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14

Grammaticalization in Oceanic languages

CLAIRE MOYSE-FAURIE

14.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter on grammaticalization in Oceanic languages is structured as follows. In section 14.1, after a presentation of the Oceanic languages subgroup, and the list of languages cited (14.1.1), the main typological features found in these languages with regard to grammaticalization processes will be set out (14.1.2). Section 14.2 will present processes with verbs as sources, most often starting out from serial verb constructions. Verbs that have changed to grammatical morphemes may still function as main verbs. The relevant verbs mainly belong to specific semantic classes, such as verbs of posture and motion, phasal verbs, verbs of transfer and saying, and from these sources they have developed into a wide variety of functional types of morphemes. Section 14.3 will examine cases of grammaticalization from nominal sources, giving rise to classifiers, aspect and relative markers, and adpositions. Section 14.4 will be concerned with further cases of grammaticalization, starting from already grammatical items such as possessive suffixes developing into benefactive markers. Section 14.5 will examine some interesting cases of relexification, some of them also issued from serial verb constructions, others resulting from a less grammaticalized status. Finally, in section 14.6, I will question the unidirectionality of grammaticalization processes, by examining such cases of evolution as the reanalysis of an applicative suffix into a preposition, or the formation of existential and manner verbs from demonstratives.

14.1.1 THE OCEANIC SUBGROUP

The approximately 500 Oceanic languages belong to a well-defined and major subgroup of the Austronesian family (Figure 14.1; Table 14.1). About half of them are spoken in New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, and the northwest Solomon Islands (including Bougainville), 170 or so in the other parts of Melanesia (southeast

