

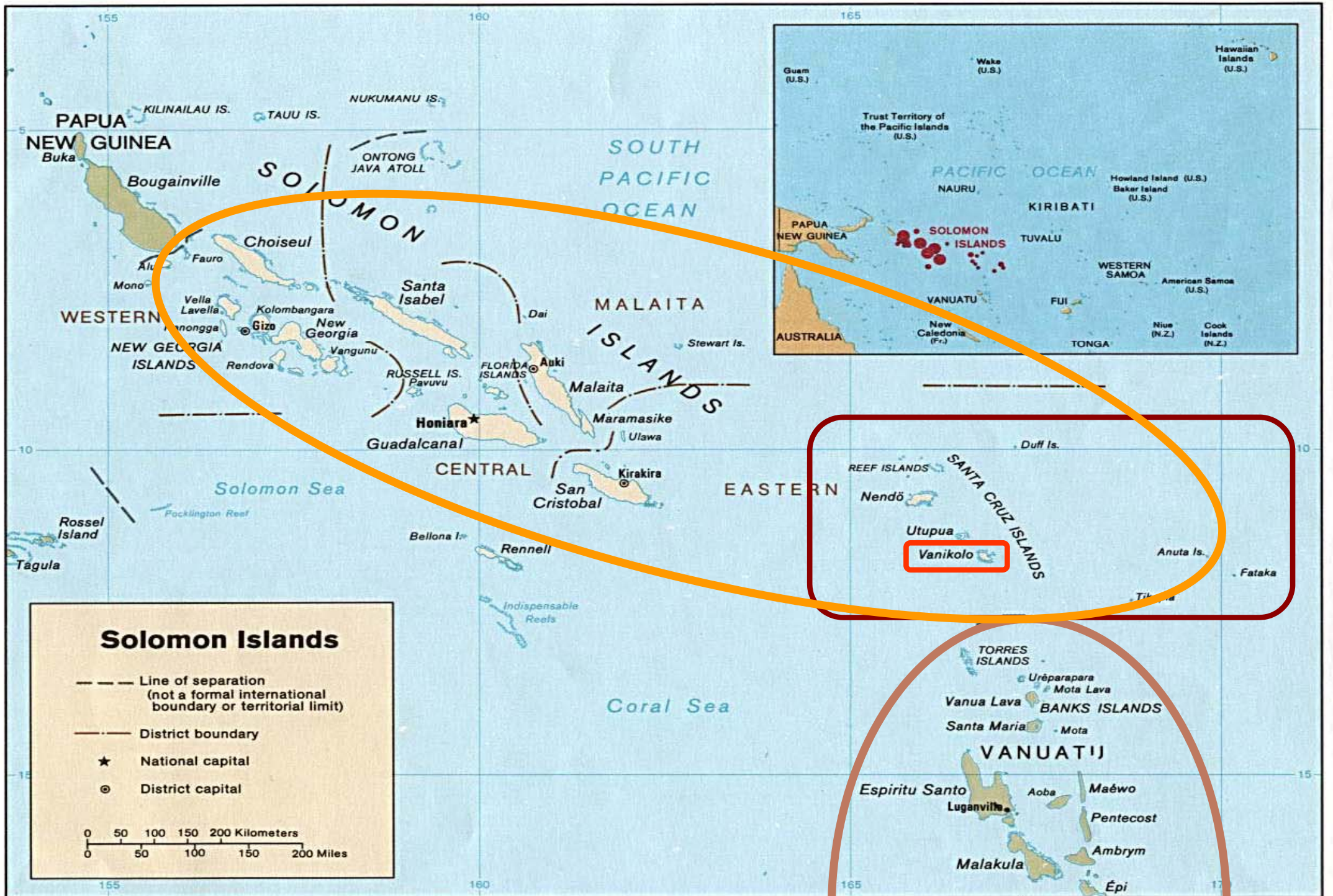
Are Vanikoro languages really Austronesian?

