuman folktales and examples from Churchward (1940).

Section 2 gives a brief general background on Rotuman. Section 3 describes various triggers for valence changing. Section 4 presents a number of interesting aspects of incorporation in Rotuman. In Section 5 I point out the likely need for revision to some of the restrictions on affixation asserted by Churchward (1940). Section 6 sketches out briefly my views on the diachronic development of the -'aki causative. Finally, Section 7 presents some concluding remarks.

### 2.0 Background

Rotuman is a member of the Central Pacific group within Oceanic. It is traditionally treated as forming a subgroup with Fijian. Rotuman adheres fairly strictly to a surface SVO order. Nominals and pronominals show no overt case marking but both show alternation in form due to 'phase' distinctions.<sup>1</sup> In addition, some pronominals have distinct genitive and suffixed forms. Unsuffixed verbs are generally voice-neutral. For example, Churchward (1940:123) points out that *iris* 'ā could mean either 'they ate' or 'they were eaten.' Illustrations are given in (1) and (2) below.

- (1) *iris rou le' ta 'e Losa*  
they leave child the P Losa  
'they left the child at Losa'

---

\*The author would like to thank the audience at AFLA 7, especially Mark Hale, for valuable comments on this paper. Needless to say, errors which persist in this version are the responsibility of the author.

<sup>1</sup>Any differences in form as a result of phase are abstracted away from in the glosses here as they are not relevant to the discussion. For some detailed discussions of Rotuman phase, see McCarthy (1995 and 1999), Hale and Kissock (1998), and Hale (2000).

- (2) *iris rou 'e Losa*  
 they leave P Losa  
 'they were left at Losa'

Churchward (1940) classifies verbs into three categories. The first two categories distinguish unsuffixed verbs which are typically used intransitively from unsuffixed verbs which are typically used transitively. He states of the former type, "Verbs that are seldom or never used transitively are classed as intransitive." Examples (3-5) are illustrations.

- (3) *gou fesia' se irisa*  
 I hate to them  
 'I hate them.'
- (4) *nōnō ma 'oria ö' rua al (Tiaftot 16.8)*  
 after awhile their(2) parent two die  
 'After awhile, their parents died...'
- (5) *Tinrau, fā 'on sau, seksek se ut ne 'on hanue ta (Tiaftot 16.11)*  
 Tinrau son belong king walk-along to end of his town the  
 'Tinrau, the king's son, walked along to the outskirts of his town.'

At the same time, he gives an example of a 'usually intransitive' verb used transitively: *matā'u - ia matā' se irisa* 'he looks after them' but, *ia matā' iris* 'he looks after them.'

Of the latter (unsuffixed verbs typically used transitively), he says "Verbs which are used transitively though they have no trans.suffix – and there are many such verbs in Rotuman – are said to be "informally" trans. Exs. are *hili, hil*, to choose, and *ho 'a, hoa'*, to take or carry."<sup>2</sup> A textual occurrence of this last is given in (6).

- (6) *ne 'auar hoa' ia se tei (Äetos 176)*  
 ind.q. you-two carry it to where  
 '... where you two are carrying it to.'

Once again, Churchward qualifies strict categorization by adding, "Some verbs, again, which are usually trans. (inf.t.) are occ. used intransitively: e.g., *tuki* 'to stop (a person from doing something)' is generally trans., as in *gou la tük iris*, 'I will stop them'; but one may also say (with a slightly different force) *gou la tük se irisa*, 'I will make an effort to stop them...'"

It is apparent from his examples and discussions that Churchward takes the presence of a prepositional phrase (along with absence of a bare object) to be clear evidence of intransitivity.

### 3.0 Changes in Valency

As will be illustrated below, the number of arguments of a verb may be either increased or reduced in Rotuman by means of suffixation or by the presence of a counterfactual, such as negation.

<sup>2</sup>Churchward typically cites both complete and incomplete forms, as here.