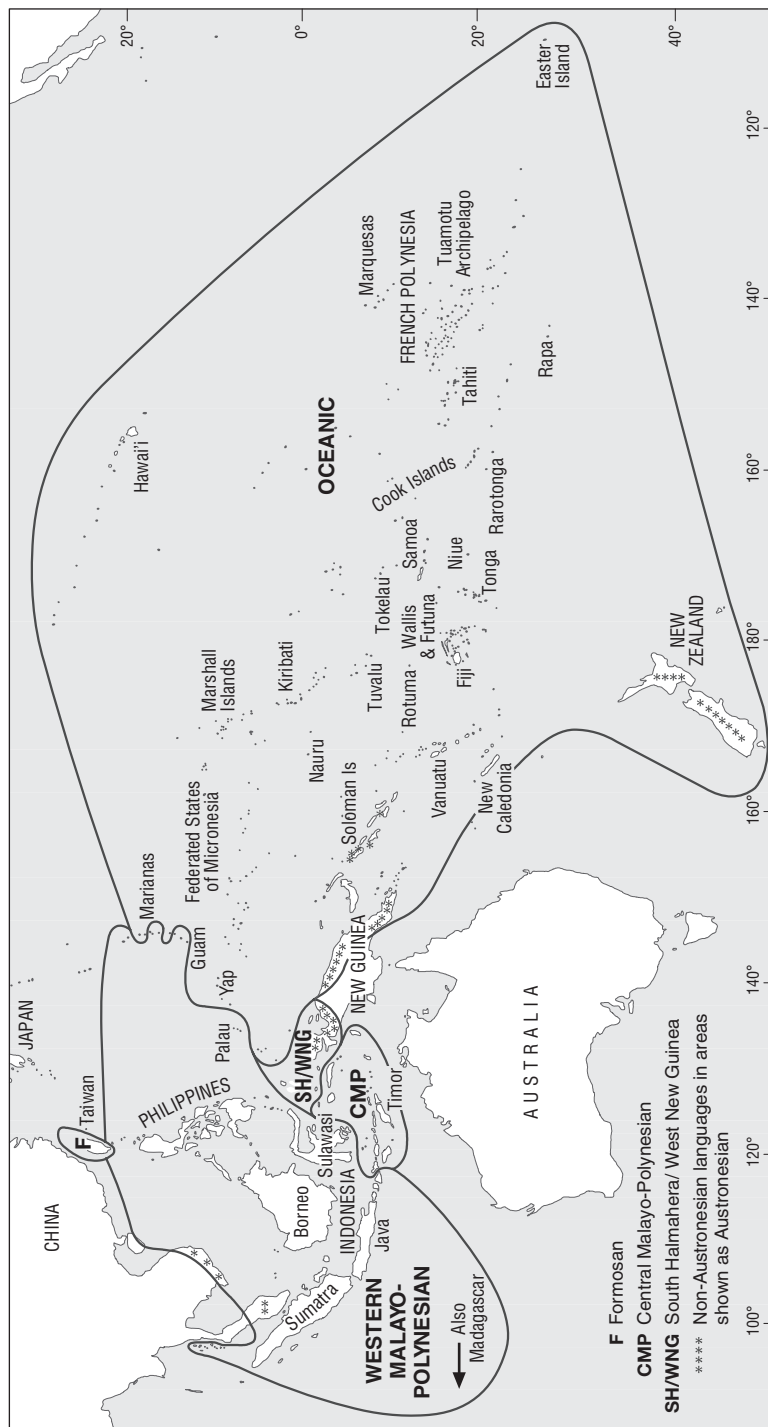


FIG. 14.1. The Austronesian family and major Austronesian language groups
(source: John Lynch, Malcolm Ross, and Terry Crowley, *The Oceanic languages* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002), 3)

TABLE 14.1. Main Oceanic subgroups with languages mentioned in this chapter

Admiralty Islands		<i>Paluai, Loniū</i>
Western Oceanic	North New Guinea Papuan Tip Cluster Meso-Melanesian Cluster	Kaliai, Manam Kilivila, Saliba Tigak
Eastern Oceanic	Southeast Solomonian	Kwaio, Nggela, Toqabaqita
	New Caledonia	Nêlêmwa, Nyelâyu, Cèmuhi, Xârâcùù
	Loyalty Islands	Drehu, Iaaï
	Nuclear Micronesian	Mokilese
	North and Central Vanuatu	Lewo, Lolovoli, Mwotlap, Paamese
	South Vanuatu	Anejoñ, Neve’ei, South Efate
	Central Pacific: Fijian Polynesian	Wayan Fijian East Futunan, East Uvean, Hawaiian, Māori, Marquesan, Samoan, Tahitian, Tokelauan, Tongan, Tuvaluan, Vaeakau-Taumako

Solomon, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, and Fiji), 15 in Micronesia, and about 35 belong to the Polynesian subgroup. Proto-Oceanic was almost certainly spoken in the Bismarck Archipelago by the bearers of the archaeological culture known as Lapita, and broke up about 3,000 years ago when bearers of this culture spread across the previously uninhabited island groups of the southwest Pacific east of the main Solomon group, as far east as western Polynesia (Kirch 1997; Pawley 2007).

14.1.2 A PERSPECTIVE ON GRAMMATICALIZATION

Oceanic languages show a great deal of variation in their basic constituent order and in their valency structure. Many of them, however, have serial verb constructions, possessive and numeral classifiers, and rich inventories of intensifiers,¹ which are typically used as reflexive markers. All of these features are relevant for a discussion of grammaticalization issues. I will investigate whether or not the grammaticalization paths found in Oceanic languages resemble those described by Heine and Kuteva (2002), Narrog and Heine (2011b), and others, or whether some of them are rarely

¹ Throughout this chapter, I will use the term ‘intensifier’ to designate not adverbs of degree like English *very*, but ‘operators denoting an identity function’ like Latin *ipse*, German *selbst*, or Russian *sam*. Four use types can be distinguished for such expressions (also called ‘emphatics’ in grammars of English): adnominal, exclusive adverbial, inclusive adverbial, and attributive (König and Gast 2006). As shown by König and Siemund (2000), intensifiers play an important role in the genesis, reinforcement, and renovation of reflexive anaphors.

found outside of Oceanic. The following developments seem to be of the second type, either (i) with verbs as the source (e.g. ‘to go down’ > reflexive and reciprocal marker, or ‘to return’, ‘again’ > preposition (‘until’), discourse particle, etc.; or ‘to leave’ > non-beneficiary preposition); or (ii) with nouns as the source (e.g. ‘thing’ > stative marker², or ‘child’ > relative marker. I will also present several cases of relexification that are relevant to the Oceanic languages (section 14.5), as well as unusual developments from grammaticalized morphemes to less grammaticalized ones (section 14.6).

Oceanic languages also share a constituent type, referred to here as the ‘verb complex’, with a characteristic internal structure (Pawley 2003): ‘(i) It has as its nucleus a verb base or compound verb around which a number of grammatical functors occur in rigid order [...]. (ii) It is normally spoken as single intonation contour [...].’ The peripheral functors (particles) are usually free forms, as in Wayan Fijian, which has VO word order, as illustrated in example (1), but in some Oceanic languages they have become affixes, as in Manam, an OV word order language, as in (2).