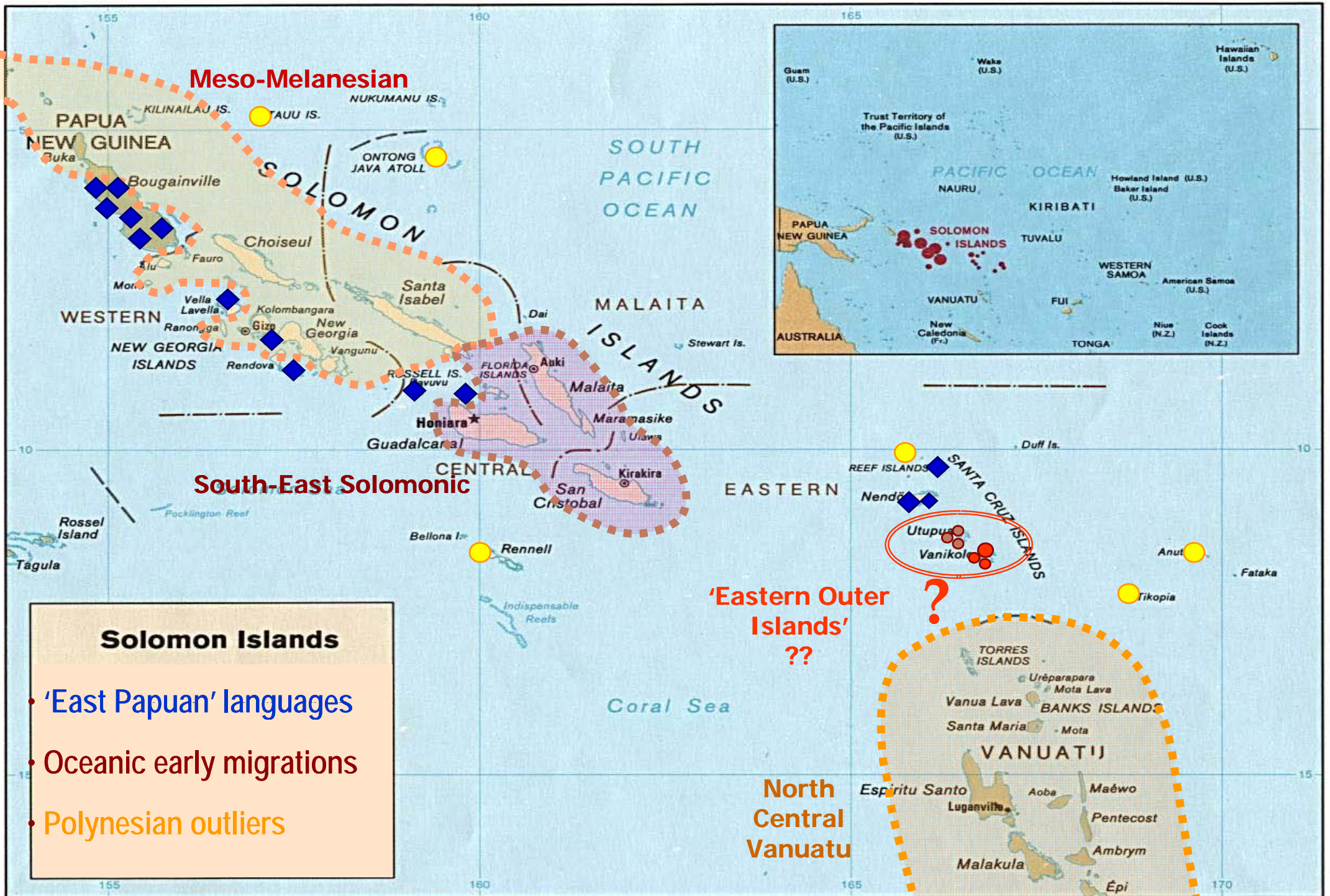
A.L.L.2 ~ UKARG
Oxford, 3rd June 2006

Alexandre FRANÇOIS
LACITO — C.N.R.S — Paris

Presentation

- Darrell Tryon (1994: 635) says:
“The status of the six languages of Utupua and Vanikoro is in no doubt. These are **clearly Austronesian languages** by any standards.”
- Focusing on the languages of Vanikoro, I'd like to show there is room for doubt on that assumption:
 - either the languages of Vanikoro **are *not* Austronesian**
 - or **if they indeed *are* Austronesian**, this is anything but ‘clear’, because most of their AN characteristics have disappeared.
- This paper will not come up with definite conclusions: at least I'd like to **show *there is a problem to be solved by future research*** — a problem overlooked by former accounts.





