Split ergativity in Nêlêmwa
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Nêlêmwâ is one of the 30 kanak languages of New Caledonia; it is an Austronesian language of the Oceanic branch spoken by about 600 people of the Nenema group in the far north of New Caledonia.

1 An overview of ergativity in Nêlêmwâ

The terminology used will be S (sole argument of an intransitive verb), A (prime argument of a transitive verb), O (second argument of a transitive verb).

Morphologically, two agent morphemes ea (+human) and ru (+non-human) mark postverbal nouns or pronouns in a neutral two argument clause (the order is indifferently VOA or VAO). Several conditions are required for these agent morphemes to appear: argument position, transitivity, asymmetry of the two arguments (i.e. non-co-referentiality) and definiteness of the second argument (O). Absolutive is zero marked.

Syntactically, coordination, subordination, relatives, imperative equi-NP deletion do not treat A and S differently. The syntactic structure is accusative. Nêlêmwâ does not have a passive, but it does have a sort of anti-passive diathesis (with an oblique object and absolutive prime argument) expressing reduced agentivity. This anti-passive construction does not have the syntactic functions generally associated with it in syntactically ergative languages such as Dyirbal. It merely intransitivises the verb, with an oblique object, generic in meaning, and a demoted absolutive prime argument.

1.1 Origin and distribution of agent morphemes ea and ru

Ru is the result of the grammaticalisation of the verb thu ‘do’; cognates of this morpheme appear in other languages of the north (Nemi, Fwâi, Pîje lu, Pwapwâ du, Pwaamei thu). The origin of (e)a¹ is not clear. It is probably nominal since it can be determined by possessive suffixes like nouns possessed inherently as in (1):

¹ ea- after final consonant; a- after final vowel. In the neighbouring language of Nyêløyu, the cognate form is (w)a.
Isabelle Bril

1.2 Split ergativity and verbal categories

Transitivity is a prerequisite for agentive marking. The sole nominal argument of intransitive verbs is always absolutive. Transitive verbs are generally marked by a transitive flexion or suffix and they have direct objects (in VOA or VAO position).

Medio-active verbs (active verbs of movement, feeling, perception, as well as cognitive and discursive verbs) stand apart in that they may occur in either ergative or absolutive constructions (transitively or intransitively). When constructed transitively, their object is oblique and may have various case functions (locative, causal). This split is subject to the position of the oblique object /Oi/ (whether peripherised as an adjunct — VSOi — or integrated as an object — VOAi —). Semantically, such split correlates with degrees of activity, agentivity, control or intentionality and is closely related to diathetic considerations.

1.3 Split between nouns and bound pronouns

Bound pronouns are accusative with sVo pattern: subject pronouns (s) are preverbal, object pronouns (o) are postverbal. Inanimates are marked /zero/. Subject pronouns may co-occur with postverbal nominal or pronominal S or A prime arguments (and agree in number with them). The pattern is thus (s)VS, (s)V0A or (s)VAO (see examples 2, 3, 4). Inanimate nominal agents are usually not co-referenced by subject pronouns, unless some emphatic agency or humanisation is meant (see 4, 5). Inanimate (S) arguments are never co-referenced by subject pronouns (see 6). As for object pronouns, they are anaphoric, and never co-occur with nominal objects.

(2) hla yhalap hlaabai kibu-va
they.PL fish those.ANAPH ancestors-our
‘our ancestors used to fish’ (sVS)

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(3) i tâlîf pwaxi eli a Kaavo
she dry child that.ANAPH AGT Kaavo
‘Kaavo is drying the child’ (sVOA)

(4) doi-na ru cacia
sting.TR-me AGT acacia
‘the acacia stung me’ (VOA)

(5) (i) ñâlî daan ru ciiy-ena
(iii) close.TR road AGT tree-this.DEICT
‘this tree has cut off the road’ (s)VOA

(6) kwut mwêna hooli mwêna
stand place.DEICT that.ANAPH house
‘this house used to be there’ (VS)

Accusative bound pronouns are thus part of the verbal group; agent morphemes are nominal marks. The split between accusative bound pronouns and nominal agent markers stands as evidence that ergativity is superficial: it is the morphological trace of a semantic specification.