Wayan Fijian (Central Pacific)

- (1) Quu saa maci mai noo tuu...
 1SG.SBJ PFV again come stay CONT
 ‘I’m supposed to come and stay as well ...’ (Pawley and Sayaba 2003)

Manam (North New Guinea)

- (2) Tanepwa ma? mi-an-Ø-a-ŋ-ʔo.
 chief chicken 1SG.SBJ.IRR-give-3SGO-BUF-BEN-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I will give a chicken to the chief for you.’ (Lichtenberk 1983: 167, cited in Pawley 2003: 150)

I will mainly follow Frank Lichtenberk’s grammaticalization perspective.² This perspective entails a focus on the following results and consequences of grammaticalization: (i) emergence of a new grammatical category; (ii) loss of an existing grammatical category; (iii) change in the membership of a grammatical category; and (iv) semantic reanalysis leading to polysemy, resulting either in multiple meanings within the same grammatical category, or in heterosemy, i.e. in multicategorical or multifunctional polysemy (Lichtenberk 1991a, 1991b, 2002a, 2009, 2013).

Throughout this chapter, I will present grammaticalization processes which are representative of this perspective, both with respect to the syntactic evolution and with respect to the semantic reanalysis. As already mentioned, I will also present some changes more rarely described, in which the original lexical use of a word often still coexists with its grammaticalized counterpart.

² Frank Lichtenberk, who tragically died in 2015, would have been the most qualified specialist to contribute to this volume. In fact, most of the Oceanic examples included in the *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* are from Frank’s contributions. It is with gratitude and memories of inspiring discussions that I acknowledge the role played by Frank’s ideas in this survey. I am also grateful to Andrew Pawley and to Ekkehard König for comments on an earlier version of this article.

14.2 THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF VERBS

The reanalysis of verbs as prepositions is a well-known and common phenomenon (cf. e.g. König and Kortmann 1991). In Oceanic languages, the process mainly took place through the evolution of coverbs and serial verb constructions.

The serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Oceanic languages which are of interest in this connection are of the ‘nuclear’ serialization type,³ ‘where the verbs are bound together and have only a single set of arguments’ (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002: 47). Two recurrent types of grammaticalization took place, called ‘centrifugal’ and ‘centripetal’, respectively, by Pawley (2003), following Durie (1988). The first (V₁) or last verb (V₂) of the series becomes grammaticalized as a ‘verb-like preposition’ (also called ‘verbal preposition’, or ‘prepositional verb’), as locative, aspect, or topic marker, first staying in its original position, then moving to the periphery (Bril and Ozanne-Rivierre 2004; Crowley 1987; Durie 1988; Lichtenberk 1985, 1991a, 1991b; Pawley 1973; Ross 2004). It is important to point out that although the grammaticalization of V₂ is more frequent even in verb-initial or verb-medial Oceanic languages, the grammaticalization of V₁, mostly developing into aspectual and modal uses, is also attested, as shown in the following East Uvean example. The verb *lolotoga* ‘to last’ is rarely used as an autonomous predicate (3a):

- (3) a. 'E **lolotoga** te misa kae au 'alu au ki te falekoloa.
 NPAST last SPC mass but 1SG go 1SG OBL SPC store
 ‘I am going to the store during Mass.’ (lit. ‘Mass is going on but I go to the store’)

It tends to grammaticalize as an aspect to mark the progressive (3b):

- b. 'E matou **lolotoga** lalaga te fala o tomatou falefono.
 NPST 1PL.EXCL last weave SPC mat POSS our meeting house
 ‘We are weaving the mat for our meeting house.’ (Moyse-Faurie 2004: 214)

On the other hand, lexical words or particles are attracted into the verb complex, giving rise to adverbs of manner-deixis, quantifiers, or to completely new lexicalized entities (cf. 14.5).

Ross (2004) analyses the development of the directional (ad)verbs from a semantic point of view, differentiating between (i) deictic directionals, indicating direction relative to the speaker, and (ii) geographic directionals indicating direction relative to absolute points in the environment (in Oceania, these are mainly mountains, the sea, east, and west). He further distinguishes between directionals which still are, or are no longer, verbs, i.e. those which have evolved into pre-verbal clitics (less frequently

³ The other type of serial verb constructions is the ‘core’ construction, in which the verbs remain separate. ‘Core’ constructions also have undergone grammaticalization processes, mainly an adverbial specialization of the second verb, and the evolution of the first verb as a classificatory prefix. These grammaticalization types are, however, much more frequent and diversified in the nuclear serialization type.

from a sequential SVC), prepositions (locative, ablative, or allative), or relators (more frequent, from directional SVCs) on the one hand, and, on the other, those which have lexicalized (cf. 14.2.2).