## Transitivity Alternations in Rotuman

### 3.1 Transitive Suffixes

The third of Churchward's verb categories (referred to in Section 2.0 above) comprises all verbs which are transitive due to their form. He explains this as follows (Churchward 1940:22):<sup>3</sup>

The principal suffixes that serve to mark verbs as transitive are *-a*, *-na*, and *-kia*, some verbs taking one, some another. When *-a* is used, it is attached to the com.phase; *-na* to the com. phase (its *e*-form if it has one); *-kia* to the inc. phase.

Moreover, "Verbs having these suffixes are said to be 'formally' trans., their transitivity being shown by their form." As such, examples (7) and (8), both of which have transitive suffixes, may be contrasted with their unsuffixed counterparts in (3) and (6) above.

(7) *gou fesi'en iris*  
I hate them  
'I hate them'

(8) *'amia la hoa'kia äe* (*Äetos* 216)  
We-two will carry you-sg  
'We will carry you'

Unlike in the case of unsuffixed verb forms described in Section 2.0, Churchward offers no qualifying remarks which allow for some exceptions. Instead, he states quite deliberately: "Formally trans. verbs, however, cannot be used intransitively: they are immutably transitive" (Churchward 1940:116).<sup>4</sup> We will see below that the 'formal' transitive suffix has a somewhat wider and more interesting distribution than is initially implied in this section.

### 3.2 The *-aki* Suffix: Causatives and Applicatives

Rotuman has a single form, *-aki*, which functions either as causative marker or an applicative marker, increasing or reducing, respectively, the valency of the verb. Churchward (1940:105-6) notes the following functions for this suffix:

- (a) "Causative. This usage is very common, though by no means universal, with intr. verbs: see I.14.1 (a). In a few instances it occurs with inf.t. verbs (cp. I.11.3): e.g., from *tole* 'to carry on the shoulder,' we get *tol'aki* 'to cause to be carried on the shoulder,'..."
- (b) "Relational or Prepositional: *päni* 'to paint', *pän'aki* 'to paint with'; *fäega* 'to speak,' *fäeag'aki* 'to speak about'; *mua* 'to go in front,' *mua'aki* 'to go in front of, to lead'."

<sup>3</sup>It is likely that there are, at most, two different forms of this transitive suffix, the remaining form being a predictable allomorph. This matter requires further exploration.

<sup>4</sup>He does, however, offer an interesting comment on the transitive suffix and voice neutrality. He states "It appears, however, that the pass. sense is more frequently expressed by an inf.t. verb...than by a f.t. one..."(Churchward 1940:22) As he gives no examples, it is difficult to determine the characteristics of a passive, formal transitive verb.

(c) "Durational: *māuri* 'to live,' *māur'aki* 'to live for (some number of years)'"

He goes on to note that:

Many words terminating in -'aki may be used in two or more of the above senses. E.g., *ātē'aki*, from *ā'tē*, to eat things, may come under either (a), (b), or (c), meaning (a) to cause to eat, to feed, (b) to eat with, to use (cutlery, plates, etc.) in eating, (c) to eat for (so long).

The causative function of -'aki does not appear to be its most common function. It competes, in this function, with the Rotuman reflexes (one 'direct' and one 'indirect') of the well-reconstructed POC causative prefix \*paka-: *a'a-* and *faka-*. Churchward classifies causative verbs in -'aki as 'informally transitive' and notes that they have 'formal transitive' counterparts. Thus we get *ala* 'to die', *al'aki* 'to kill' ('informal transitive'), and *al'akia* 'to kill' ('formal transitive' with transitive suffix -a).