1.4 Constraints on ergative morphemes

Transitivity is the syntactic prerequisite for agentive case marking. The case of split ergativity with medio-active verbs will be analysed in 1.5.

1.4.1 Diversity of object type

The object argument may be a bound or independent personal pronoun, a (proper or definite common) noun, a deictic or anaphoric pronoun. It may be direct or oblique (see 7) or it may be a propositional complement (in 8, 9).

(7) i xam fuk-vi ye a hooli nàllîc
it ASS fly-COMIT her AGT that.ANAPH bird
‘the bird flew with her’ (a woman)

With active verbs, an oblique argument is a full core argument. This is shown in (7) where the comitative argument is marked by vi, (which results from the grammaticalisation of a serialised verb construction fuk fhe (fly + take): the first stage is the phonological change from fhe to ve ([F] > [v]), ve is then grammaticalised, and associated to inanimates; vi to humans. It seems that in
Nêlêmwâ an object may be any kind of patient role (direct or indirect), provided it fills the slot or is in the position of the canonical object (VOA order), thus becoming a core argument. The constructions of medio-active verbs further support this view (see 1.5). Thus, it may not be necessary to advocate a case of capture of a derived/grammaticalised case marking preposition by an intransitive verb resulting in the creation of a transitiising suffix. It seems that the syntactic structure of Nêlêmwâ provides for this type of facts. With transitive cognition verbs such as ‘say’, ‘think’, ‘remember’, the object complement may be propositional (as in 8, 9).

(8) i shôlj a Pwâ-Kebo khabwe i u â she know AGT P.K. COMP(say) she ACC leave ‘Pwâ-Kebo knows she will go’ (VAO)

(9) i namami a Pwayili khabwe hângi kebuk he think AGT Pwayili COMP(say) maybe be.true ‘Pwayili thinks it may be true’ (VAO)

1.4.2 Object definiteness and valence reduction

Transitive constructions require definite, specific objects. When generic, the object is incorporated and the verb intransitivised. It is a case of valence reduction: the verb has either indeterminate transitive flexion or intransitive form, and the prime argument is demoted to absolutive S function (as in 10).

(10) o i tuula dube Pwayili xe i tho VIRT he find deer Pwayili IDT he call ‘if Pwayili (S) finds deer, he’ll call’

When this indefinite, generic or collective object is non-human and anaphoric, it is saturated by wo which also has partitive value:

(11) o i tuula wo Pwayili xe i tho VIRT he find IND.OBJ Pwayili IDT he call ‘if Pwayili (S) finds some, he’ll call’

The verb tuula has indefinite flexion, the prime argument is absolutive (S). The common ‘anti-passive’-like construction marked by wo and an oblique object is another case of valence reduction. It has aoristic and generic value

like object incorporation. The prime argument is absolutive (S) in both cases (as in 12, 13).

(12) hla kobwaxe wo o vayi âgu Pum they.PL watch IND.OBJ REL cattle people Pum ‘people of Pum (S) do some cattle herding’

(13) hla taaja wo o pwaxi-an they.PL dug IND.OBJ REL child-tortoise ‘they do some tortoise egg digging’

Compare with an incorporated object (as in 14), which is the preferred construction:

(14) hla taaja pwaxi-an thamwâ mahleelî they.PL dug child-tortoise woman those.ANAPH ‘those women (S) do some tortoise egg digging’

1.4.3 Argument co-reference and valence reduction

Arguments must be asymmetric. Cases of co-reference (loop) of the prime and second argument intransitivise the verb, causing valence reduction and agent demotion. Reflexive, reciprocal constructions and cases of co-reference between the prime argument and the possessive determiner of the object will be analysed in turn.