Both intransitive and transitive verbs can grammaticalize into prepositions, but directionals mostly come from intransitive motion verbs. Formal modifications linked to the grammaticalization process, either phonological reduction or on the opposite, reduplication, will only be briefly mentioned.

I will now discuss the most frequent grammaticalization paths associated with verbs in Oceanic languages, pointing out in more detail the semantics of the verbs along with resulting functions which are not widely attested cross-linguistically. In Oceania, very precise spatial representations are important, not only for motion or localization but also for many other types of events and states, for existential constructions and even abstract notions. Besides the well-known ‘come’ and ‘go’ motion verbs, the ‘go up’ and ‘go down’ verbs are linked to the geographical environment of the Oceanic islands, where reaching the coast from the sea or going inland is ‘to go up’, while going towards the seaside, or open sea, or ‘in the wind’ sailing conditions is ‘to go down’. The constant use of directional adverbs, after any kind of verb, is arguably a reflection of the specific Oceanic environment, and the further evolution of almost all deictic and geographic directionals in various grammatical morphemes is typologically quite distinctive.

Another interesting typological point must be mentioned here. In many cases, the verbal grammaticalization leads to so-called ‘splits’ (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991b: 67), since the original function and meaning of the verb is often preserved.⁴ There is then a divergence between the former and the new functions that does not affect the existence of the original verb. Therefore, in most of the cases presented in this chapter no replacement of the lexical verb occurred.

14.2.1 VERBS OF POSTURE AND LOCALIZATION > ASPECTUAL MARKERS OR DEMONSTRATIVES

Lichtenberk (2002a) offers a thorough analysis of the evolution of posture verbs in Oceanic: they exhibit lexical polysemy, manifesting, in addition to their posture meaning (‘sit’, ‘stand’, ‘lie’, and ‘squat’), locative meanings (‘be at a place’, ‘dwell’, ‘reside’), and existential meanings (‘exist’, ‘be available’, ‘be present’). Posture verbs are also found in aspectual functions (progressive, frequentative, persistent, durative, continuative); they may keep their verbal status, with only a few restrictions, or become aspectual particles, as in Fijian (Lichtenberk 2002a: 291–7). Early (2000: 94) discusses in detail the grammaticalization pathways of posture verbs in Lewo (Vanuatu), in accordance with what is predictable in grammaticalization theory.

⁴ Of course, there are exceptions. For example, the Toqabaqita comitative marker and coordinator *bial/bii* are reflexes of a transitive verb which no longer exists, but verbal cognates are found in the neighbouring languages (Lichtenberk 2009: 242), with meanings such as ‘be one with’, ‘be a partner’, ‘assist, help’. Another important exception concerns the lexicalization of former serial verbs, which gave rise to lexical prefixes through compounding, often without any verbal correspondences maintained (cf. 14.5).

Combined with the durative aspect, *to* ‘sit’ indicates temporary duration, while *mo-* (< *mono* ‘lie’) indicates a more permanent duration, as shown in example (4b).

Lewo (North Vanuatu)

- (4) a. A-kinana ña-ga.
 3PL.SBJ-eat DUR-just
 ‘They were eating.’
 b. A-mo-ña a-kinana.
 3PL.SBJ-lie-DUR 3PL.SBJ eat
 ‘They continued eating.’ (Early 2000: 100)

In New Caledonian languages, the verbs ‘stand’ and ‘sit’ are the ones used to express similar aspectual values, as in the following Nyelâyu example, in which the verb *taa* ‘sit’ expresses the continuative aspect when occurring as V1:

Nyelâyu (New Caledonia, North of the Mainland)

- (5) Yo *taa* boram bwa no-n ta mwa.
 2SG sit bathe ASS 1SG.PFV go.up back
 ‘Go on bathing, as for myself, I go back up (on the beach).’ (Ozanne-Rivierre 1998: 202)

In Xârâcùù the locative verb *nöö* ‘be at (a place) momentarily’, as in (6a), has grammaticalized into an adverb (‘lately’) and a distal demonstrative (‘there, away from the speaker and the hearer, but still visible’) as in (6b), and also forms locative adverbs.

Xârâcùù (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

- (6) a. Xù mê péci bwa è *nöö* binêrè-kùrè. (verb)
 give VENT book DEM 3SG be.at side-cooking.pot
 ‘Give me the book which is next to the cooking pot.’
 b. Fîda taiki *nöö* ngê chaa kwââ. (demonstrative)
 hit dog DIST with one stick
 ‘Hit that dog [over there] with a stick!’