The three languages of Vanikoro

■ The three languages of Vanikoro

			<i>my text corpus</i>
■	<i>Teanu</i> (Buma)	800 speakers	14300 words
■	<i>Lovono</i> (Vano)	4 speakers	1410 words
■	<i>Tanema</i>	3 speakers	1133 words

- Although these 3 languages share the same syntax, they show spectacular formal (lexical, morphological) diversity.

■ Example

'We were in our garden, we've been planting crops.'

1exc:pl-*stay* *in* *garden* *our* 1exc:pl-*plant* *food*

TEA Pi-te ne sekele iupa, pi-wowo none.

LVN Nupe-lu ne amenonga iemitore, nupe-ngoia nane.

TNM Tei-o ini vasangola akegamuto, ti-oa bauva.

The three languages of Vanikoro

- Before even looking at the relations of Vanikoro with external languages, this spectacular **formal diversity *within Vanikoro*** is in itself a puzzle that deserves to be solved in the future.
- This situation recalls (at least impressionistically) the diversity found between Papuan languages – much more so than between any two close AN languages.
- For methodological reasons, I will essentially focus on one language in this demonstration: **Teanu**.
It can be seen as representative of the 3 languages, at least regarding the difficulty of proving their AN status.

Searching for Oceanic cognates

- Observing the lexicon of Teanu:
 - Most lexical items seem disconnected from any known POc etyma.
 - Only 87 items (out of 1100) retained my attention as of possible Oceanic origin.
 - **87** is not negligible
(indeed these items are often cited as evidence that Teanu is Oceanic)
 - but this corresponds to only **7.9** percent of the lexicon,
which is close to the margin of error (chance and borrowing)
 - Moreover:
Among these 87 items, phonological correspondences are irregular and often require *ad hoc* hypotheses.

Searching for Oceanic cognates

	POc	Kahua [S.E.Solomonic]	Teanu [Vanikoro]	Lo-Toga [N.C.Vanuatu]
<i>yesterday</i>	*nañorap	nanora	pepane	nənorə
<i>red</i>	*meRaq	memera		məmi
<i>snake</i>	*m ^w ata	m ^w a	abilo	ŋ ^w etə
<i>village</i>	*panua	hinua	kulumoe	βənüə
<i>bamboo</i>	*qauR	yau		ɔ
<i>die</i>	*mate	mae	-bu	met
<i>sleep</i>	*maturuR	mauru		mətür
<i>his/her hair</i>	*pulu-ña	huru-na	fiabasa ini	lü-nə
<i>sago palm</i>	*qatop	ao		et
<i>you two</i>	*kamiu rua	yamirua		kəmyr

Searching for Oceanic cognates

	POc	Kahua [S.E.Solomonic]	Teanu [Vanikoro]	Lo-Toga [N.C.Vanuatu]
<i>yesterday</i>	*nañorap	nanora	pepane	nənorə
<i>red</i>	*meRaq	memera	<i>moloe</i>	məmi
<i>snake</i>	*m ^w ata	m ^w a	abilo	ŋ ^w etə
<i>village</i>	*panua	hinua	kulumoe	βənüə
<i>bamboo</i>	*qauR	yau	<i>okoro</i>	ɔ
<i>die</i>	*mate	mae	-bu	met
<i>sleep</i>	*maturuR	mauru	<i>-mokoiu</i>	mətür
<i>his/her hair</i>	*pulu-ña	huru-na	fiabasa ini	lü-nə
<i>sago palm</i>	*qatop	ao	<i>otovo</i>	et
<i>you two</i>	*kamiu rua	yamirua	<i>kela</i>	kəmür