(a) Reflexives

The verb is transitive with definite flexion (contrary to cases of object incorporation), but the prime argument remains absolutive, as in intransitive structures.

(15) i aa bwagi Pwayili he ITER return Pwayili ‘Pwayili retraces his steps’

Reflexivity is thus controlled by S in Nêlêmwâ (by A, in Enga, Li & Lang 1979:315).
(b) RECIPRICALS AND PE-

It is an intransitive construction as in many languages, due to agent/patient co-reference. The postverbal nominal argument is absolutive (S) and co-referenced by a dual or plural subject pronoun.

(16) hli pe-yage-i hliiili meewu
they.DU RECIP-help-R those.2.ANAPH brothers
‘the two brothers help each other’(*ea)

Reciprocal and reflexive constructions are intransitivised, only in presence of a non-co-referent argument may such structures become transitive (as in 17).

(17) hlii u pe-wêêng-i
they.DU ACC RECIP-agree-R
le a asamalilili
there.ANAPH AGT those.2.men.ANAPH
‘those two men agreed on that’
(the inanimate anaphoric object is marked by -le)

What is stressed is agency, the activity of the prime argument involved in a transitive relation directed onto an external and specific object, whatever the outcome.

(c) CO-REFERENCE BETWEEN THE POSSESSOR OF THE OBJECT AND THE PRIME ARGUMENT

(18) i u hnaowe yada axaleny Têâ Pwayili
he ACC leave.TR object.of this.DEICT Têâ Pwayili
‘Têâ Pwayili leaves his object’ or ‘he leaves Têâ Pwayili’s object’

There are two possible interpretations to such a clause:
— one is by co-reference of the subject pronoun (i) and the possessive determiner (Têâ Pwayili) of the object (yada) with the meaning: ‘Têâ Pwayili leaves his object’,
— the other bars co-reference between pronoun and possessive determiner with the meaning: ‘he leaves Têâ Pwayili’s object’, Têâ Pwayili being the possessor of the object (yada).

In both cases, Têâ Pwayili is a determiner, not a prime argument.

For the prime argument to be marked ergatively, a non-co-referential possessive determiner of the object is required, as in (19) where the object is determined by the possessive suffix (−n). Co-reference of possessor and prime argument is then barred.

(19) i u hnaowe yada-n a axaleny Têâ Pwayili
he ACC leave object-his AGT this.DEICT Têâ Pwayili
‘Têâ Pwayili leaves his object’ (someone else’s, non-co-referent)

1.4.4. Discursive organisation: left dislocation and marked vs. unmarked orientation

Agent morphemes appear in neutral clauses and mark postverbal nominal agent (s)VOA or (s)VAO. The neutral order is the preferred order of tales and direct discourse (whether affirmative as in (21), interrogative (20) or negative).

(20) i wa a ti holeny mwêêng paan?
she weave AGT who? this.DEICT hat pandanus
‘who wove this pandanus hat?’ (VAO)

(21) i wa a gee
she weave AGT grand-ma
‘grandmother wove it’ (VOA)

(22) doi âlô hleny ru da?
sting.TR child this.DEICT AGT what?
‘what stung the child?’ (VOA)

In case of left dislocation of A, the agent morpheme disappears and does not leave any trace in situ and the dislocation marker (xe /!DT) appears (S xe VO pattern). As a rule in Nêlêmâwâ, left-dislocated nominals never carry any anteposited case specification, but some functions (locative, causative, instrumental) do leave traces in situ.

Summary of constraints bearing on agent morphemes

1. VERBS must be active and transitive;
2. OBJECTS must be definite and non-co-referent with the prime argument;
3. the choice of ea or ru is subject to intonational +/-HUMAN features of the third person nominal or pronominal PRIME ARGUMENT;
4. WORD ORDER should be neutral, agent morphemes mark postverbal prime arguments in neutral utterances and are thus subject to discursive constraints. The relative position of postverbal A to O nominals is
indifferent in a canonical transitive structure: VOA or VAO just connote a difference in stress, which is not the case with medio-active verbs.