14.2.2 VERBS OF MOTION OR PATH > DIRECTIONALS > FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

According to Pawley (1973, 2003) and Ross (2004), the development of verbs of movement into deictic directionals was already achieved in Proto-Oceanic for *mai ‘come’ > ‘towards speaker’ and *[w]atu ‘go away’ > ‘towards addressee’, ‘away from speaker’. For Proto-Polynesian, three other directionals are reconstructed: *hake ‘upward’, *hifo ‘downward’, and *ane ‘along, obliquely’. Two of these stem from verbs in Proto-Oceanic: POc *sake ‘go upward’ and *sifo ‘go downward’ (Ross 2004). Looking at the grammaticalization paths of verbs of movement in several Oceanic languages, Lichtenberk (1991b, 2003) pointed out that meaning extension is not arbitrary, since metaphor and metonymy play an important role in this process, and

he also showed how an extension in the meaning is motivated by the relation perceived by the speakers between the new and the old items. Different paths of development starting out from motion verbs will be presented below, some well attested elsewhere, others more specific to Oceanic languages, such as the grammaticalization of the verbs ‘go down’ or ‘return’ (cf. 14.2.3.).

In some languages, both uses, as verb and as directional, are still maintained. This is the case, for example, in Xârâcùù, where *mê* ‘come’ or *fê* ‘go’ are used as a lexical verb or a directional, depending on the word order. In first position they are verbs, as *fê* ‘go’ in (7a), but in second position, they are directionals, as *mê* ‘come’ in (7a) and *fê* ‘go’ in (7b):

- (7) a. Nâ pè **mê** nèké bwa ke fê mênêi na.
 1SG take VENT basket DEIC 2SG go forget PST
 ‘I take with me the basket you forgot.’ (lit. ‘I take towards me the basket you went away (and) forgot’)
- b. Pè fê mîi ku a!
 take CFUG DEM.PL yam DEIC
 ‘Take away these yams!’

In South Efate (Vanuatu), *mai* ‘come’, ‘in addition to acting as main and auxiliary verb, can occur following a locational object’:

- (8) Nañer nen ru=pa raru **mai**.
 people that 3PL.REALIS=drive canoe VENT
 ‘Those people bring canoes.’ (Thieberger 2006: 240)

Although deictic as well as geographic directionals pertain to spatial reference, they are also found in other functions. Indeed, it is in the evolution from verbs of motion and directionals that Oceanic languages show the largest variety of grammaticalization paths, a few of them seldom encountered elsewhere: e.g. ‘go.to’ > preposition ‘according to’ or adverbial marker; ventive or centrifugal directionals > comparative markers; downward directional > intensifier, reflexive and reciprocal markers.

14.2.2.1 Directionals developing into benefactive or recipient markers

Deictic directionals may refer to participants not explicitly mentioned in the discourse, as is the case in East Futunan with *atu* ‘towards addressee’, as in (9), or with the ventive one, *mai* ‘towards speaker’ in Māori, as in (10):

- East Futunan
- (9) E kau kole **atu** ke ke ’au.
 NPST 1SG ask CFUG in.order.to 2SG come
 ‘I am asking you to come’. (Moyse-Faurie 1997: 112)
- Māori
- (10) Nā te kurī i amu **mai** te rākau.
 belong the dog PST bring VENT the stick
 ‘The dog brought me a stick.’ (Bauer 1997: 351)

14.2.2.2 Directionals with aspectual or modal values

The aspectual or modal values evolving from motion verbs through directionals are more diverse than those of the posture verbs. Interesting developments are described by Besnier (2000) in Tuvaluan, a Polynesian language that possesses four directionals: *mai* ‘hither (ventive)’, *atu* ‘thither (centrifugal)’, *aka* ‘up, above, landward’, *ifo* ‘down, below, seaward’. *Mai* is used to express the following changes:⁵ ‘Changes from sleeping to waking, from childhood to adulthood, from nonbeing or death to life, from darkness to light, from poor to good health, as in (11), and from generally less to more desirable states’ (Besnier 2000: 526):

Tuvaluan

- (11) Fakafetai me teenei koo feoloolo **mai**.
 thank because this INC middling VENT
 ‘Thank you, I’m feeling better.’ (Besnier 2000: 526)

Moreover: ‘*Mai* may appear when the situation denoted by the verb has reached a conclusion, in which case it often implies that the participants have returned from the venue of the situation’ (Besnier 2000: 526), as in (12):

- (12) Laatou koo pei tili **mai**.
 3PL INC cast fishing net VENT
 ‘They have returned from net-fishing.’ (Besnier 2000: 526)