The voice neutrality of unsuffixed verbs in Rotuman interacts in interesting ways with the -'aki causatives. For example, in many cases it appears that it is the *passive* reading of the bare stem which serves as the input to causative formation, as in the example cited by Churchward in the discussion of causatives above: *tole* 'to carry on the shoulder' – and therefore, by voice neutrality, also 'to be carried on the shoulder' – causative *tol'aki* 'to cause to be carried on the shoulder,' built only to the passive reading. By contrast, the verb *imo* 'drink' (but also, by voice neutrality, 'to be drunk' in the non-alcoholic sense) gives rise to an ambiguous -'aki form: *iom'aki* means both (a) 'to cause (obj. a person) to drink' and (b) 'to cause (obj. water) to be drunk.' Such alternations may tell us something important about the core argument structure of the stems involved.

The 'relational' or 'prepositional' use is, however, by far the most common use of -'aki in Rotuman. The types of relationships it may express appear to be centered around 'instrumental' and 'dative' (broadly construed, i.e., including both goals and beneficiaries, for example). It appears to promote an originally oblique argument with this type of theta-role to direct object position. Some additional examples include:

*afa* 'to make a mark/impression' ('on' expressed with a PP): *af'aki* 'to make a mark with (obj. pencil, rubber stamp, etc.)'

*atu* 'to grasp or embrace tightly with both arms' : *at'aki* 'to clasp (obj. arms) tightly around (se) something'

*lemi* 'to lick' : *lem'aki* 'to lick with' (obj. the tongue)

*mamāe* 'to mourn' : *mamāe'aki* 'to mourn for'

*momono* 'to plug up, block' : *momon'aki* 'to use for plugging up or blocking'

The ‘durational’ function mentioned by Churchward may be able to be collapsed with the prepositional uses mentioned above. If we assume that the prepositions used to express these durational properties are dative or instrumental markers, the generalization would be simply that anything marked by these prepositions may be elevated to object position by -‘aki.

It is of considerable interest that not *any* prepositional relationship can be captured by -‘aki suffixation. Simple spatial relationships (under, behind, by, from, around) and non-dative directionals (e.g., from, away from, through) do not appear to be expressible by -‘aki and a direct object. If we accept, on the evidence of Western Austronesian ‘focus’ systems, that theta-roles like ‘goal’ and ‘instrument’ must be structurally represented (cf. Paul 2000), it is likely that it is precisely these structural positions which -‘aki deals with.

Not surprisingly, there is no indication, either in Churchward or in the texts, that it is possible to attach a transitive suffix to the applicative -‘aki forms (as one may to causative -‘aki).

### 3.3 Counterfactuals – Negation and Optative

Rotuman has bipartite negation, as in French *ne...pas*. The Rotuman forms are *kat...ra*, or, in the future, *kal...ra*, with (minimally) the verb placed between the two elements.<sup>5</sup> With informally transitive (i.e., unsuffixed) verbs, negation may detransitivize the verb, forcing its object into a PP as in example (10) below. This detransitivization is also seen with the optative *pa* ‘to wish’, as in (11).

(9) *ia rē garue ta*  
 he do work the  
 ‘He does the work’

(10) *ia kat rē ra ‘e garue ta*  
 he NEG do NEG P work the  
 ‘He did not do the work.’

(11) *ia pa rē ‘e garue ta*  
 he OPT do P work the  
 ‘He wishes to do the work.’

The exception to this is if the object is indefinite, such as the object in (12), which is marked by preposed indefinite *ta*.

(12) *ia kat al‘ak ra ta le‘*  
 he NEG kill NEG a person  
 ‘He did not kill anyone.’

<sup>5</sup>The surface position of the verb in negated strings (between the two ‘parts’ of the negation) suggests that Rotuman has V-raising at least to T, if not higher.

Textual examples of this contrast can be seen in (13) and (14).

- (13) *pō 'e hān ta kat 'es vāvāne-t ra (Haoag 8)*  
 since woman the NEG have husband-a NEG  
 'since the woman did not have a husband'
- (14) *ka gou kal 'es hoi'āk ra 'e 'āea (Pure 40)*  
 and I NEG-FUT have any more NEG P you-sg  
 'and I will not have you any more'

Formally transitive verbs (those marked with the transitive suffix) do not detransitivize under these same conditions, as shown in (15).