1.5 Ergative split with medio-active verbs

Medio-active verbs can be used transitively without any flexion, their object is an oblique (Oi) argument expressing cause, source or localisation. The split is conditioned by the peripheral or integrated position of Oi, relative to the prime argument which can then be marked as either absolutive (VSOi) or ergative (VOiA); this correlates with degrees of activity, agentivity or intentionality and is evidence that the canonical order of a transitive clause is VOA, rather than VAO.

This category includes verbs of affect, perception, sensation, verbs of movement and position, verbs of cognition, discourse, information, and some aspectual verbs such as tøen 'end' and thaaxa 'begin', alu 'watch', khalaya 'love', hnac 'wonder', jaat 'rejoice', taabwa 'sit', ôôme 'come', pe-pwa-wo 'interrupt', vhaamf 'discuss', havava 'hesitate', pëeva 'argue'. There are also semi-grammatical non-predictable verbs such as thea 'play', theeva 'joke', pîîlâ 'play, stroll', and yang 'be busy'.

These verbs do not constitute homogeneous semantic categories. Other verbs, which are semantically similar, are transitive (gi 'cry', haxaxa 'fear', khabwe 'say', axe, axt 'see', tâlâ 'hear, listen', nanam(i) 'think', shëla 'know'). Semantism is a correlate, not a determining feature of this verb category. The basic fact that rules agentive marking is syntactic: i.e. transitivity. In a Nêlêmwâ sentence such as Jean sees the woman, the verb axe 'see' is transitive, so Jean will be ergative (A) though he is more of an experiencer than an agent.

1.5.1 Peripherisation (VSOi) vs. integration (VOiA) of the oblique object and valence change

Such split in ergative marking is related to the peripheral or integrated position of the oblique object Oi.

— VERBS OF AFFECT ('be sad', 'be ashamed', 'rejoice', 'wonder', etc.)

(23) i jaat thaamwa hleny o ålô eli
she be happy woman this.DEICT REL child that.ANAPH
'this woman is happy with that child' (VSOi)

3 The verb kàlì (end), however, is a transitive verb with direct object and prime argument marked A, whatever its position.

— VERBS OF SENSATION OR PERCEPTION

(24) i jaat o ålô eli a thaamwa hleny
she rejoice REL child that.ANAPH AGT woman this.DEICT
'this woman rejoices with that child' (VOiA)

(25) i u khô ô Pwayi/i o sha/y eli
he ACC be.tired Pwayi/i REL work that.ANAPH
'Pwayi/i is tired of this work' (VSOi)

(26) i u khô ô sha/y eli a Pwayi/i
he ACC got.tired REL work that.ANAPH AGT Pwayi/i
'Pwayi/i got tired of this work' (VOiA)

A peripherised adjunct (VSOi) results in an intransitive structure with constative value. An 'integrated' Oi is a full core argument in a transitive, active construction (VOiA). It saturates a core argument position and the prime argument is an agent. This supports Foley's distinction between 'core argument' and 'direct objects' in the case of promotion of constituents to core argument position:

what we have here are valence increased verbs in which the added argument is a core argument, but not a direct object. (Foley 1993:157)

In Nêlêmwâ, the choice of either pattern correlates with agent saliency; there are also aspectual correlations expressing process vs. constative aspect.

— VERBS OF POSITION

(27) i taabwa Pwayi/i bwa hoco
he sit Pwayi/i on horse
'Pwayi/i is sitting/seated on the horse' (VSOi)

(28) i taabwa bwa hoco a Pwayi/i
he mount on horse AGT Pwayi/i
'Pwayi/i is mounting the horse' (VOiA)

An incorporated object with a deleted localiser results in an intransitive structure:

(29) i taabwa hoco Pwayi/i
he sit horse Pwayi/i
'Pwayi/i can ride a horse'
These various constructions correlate with aspect and active vs. stative semantism.