In contrast, *atu* may appear when the situation denoted by the verb is continuous or recurring, as in (13), but may also modify verbs denoting changes in the opposite direction from *mai*:

- (13) Au e takatokato **atu** fua.
 1SG NPST lounge around CFUG just
 ‘I’m just lounging around.’ (Besnier 2000: 526)

Besnier (2000: 527) states: ‘Many metaphorical uses of *aka* and *ifo* overlap with uses of *mai* and *atu*, respectively. For instance, *aka*, like *mai*, can denote changes from darkness to light, from childhood to adulthood [etc.]’. The choice of a personal directional versus a local directional is also relevant. In example (14a), the metaphorical use of the personal directional *mai* indicates that the increasing wind will affect the people present in this location, while in example (14b), the local directional *aka* only expresses the increasing of the wind:

- (14) a. Te matagi koo tuku **mai**.
 ART wind INC let VENT
 ‘The wind is increasing [and is going to affect us].’
 b. Te matagi koo tuku **aka**.
 ART wind INC let UP
 ‘The wind is increasing [and may or may not affect us].’ (Besnier 2000: 527)

⁵ There are many parallels with the English verb ‘come’: *come of age*, *come to light*, *come alive*, *come to one’s senses*, *come true* (Ekkehard König, p.c.).

The upward directional may also express an event that has come to a complete end, as in the following Tokelauan example:

- (15) Fanake ai la, kua hālo ake.
 go.up ANA INT PFV wipe UP
 ‘He goes up inland, he is completely wiped out.’ (Hooper 2004)

In Marquesan (Cablitz 2006: 444–5), the downward directional *iho* is also a relative tense marker ‘expressing that an event has happened soon/just after another event’, while the centrifugal directional *atu* ‘often expresses remoteness to a reference point on the time axis’.

In Māori, according to Bauer (1997: 360–62), ‘all directionals have uses in temporal contexts’. *Mai* is used to emphasize the starting point of a period of time, which may be in the past, or in the future as in (16),⁶ and which may be of a specified duration or open-ended.

- (16) *Mai* a tērā tau ko Pou te heamana.
 VENT at(FUT) that year PRED Pou the chairman
 ‘The chairman from next year on will be Pou.’ (Bauer 1997: 360)

Atu ‘thither’ combined with the local noun *mua* ‘before’ expresses prior location in time. *Ake* ‘upwards’ sometimes occurs with future events, especially immediate future, while *iho* ‘downwards’ is commonly used to mean ‘from time past towards the present’, as in (17):

- (17) Kātahi ia ka whakataukī iho.
 then 3SG TAM utter a proverb DOWN
 ‘Then she uttered this [prophetic] saying...’ (Bauer 1997: 362)

In Tokelauan, in Marquesan or in Tuvaluan, ‘upwards’ can be used as a polite downtoner (Besnier 2000: 35; Cablitz 2006: 447; Hooper 2004).

In Drehu (Lifu, Loyalty Islands), the verb *tro* ‘go’ (18a), although not a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic verb *(w)atu ‘go’, has undergone the same sort of evolution, expressing future tense, as in (18b). *Tro* is also used as an obligation marker when combined with the imperfective aspect *a*, as shown in example (18c); in both cases it is still compatible with the original verb:

- (18) a. Eni a tro Drehu elany.
 1SG IPFV go Lifu tomorrow
 ‘I am going to Lifu tomorrow.’
 b. Tro ni a tro Drehu elany.
 FUT 1SG IPFV go Lifu tomorrow
 ‘I will go to Lifu tomorrow.’
 c. Troa tro elany la he.
 OBLIG go tomorrow ART boat
 ‘The boat should/must go tomorrow.’ (Moyse-Faurie 1983)

⁶ Again we have clear parallels for the future use of ‘come’ in English: *Come Monday things will be all right* (Eckehard König, p.c.).

In some Oceanic languages, directionals can be part of noun phrases, like *ake* ‘up’ in East Uvean which also conveys an aspectual value in this nominal context:

- (19) I te 'aho aké ne'e matou olo o gelu.
 OBL SPC day UP PST 1PL.EXCL go(PL) COMP fish
 ‘On the next day, we went fishing.’ (Moyse-Faurie 2016: 89)

14.2.2.3 Verbs expressing comparison of inequality

Depending on the language concerned, either deictic or geographic directionals can be used in comparative constructions. In Loniū (Hamel 1993: 118), it is the verbs *la* (variant *le*) ‘go’ and *me* ‘come’ that are used as comparative markers, while keeping their subject clitics, as illustrated in (20).