- (15) *ia pa kat al'ākia ra iris*  
 he wish NEG kill-tr NEG them  
 'He does not wish to kill them.'

Churchward notes a semantic differences between the type found in (10) (an unaffixed, normally transitive verb which is detransitivized under negation) and that found in (15) (a transitive affixed verb which remains transitive under negation). The relevant semantic contrast can be seen from the translation of (16) and (17) below (where upper case is used to indicate emphasis).

- (16) *ia kat al'āk ra 'e irisa*  
 he NEG kill NEG Prep them  
 '(The man said he would kill them but) he did NOT kill them.'
- (17) *ia kat al'ākia ra iris*  
 he NEG kill-tr NEG them  
 '(The man wounded them but) he did not KILL them.'

The phenomenon of detransitivization by counterfactuals is found in many other languages (e.g., Russian and Lithuanian), however, I am not familiar with it in any other Oceanic languages. If it can be demonstrated that the inability of the negated verb to assign accusative case to indefinites arises for some well-defined structural reason, the fact that Rotuman (unlike its Oceanic neighbors) shows such a phenomenon could be telling as to fundamental aspects of its structure.

#### 4.0 Incorporation and Affixation

##### 4.1 Types of Incorporated Elements

Negation serves as a useful diagnostic for incorporated elements (as noted, for incorporated nouns, by Churchward 1940:122). Unsurprisingly (in an Oceanic context), bare indefinite nouns regularly incorporate into the informally transitive (unaffixed) verb form. The relevant contrast can be seen in (18) vs. (19) and (20) vs. (21) below.

Transitivity Alternations in Rotuman

- (18) *ia kat 'inea ra ta tē*  
 he NEG know NEG some things  
 'He doesn't know things.'
- (19) *ia kat 'inea tē ra*  
 he NEG know things NEG  
 'He doesn't know things.'
- (20) *ka le' mo rua 'i kat pōpō rog ra e... (Āeatos 143)*  
 but child ptcl 2 these NEG get report NEG about-it...  
 'but the children did not get any report about it'
- (21) *Ka fā ta kal lua tē ra (Haoag 66)*  
 and boy the NEG-fut spit-out thing NEG  
 'and the boy wouldn't spit anything out'

It is quite surprising, however, that more complex *indefinite* objects can also incorporate, including DP's, both relatively short additions to the bare N as in (22), see also (13) above, and significantly longer ones (23):

- (22) *Ma raksa'ia 'e 'itar kat 'es rahi-t ra (Le Mafi 109)*  
 but unfortunate that we-2 NEG have fire-any NEG  
 'but unfortunately we haven't any fire'
- (23) *ma kat 'es sui tore-t ra (I'or 59)*  
 but NEG have bone leftover-a NEG  
 'but he didn't have a leftover bone'

Explicit morphological plurals, also not generally subject to incorporation in Polynesian and Micronesian languages, may be incorporated in Rotuman, as can be seen in the following example in which *lele'a* is the lexical plural of *le'e* 'child.'

- (24) *Ka sāghān uan 'on Rah kat 'es lelea' ra (Haoag 11)*  
 and sister middle his Raho NEG have children NEG  
 'and Raho's middle sister had no children'

In addition, while many Oceanic languages attest to the incorporation of directionals (a type of adverb) into the verb, Rotuman allows a much broader range of adverbs to incorporate, as can be seen in example (15) above, in which *hoi'aki* 'any more; again' is incorporated, as well as from:

- (25) *ke kat ha'ha'u-ag 'esea ra se 'oris ö' rua* ('Äeatos 19)  
 only NEG reach-DIR same NEG P their parent 2  
 'only they did not reach at the same time their parents'

It appears from these facts (and assuming that position relative to negation is a reliable diagnostic for incorporation) that Rotuman has generalized the common Oceanic process involved in incorporating bare non-specific (i.e., indefinite) N's to all indefinite objects, including phrasal ones. In addition, Rotuman appears to have generalized with widespread Oceanic process underlying the incorporation of directional adverbials to a variety of temporal and manner adverbials as well.