**VERBS OF MOVEMENT**

With such verbs, the split expresses similar volitional and intentional contrast.

(30) $i$ *tuume* $Pwâ-Hivic$ *jela*-o *waja*-Il
he come Pwâ-Hivic near-REL boat-his
‘Pwâ Hivic gets near his boat’ (VSOi)

(31) $i$ *tuume* *bwa* $ôn$ a *thaamwa* $hlwy$
he go.down on beach AGT woman this.DEICT
‘this woman comes by the beach’ (VOiA)

(Contra stive agency is implied, she should not do so)

(32) $i$ òÔlI/e *jela*-i *lia* $Pwâ$ - Hivic
she come near-REL me AGT Pwâ-Hivic
‘Pwâ Hivic is approaching towards me’ (VOiA)

As previously, such split expresses degrees in intentionality, control and activity of the prime argument with potential contrastive value. Those facts are evidenced by (34) which is intransitive with an absolutive prime argument (S) in spite of the integrated position of Oi, due to the unintentional semantism of $kaalu$ ‘fall’. This supports Foley’s (1993) view that semantic notions are required to account for ergative languages.

(34) $i$ *kaalu* *du* *bwa* $ôn$ *ava-ny$
he fall down on sand brother-my
‘my brother fell down on the sand’

($bwa$ $ôn$ is an adjunct without any argument function)

Such split requires that verbs be semantically active (stative verbs are excluded from such split patterns), besides agents must be HUMAN (contrary to canonical transitive verbs which allow +/-HUMAN, +/-ANIMATE agents). This contributes to making medio-active verbs stand apart from canonical transitive verbs that generally have transitive flexions, whose object is DIRECT, whose prime argument can be +/-HUMAN, and for which agentive marking of the prime argument is not subject to position relative to the object.

1.6 Typological features

1.6.1 An ergative, active or agentive language?

Nêlêmwâ is not a language with general active/inactive opposition. The ergative/absolutive split only occurs with medio-active verbs: it is a case of restricted agentive split. But it does share some features with languages that have active/inactive opposition.

— One is the coincidence of active and stative meaning for the same lexeme:

*these meanings are usually lexically distinct in ergative and nominative languages.* (Klimov 1979:329)

In Nêlêmwâ, such coincidence is restricted to medio-active verbs whose construction stresses either stative or active aspect. But active and stative meanings are also frequently expressed by different verbs, such as transitive/active *thuxa* ‘untie’ and intransitive/stative *holo* ‘be loose’.

— Another common feature is that, as Klimov notes,

*The differentiation of direct and indirect objects in ergative and nominative languages is replaced in active languages by a distinction of ‘nearest and distant’ complements* [...]. The nearest complement means an object to which an action expressed by an active verb is directed: ‘a man is breaking a tree, a man is walking along the road’, ‘a man is running to the river.’ (Klimov 1979:329-330)

This non-distinction between direct and indirect objects occurs in Nêlêmwâ, but it is limited to medio-active verbs and subject to position constraints which reduce its scope: the indirect object must be integrated within the verbal group (as opposed to a peripherised adjunct). Thus, peripherisation or integration of the indirect object correlates with the agency of the prime argument (his control, volition, intention).

In active systems, [...] the opposition of centrifugal and non-centrifugal version of active verbs is obligatory. The centrifugal version denotes an action directed outside the subject and the non-centrifugal version an action limited to the subject. (Klimov 1979:330)

Such variations also occur in direct or prepositional constructions in French: *il longe la rivière* vs. *il marche le long de la rivière*.