Searching for Oceanic cognates

	POc	Kahua [S.E.Solomonic]	Teanu [Vanikoro]	Lo-Toga [N.C.Vanuatu]
<i>yesterday</i>	*nañorap	nanora	pepane	nənorə
<i>red</i>	*meRaq	memera	<i>moloe</i>	məmi
<i>snake</i>	*m ^w ata	m ^w a	abilo	ŋ ^w etə
<i>village</i>	*panua	hinua	kulumoe	βənüə
<i>bamboo</i>	*qauR	yau	<i>okoro</i>	ɔ
<i>die</i>	*mate	mae	-bu	met
<i>sleep</i>	*maturuR	mauru	<i>-mokoIU</i>	mətür
<i>his/her hair</i>	*pulu-ña	huru-na	fiabasa ini	lü-nə
<i>sago palm</i>	*qatop	ao	()otovo	et
<i>you two</i>	*kamiu rua	yamirua	<i>kela</i>	kəmür

Searching for Oceanic cognates

menuko	'bird'	<	POc *manuk	
ma	'arm, hand'	<	POc *lima	?
luo	'coconut'	<	POc *niuR	?
aele	'leg, foot'	<	POc *qaqe	?
uo	'yam'	<	POc *qupi	?
basa	'head'	<	POc *b ^(w) atu	?
bwogo	'night'	<	POc *boŋi	?
foŋoro	'Canarium'	<	POc *[ka]ŋaRi	?
diŋobe	'Kingfisher'	<	POc *sikon	?
iawo	'fire'	<	POc *api	?
-wene	'lie down'	<	POc *qenop	?
-punuo	'steal'	<	POc *panako	?
-leŋi	'hear, feel'	<	POc *roŋoR	?
-le	'go'	<	POc *lako	?

Searching for Oceanic morphosyntax

- The typological features of Vanikoro languages are generally reminiscent of other Oceanic languages
 - S-V-O order
 - Possessed-Possessor
 - Prepositions
 - [Noun-Adj-Dem]
 - Verbs take subject prefixes (Realis vs Irrealis)
 - Serial verb constructions
 - Verb 'say' grammaticalised as Complementiser
 - Three numbers (sing, dual, plural); no gender, no case
 - Contrast of (in)alienability + Food/drink classifiers
 - Geocentric system of space reference

Searching for Oceanic morphosyntax

- The typological features of Vanikoro languages are generally reminiscent of other Oceanic languages