#### 4.2 Affixation to Incorporated Elements

Churchward asserts (1940:107) that a number of suffixes, including directionals, the 'ingressive' in *-ia*, the 'pronominal suffixes' which express the ingressive for certain types of verbs (these are in fact reflexive pronouns), and the transitive suffixes used form 'formally transitive' verbs follow the adverb, should the verb to which they properly should be attached be accompanied by one. He gives the following examples:

- (26) *iris sur miji-m* (\**iris surum mij*)  
 they come promptly-DIR  
 'they enter promptly'
- (27) *fā ta fek fakapau-ia*  
 man the angry very-INGR  
 'the man became very angry'
- (28) *gou jön väve-atou*  
 I flee quickly-I  
 'I fled quickly'
- (29) *fā ta füt hoi'aki-a lū ta* (\**fā ta futia hoi'ak lū ta*)  
 man the pull again-TR rope the  
 'the man pulled the rope again'

Such sentences are also attested in the legends:

- (30) *ka ia kal pō hoi'ak-ia ra ia* (*Sau 156*)  
 and he NEG-fut get again-INGR NEG her  
 'and he would not be able to get her again'
- (31) *ka fā rua kat rē a'lelei-ia ra hān rua* (*Sianpual'etaf 45*)  
 and man 2 NEG treat badly-INGR NEG wife 2  
 'and two men began to ill treat their two wives'

Transitivity Alternations in Rotuman

- (32) *ka iria kat foar pau sio ra se hân rua* ('Āeatos 27)  
 and they NEG tell fully DIR NEG P woman 2  
 'and they didn't explain fully to the two women'

Suffixation of this type strongly supports the idea that these adverbs are, in fact, incorporated – note particularly that the transitive suffix will follow the adverb if present.

The incorporation of adverbs is found in the more archaic Indo-European languages as well as in Rotuman. In the Indo-European case, this incorporation goes hand-in-hand with the incorporation of prepositions. This makes an analysis under which the 'applicative' -'aki constructions (involving the elevation of dative and instrumental arguments to direct object status) are taken to arise via the mechanism of 'preposition incorporation' (see Baker 1988) plausible.

As expected, incorporated nouns also form the basis for the attachment of these affixes (Churchward 1940:122):

- (33) *ia fā' puku-m se goua*  
 he write letter-DIR to me  
 'he wrote to me'
- (34) *fā ta 'inea tē-'ia*  
 man the know thing-INGR  
 'the man comes to know things'
- (35) *gou fā' puku-etou*  
 I write letter-I  
 'I start letter-writing'

Note, particularly, the use of the transitive suffix attached after an incorporated noun in (34) which Churchward says is practically synonymous with (35).

- (36) *ia rak'āk tē-an iris*  
 he teach thing-TR them  
 'he teaches them things'
- (37) *ia rak'āk tē se irisa*  
 he teach thing P them  
 'he teaches things to them'

Oddly, Churchward (1940:107) notes that the suffix -'aki "is not moved along in this way, but remains where it was." Note that his own example, cited in the discussion of the causative suffix in Section 2.3 above ('ātē'aki), involves the affixation of -'aki to a verb+incorporated noun pair, for which his dictionary provides additional examples (e.g., *hō'sol'aki* 'to heap or pile up'

< *ho'i* 'accumulate, fetch, heap' + *solo* 'mound' + *-'aki*). Since on this page he is explicitly discussing 'shifting' of these affixes to a position following adverbs (rather than incorporated nouns), it is possible that *-'aki* will *only* 'shift' around incorporated nouns (not adverbs). No examples involving adverbs, either way, are known to me at this time.