- Loniū (Papua New Guinea)
 (20) Ké itiyo elewen i-le ké itiyen.
 wood this long REALIS.3SG-go wood that
 ‘This stick is longer than that stick.’ (Hamel 1993: 118)

The fact that the subject clitic is retained throws doubt on the grammatical status of these comparative markers. According to Durie (1988: 18), ‘overt morphological coding of verbal status inhibits the drift to preposition’; their status, however, is no longer verbal either.⁷

In Samoan, according to Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992: 379), only the deictic centrifugal directional *atu* ‘towards the addressee’ enters comparative constructions. In most Polynesian languages, however, it is verbs meaning ‘go down’ and ‘go up’ that are used for comparatives of inequality. Reflexes of Proto-Polynesian *hake ‘go up’ are used when the comparison or action denotes an increase in quantity or height (‘More is up’, Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 15, 20): better, higher status, older, healthier, etc., while reflexes of *hifo ‘go down’ are used when the comparison involves a decrease or a lower height as in example (21), or quantity. In Tuvaluan, both *ifo* ‘downwards’ and *aka* ‘upwards’ enter comparative constructions:

- (21) E maalalo ifo te taipola i te sefe.
 NPST low DOWN the table at the larder
 ‘The table is lower down than the larder.’ (Besnier 2000: 218)

In Tuvaluan, however, the ventive directional *mai* ‘towards the speaker’ may also enter comparative constructions to ‘denote the fact that the entity being compared is closer to the point of reference of the discourse than the entity forming the standard of comparison’:

⁷ The Loniū motion verb ‘go’ has also undergone another interesting development (Hamel 1993: 117): it is used to introduce purpose, result, instrument, or manner complements, still preceded by a clitic subject:

Iy i-puti iy i-le cani puton.
 3SG REALIS.3SG-take 3SG REALIS.3SG-go cut umbilical.cord
 ‘She took him in order to cut the umbilical cord.’

- (22) Koo pili **mai** a Oolataga i loo o Niuooku.
 INC near VENT ABS Olataga OBL compared POSS Niuoku
 ‘Olataga islet is closer [to here] than Niuoku Islet.’ (Besnier 2000: 218)

14.2.2.4 Verbs developing into intensifiers, reflexive and reciprocal markers

In addition to its grammaticalization into directional, aspect, and comparative markers, the verb *hifo ‘go down’ has undergone further developments in some Eastern Polynesian languages (Moyse-Faurie 2008), along with a morphological reduction (*hifo > iho). It is used as an intensifier (see note 1 for the use of this term) in Hawaiian (23), and in Tahitian (24a), where it also occurs as reflexive (24b) and reciprocal marker (24c).

Hawaiian

- (23) pa’akikī ma kāna **iho** (attributive use)
 stubborn with his DOWN
 ‘Stubborn with his own [things].’ (Pukui and Elbert 1957: 89)

Tahitian

- (24) a. Nāna **iho** terā rata i pāpā’i. (adnominal use)
 PRED+3SG DOWN DEIC letter PFV write
 ‘He himself wrote this letter.’ (Académie tahitienne 1986: 373)
 b. Tē hohonī ’ona iā-na **iho**. (reflexive)
 NPST pinch 3SG OBJ-3SG DOWN
 ‘He pinches himself.’ (Poeura Vernaudeau, p.c.)
 c. ’Ua taparahi rātou rātou **iho**. (reciprocal)
 PFV hit 3PL 3PL DOWN
 ‘They hit each other.’ (Poeura Vernaudeau, p.c.)

Without the directional *iho* ‘downwards’ used as reflexive and reciprocal marker, example (24b) would mean ‘He pinches him’, and example (24c) would mean ‘They hit them’.

In Māori, it is the ‘upwards’ directional *ake* that has an intensifying attributive use,⁸ as in example (25):

- (25) ...kei reira tōna **ake** reo, ana **ake** tikanga
 at there its UP language its UP customs
 ‘...that part has its own language and its own customs’ (Bauer 1997: 363)

In Marquesan, there is a sort of serial verb construction that may also be used to express reciprocity. The verb is reduplicated, each duplicate part being followed by a deictic directional, as in (26):

⁸ In Māori, contrasting with Tahitian, reflexives and reciprocals are not constructed with a directional, but with the postverbal emphatic marker *anō* ‘again’.