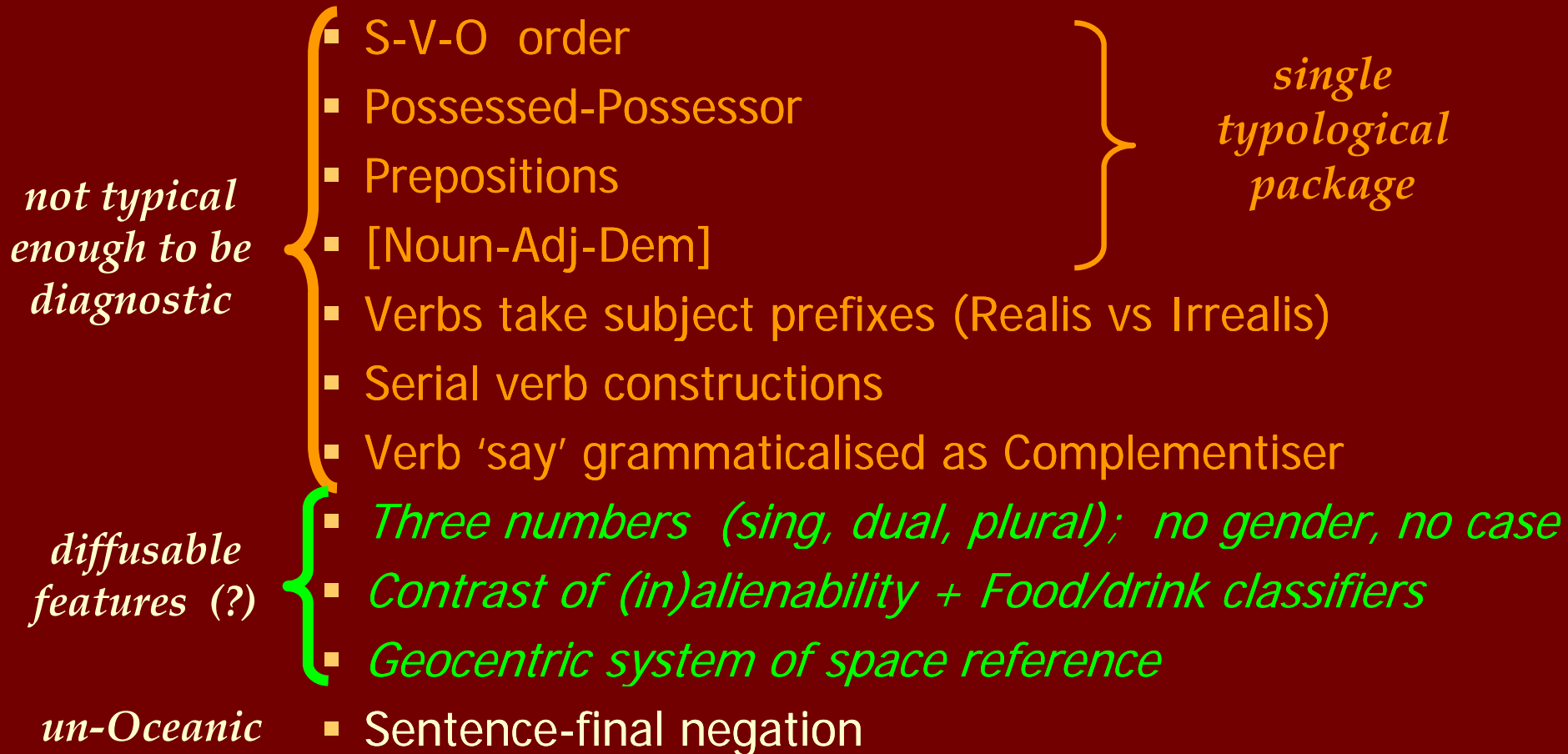
*not typical
enough to be
diagnostic*

- S-V-O order
- Possessed-Possessor
- Prepositions
- [Noun-Adj-Dem]
- Verbs take subject prefixes (Realis vs Irrealis)
- Serial verb constructions
- Verb 'say' grammaticalised as Complementiser
- Three numbers (sing, dual, plural); no gender, no case
- Contrast of (in)alienability + Food/drink classifiers
- Geocentric system of space reference

*single
typological
package*

Searching for Oceanic morphosyntax

- The typological features of Vanikoro languages are generally reminiscent of other Oceanic languages



Searching for Oceanic morphology

- Subject prefixes of Teanu

	SING	DUAL	PLUR
1incl		la-	li- le-
1excl	ni- ne-	ba-	pi- pe-
2	a- u-	ba-	pi- pe-
3	i-	la-	li- le-

- Subject prefixes of POC (Lynch, Ross, Crowley 2002: 67)

	SING	DUAL	PLUR
1incl		*ta-	*ta-
1excl	*ku- ~ *au-	—	—
2	*mu- ~ *ko-	—	—
3	*a- ~ *i-	*ra-	*ra-

Searching for Oceanic morphology

- Independent pronouns of Teanu

	SING	DUAL	PLUR
1incl		kia	kiapa
1excl	ene	keba	kupa
2	eo	kela	kaipa
3	ini	da	dapa

- Independent pronouns of POC (Lynch, Ross, Crowley 2002: 67)