Nêlêmwâ has neither ergative syntax, nor general active/inactive opposition, it expresses contrastive agency in relation to diathetic constructions. It is a three-level system: patient/actor/agent with actor as an intermediate term, marked absolutive or ergative with medio-active verbs.
Besides, as has already been mentioned, agent morphemes may be contrastive or emphatic when not required syntactically (compare examples 11 and 35):

(35) a l tuula wo a Pwayili
VIRT he find IND.OBJ AGT Pwayili
'if Pwayili finds some' (in contrast with others, compare with 11)

### 1.6.2 Split alld aspect

Aspect is **not** a relevant feature of split ergativity in Nêlêmwâ. There is no such opposition as process vs. perfective aspect, as occurs in Drehu (Lifu, Loyalty Islands, Moyse-Faurie 1983). Verbal telicity is **not** a case in point either. The only relevant fact is the definiteness of O. Yet, with medio-active verbs, there may be aspectual implications:

- with verbs of position, the ergative or absolutive construction may express process vs. stative or perfective aspect as in 'he sits down' and 'he is seated' (see examples 27, 28);
- with active verbs of movement, or motion (ôda, tume), the two patterns correlate with a contrast in agency and intentionality rather than aspect (see examples 30 to 33). In other languages, this is expressed by different prepositions such as:

(a) he walked in the park (activity: S);
(b) he walked to the park (accomplishment: A) (van Valin 1990:225).

### 1.6.3 Oblique (anti-passive) construction (wo + Oi)

There is no passive voice in Nêlêmwâ, agent demotion is expressed by other valence reduction constructions such as object incorporation and construction with wo and an oblique object, similar to anti-passive structures. Yet in the latter case, its functions are just diathetic and semantic. They are not evidence of 'pivots', but ways of defocusing agent and patient. Here is a comparison with anti-passive functions as described for Samoan (by Hopper & Thompson 1980:268-269):

### 1.6.4 Agent marking and negative or irrealis modality

Blake (1977:16) notes that 'in a number of Australian languages, the ergative construction is not used if the verb is in the future tense, imperative mood, imperfect, potential or irrealis aspect.'

In Nêlêmwâ, future, irrealis and negative are irrelevant (as in 37 and 38):

(37) me io tidâ ru fda âgu
AIM FUT hear AGT line people
'so that the (coming) generation of people hear that'

### Split ergativity in the Nêlêmwâ language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samoan</th>
<th>Nêlêmwâ (wo + Oi)</th>
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<td>1. perfective</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. total involvement of O</td>
<td>partitive O</td>
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<td>3. definite O</td>
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<td>stative/involuntary</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. active participation of A</td>
<td>passive participation of A</td>
</tr>
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In Nêlêmwâ, such structure expresses object genericity and also aoristic process (or general truth) with no temporal or aspeckual boundaries. Agency is then reduced. There may be aspeckual implicances to this construction, but the basic fact is object genericity (see examples 12, 13).

In some Australian languages, 'anti-passive has semantic function expressing non-impingement of the object, unfulfilled process in independent clauses and syntactic function in dependent subordinate, relative clauses' (Blake 1979:295). This may also correlate with the atelic aspect of the verb. In Nêlêmwâ, the degree of affectedness, object transformation or verbal telicity is not relevant (see 36). What is relevant is syntactic transitivity and object definiteness:

(36) i pala-i ndâllíc a kââma-n
he miss-REL bird AGT father-his
'his father missed the bird'

*In Yakuina, Queensland, ergative is not used for irrealis but for past and future.*
ergative, past is rather of the active type. The agent marker is compulsory.

It - ln Nêlêmwâ, it is difficult to account for the split between accusative and inanimate.

There is a tense-aspect split in Drehu: the agent marker appears for progressive or perfective aspect and in the past, not in the present/aorist or future. There is one further split: progressive or perfective aspects are ergative, past is rather of the active type. The agent marker is compulsory whether the verb is transitive or intransitive and whether the subject is animate or inanimate.