The shifting of verbal affixes to a position following incorporated adverbs and nouns is clearly of great significance in revealing the precise structural status of these incorporated elements. It may also bear on the long-debated issue of whether incorporation is a lexical or a syntactic process. While the ability of 'V+incorporated Noun/Adverb' to take a transitive suffix may be taken by some to be clear evidence of a derivation in the lexicon (i.e., compounding), the apparently obligatory (at least in the case of adverbs)<sup>6</sup> and fully productive nature of the incorporation clearly points in the direction of syntactic derivation. These constructions may thus force us to rethink what is and what is not a test for this critical distinction.

#### 5.0 Restrictions on Affixation

Churchward (1940:117) notes that "F.t. verbs cannot take any of the tense-forming suffixes." The set of suffixes involved in the 'tense' marking cases mentioned by Churchward include *-ia*, *-tia*, *-a*, and the 'reflexive' object pronouns. The first three look like versions of the POC transitive suffixes. While a detailed investigation of the use of these forms in Rotuman is still outstanding, I am disinclined at this time to accept Churchward's characterization of them as marking 'tense' at all. In some cases I strongly suspect they represent the POC *\*-Cia* suffixes, whose precise function differs from language to language even within Polynesian (e.g.), and has proven remarkably difficult to characterize definitively. The suffix was, in any event, incompatible with any transitive marking on the verb to which it attached. These forms need to be investigated in Rotuman – without such an investigation, their significance for the problems under discussion cannot be determined.

#### 6.0 Origin of Causative *-'aki*

It is difficult to see how we might connect the causative function of the *-'aki* suffix with its applicative functions synchronically. However, since the suffix has no plausible POC etymology (note that the POC 'remote transitive' suffix *\*-aki(ni)* is not an ideal candidate, given the Rotuman glottal stop), it must have originated within Rotuman. It is hard to see how *two* unrelated suffixes of this shape could have independently developed in this brief time. So I offer the following *diachronic* speculation on the origin of causative *-'aki*.

- 1 *-'aki* arises as an incorporated instrumental preposition. (This is its most widely attested synchronic function, and probably the most difficult to get from any other diachronic source.)
- 2 *-'aki* comes to mark the promotion of other oblique *structural* cases, such as the dative. We have seen this type of syntactic extension several times already in Rotuman: originally,

<sup>6</sup>There are no instances of *kat VERB ra ADVERB* in the extensive corpus of Rotuman legends, indicating the adverbs obligatorily incorporate.



## Transitivity Alternations in Rotuman

from comparative evidence, it is necessary to assume that only *directional* adverbs were incorporated – now all adverbs are; again based on comparative evidence it seems that originally only (indefinite) bare-nouns were incorporated, now any indefinite DP may be.

- 3 Many instrumental applicative -'aki verbs were subjected to a reanalysis based on the following systematic ambiguity (using the examples cited on pg. 3 above):

(a) He makes an impression on the paper with a pencil = (b) The pencil makes an impression on the paper.

(a) He embraces the child tightly with his arms = His arms clasp tightly around the child.

(a) He licks at the candy with his tongue. = (b) His tongue licks at the candy.

(a) He plugs up the hole with a cork = (b) A cork plugs up the hole.

The -'aki forms were originally instrumental applicatives to the (a) sentences, but were reanalyzed as *causatives* to the (b) sentences. (For a similar reanalysis of instrumentals, see Garrett 1990.) That is, they are reinterpreted as meaning 'he makes the pencil make an impression on the paper,' 'he makes his arms clasp tightly around the child,' 'he makes his tongue lick at the candy,' and 'he makes a cork plug up the hole.'

- 4 This new 'causative' -'aki comes to be used in cases in which no instrumentality was ever involved, such that *ala* 'to die' can form *al'aki* 'to kill.'

### 7.0 Conclusion

I have tried to show in this paper that Rotuman offers a wealth of interesting data, much of it Oceanic-like but with a unique Rotuman twist, which bears on fundamental questions surrounding structural case and argument structure. This primarily descriptive account is the necessary first step in developing the formal syntactic analysis which I hope to be able to provide in a subsequent paper.

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