	SING	DUAL	PLUR
1incl		<i>*kita rua</i>	<i>*kita</i>
1excl	<i>*[i]au</i>	<i>*ka[m]i rua</i>	<i>*ka[m]i</i>
2	<i>*[i]ko[e]</i>	<i>*kamiu rua</i>	<i>*kamiu</i>
3	<i>*ia</i>	<i>*ra rua</i>	<i>*[k]ira</i>

Searching for Oceanic morphology

■ Possessive markers of Teanu

	SING	DUAL	PLUR
1incl		i-akia	i-akapa
1excl	enone	i-aba	i-upa
2	i-ono	i-amela	i-aipa
3	i-ape	i-ada	i-adapa

■ Possessive suffixes of POC (Lynch, Ross, Crowley 2002: 67)

	SING	DUAL	PLUR
1incl		<i>(*da rua)</i>	<i>*da</i>
1excl	<i>*gu</i>	—	<i>*ma[m]i</i>
2	<i>*mu</i>	—	<i>*m[i]u</i>
3	<i>*ña</i>	<i>(*ra rua)</i>	<i>*ra</i>

Searching for Oceanic morphology

■ Noun morphology

- **no** trace of article **na*
- **no** affixation on inalienable nouns (personal suffixes, **-qi*, ...)
- Food/Drink classifier ($\approx \emptyset$ -) does not reflect **ka-*
 - Drink classifier *me* (<POc **ma-*) in little use [borrowed?]

■ Verb morphology

- **no** trace of POc object suffixes
- **no** trace of transitiviser **-i*
- **no** trace of applicative **-aki(n)*
- **no** valency-changing affixes (Causative **paka-*, Reciprocal **paRi-...*)
- **no** derivation { Verbs \longleftrightarrow Nouns } (!)
- **no** use of reduplication (!)

- The evidence that we are dealing with an AN language is **slim**.

Possible explanations

- We have *roughly*
{ Oceanic structures, non-Oceanic forms }
- Possible explanations
 - language contact *or* language shift
between AN and Non-AN (=Papuan) language
 - language-internal change

The language contact hypothesis

1. Papuan language influenced by Austronesian input?

- would account for the massively non-AN/OC forms
- requires less than **7.9** % of lexicon (+ **1** % of morphology) being borrowed from AN source
 - these are **likely figures**
- **but** requires almost all syntactic patterns to be borrowed (calqued?) from AN source.
 - **is this a likely scenario??**
- Would be a case of **metatypy** (Ross 1996):
a NAN language having its syntactic structures reshaped through contact with AN...

The language contact hypothesis

2. Austronesian language influenced by Papuan input?

- would account for the AN/OC features
- *but* would require **92** % of lexical borrowing (or change)
+ **99** % of morphological borrowing (or change)
- **Problem** of the 'Papuan' side of the coin: the surrounding 'East Papuan' languages do not seem to qualify as likely donors.
[...but more information would be welcome]

The esoterogeny hypothesis

3. A 'purely' Austronesian language?

- We may be dealing with an essentially AN / OC language, which for some reason would have drastically renewed its lexicon and morphology, 'language internally'.
 - There would be no Papuan donor to look for.
 - Structures kept intact, 92% of forms renewed.
- One possible sociolinguistic explanation:
the phenomenon of *esoterogeny* (Thurston 1989, Ross 1996).
 - = The tendency for speakers to keep their language increasingly distinct from neighbouring languages, especially through lexical innovations.

Conclusion

- Something spectacular has happened...
 1. NAN influenced by AN:
spectacular case of **metatypy** (calqued morphosyntax)
 2. AN influenced by NAN:
spectacular case of extensive **lexical borrowing**
 3. AN language with mainly 'internal' evolution:
spectacular case of **esoterogeny** and **lexical replacement**
- No hypothesis really prevails.
- But the ***esoterogeny hypothesis*** seems favoured by:
 - existence of about 80 words of probable/possible Oceanic origin
 - seeming absence of any likely Papuan lexifier (?)
 - strong tendency for esoterogeny and lexical replacement exists already *between* the three languages of Vanikoro

Conclusion

The languages of Vanikoro
may be of Austronesian origin

(?)