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— In Nêlêmwâ, it is difficult to account for the split between accusative bound pronouns and ergative/absolutive nouns. Is it the result of an evolution from an accusative to ergative system or the reverse? It could be hypothesised that the move was from ergative, case markers being often more conservative than verbal and pronominal morphology. Traces of ergative pronouns for

1.6.5 causativity and agency

Causative or factitive derivations are evidence of the relevance of agency in this language. The causer is an A agent, and the choice of causative pa- or factitive fa- prefixes is selected by the patient or agent case of the causee (i.e. his amount of control).

(39) ia fa-Χαά i na o wi
he FACT-drink REL me REL water
‘he made me drink water’ (he helped me)

(40) puxet da me co pa-Χαά i Yul?
reason what? AIM you CAUS-drink REL Jules
‘why did you make Jules drink?’ (against his will)

2 comparison with other kanak languages and conclusions on agentic construction in Nêlêmwâ

Other cases of agent markers have been described in other kanak languages.

— In Drehu (Moyse-Faurie & Ozanne-Rivierre 1983) the agent marker is hnen, hnei. Its origin is nominal: hnen (means ‘place of’). As a noun, it can be possessed by first person possessive suffixes (in the singular, dual or plural); it also marks the instrumental.

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humans (ea- + possessive suffix) are evidence of an older system. Nominal agents marked by ea- are in a similar possessive relationship as possessive suffixes. The notion of argument is thus ambiguous, what is now interpreted as a nominal human agent is a possessive determiner. Thus, in Nêlêmwâ, an ergative clause is a mix of verbal and nominal determination structures. In the case of inanimate agents, the marker being derived from a verb (thu), the agent nominal is interpretable as an argument.

Haudricourt has claimed that agent morphemes might be cognates with morphemes marking equative utterances in Austronesian languages:

The syntax of Austronesian languages at the further end of the area, Polynesian and Melanesian languages of New Caledonia, with their so-called sentence-final subject or agent, points out to the very ancient nominal sentence in this family [...] (Haudricourt 1979)

The initial structure centring on the relation between a predicate and agent theme/topic (marked by ea- and a possessive determination for humans, and ru for inanimates) might then have evolved towards a verb/argument structure, together with a pronominal agreement system. The unmarked patient theme might correspond to the sole nominal argument of the present verbal system and the ea/ru marked agent theme to the two nominal arguments pattern.

As for accusative personal bound pronouns, they might result from the generalisation of pronouns marking the sole arguments of intransitive verbs to the prime arguments of transitive verbs (together with gradual decay of agent pronouns marked by ea- + possessive suffix, ea-ny, ea-m). Originally, subject and object bound pronouns might have constituted a sole unmarked paradigm (as they are identical in form and only differentiated by their present position) with agent pronouns expressed by ea- + possessive suffix (traces of an ergative pronominal system?).

The evolution towards an accusative pronominal system could also have occurred through left dislocation, since case function of the dislocated noun is not marked. Thus, one unique set of bound pronouns would have been generalised for both absolutive or ergative nominal case. Accusative personal pronouns are characteristic of Oceanic languages:

The obligatory use of pronominal determiners in POC (and the emergence of a surface consistent VP containing S and direct O pronouns) presumably developed from an earlier situation in which pronominal determiners were optional or obligatory only in certain contexts. The syntactic context in which many (AN) languages require a pronoun along with a coreferential nominal is when a basically post-verbal NP is moved into preverbal position, as in relative clauses, secondary topicalisation and WH-questions. A pronominal ‘trace’ must be left behind. In POC this pronoun came to be present even in basic constructions, becoming a determiner marking definiteness, person and number of the associated NP. (Pawley & Reid 1976:61-62)
As it is now, due to reanalysis and syntactic change that has mixed two diachronically different systems, these morphemes are now interpreted as agent markers. Nêlêmwâ is thus an agentive case marking language with splits between nouns and bound pronouns. Expression of agency hinges on transitivity and a three-tier case system, agent/actor/non-agent or patient, with actor as the intermediate term marked either ergatively or absolitively. These agent morphemes have diathetic functions that appear clearly in contexts where they are not required syntactically.

Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>ACC</td>
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REFERENCES