- (26) U avei 'aua, u hopu atu hopu mai...
 PFV meet 3DU PFV embrace CFUG embrace VENT
 'They met (and) embrace each other...' (Cablitz 2006: 447)

14.2.2.5 Verbs developing into prepositions

In Paluai, belonging to the Eastern Admiralties subgroup, the verb *la* 'go' (< POc *lako 'go, thither') has grammaticalized in various ways, some of them similar to what is found in Loniū, but some also involving no more motion at all, such as manner adverbials (27a) or as preposition meaning 'according to' (27b):

Paluai (Manus Province, Papua New Guinea)

- (27) a. Uro rok la bian palsi.
 3DU.HAB stay GO.TO good PAST
 'They used to live (together) well in the past.' (Schokkin 2013: 187)
 b. Minak tebo ip maro ret tou pun la aronan pwên.
 present DEM.PROX 3PL NEG.HAB move give very GO.TO way.PERT NEG
 'Nowadays, they do not run (ceremonies) properly according to procedure.'
 (Schokkin 2013: 188)

Throughout this section, we have seen various instances of evolution involving deictic and geographic motion (ad)verbs. I will now present several grammaticalization paths undergone by two other motion verbs, namely the verbs 'return' and 'follow', whose meanings are not purely topographical.

14.2.3 GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE VERBS 'RETURN' AND 'FOLLOW'

These two other Oceanic motion verbs, 'return' and 'follow', have undergone interesting kinds of grammaticalization, some of them less known worldwide. I choose to consider them together, for the following reason: the meanings of these verbs are complementary, since 'return' implies a break, a rupture from the preceding event, while 'follow', conversely, implies a continuation.

14.2.3.1 The verb 'return'

The verb 'return' was considered by Lichtenberk (1991b) as a source of several kinds of grammatical markers, specifically reditive directionals ('back'), repetition markers ('again'), prohibitive markers, additive particles ('also, too, as well'), and reflexive markers. Looking at a larger set of Oceanic languages, I found several other paths of grammaticalization for 'return'/'again' (Moyse-Faurie 2012), i.e. paths leading to nominal modifiers ('another', 'same'), and to additive/focus particles ('indeed', 'exactly'). These are already well known as possible paths of development elsewhere. Developments into intensifiers ('-self'), reflexive and reciprocal markers, emphatic adverbs, into prepositions ('until') or conjunctions ('then'), and into

discourse particles (exclamative markers), are (as far as I know) rare outside Oceanic languages; continuation ‘up to a point’ and tense-aspect markers seem to be only attested in a few Oceanic languages. Below are two typical examples of the grammaticalization of the verb ‘return’ in Oceanic languages. In Toqabaqita, a Solomonian language, it is the reduplicated form of *oli* ‘return’ which marks reciprocity:

- Toqabaqita
 (28) Roo kini kero fale **olili** qani keeroqa.
 two woman 3DU.SUBJ give RETURN.RED PREP 3DU
 ‘The two women give (things) to each other, back and forth.’ (Lichtenberk 2008: 214)

Reflexes of PPn *foki ‘return’ are used in exclamative sentences in several Polynesian languages. In these sentences the predicate typically is a nominalized verb phrase (cf. Moyse-Faurie 2012). The modifier underlines the surprise effect.

- Māori
 (29) Te makariri **hoki** o te wai!
 SPEC cold RETURN POSS SPEC water
 ‘How cold the water is!’ (Bauer 1997: 526)

I proposed the following tentative explanation for these developments:

If we consider all the meanings and uses deriving from the notion of ‘return’, the common denominator could be seen not so much in the notions of returning and iteration but in the notions of continuity and ruptures or breaks in the continuity. The ruptures could be a change of direction (→ ‘return’), a change of state and return to the first one (→ ‘again’, iteration), a rupture in standard assumptions about disjoint argument structure (→ reflexivity, reciprocity), a change in perspective (→ ‘namely’), a change in argumentation (→ ‘and then, however’), an end of continuation (→ ‘up to’, ‘from now on’, ‘for the first time’), or a break in deictically given proximity (→ aspect and tense markers).

In view of this common denominator, ‘the semantic changes leading to different targets are based on very general processes of metaphorical and metonymic extensions’ (Moyse-Faurie 2012: 257–8).

14.2.3.2 The verb ‘follow’

Lichtenberk (2013) also investigated the development of reason and cause markers from the POc transitive verb *suRi ‘follow, be in motion behind somebody or something’, ‘accompany’. Heine and Kuteva (2002) list the prepositions ‘according to’, ‘behind’ and comitative as grammaticalized forms of the verb. However, cause, as in (30) seems to instantiate a development unknown outside Oceanic languages.

- Toqabaqita
 (30) Ku too qi luma **suli-a** ku mataqi.
 1SG.NFUT stay LOC house RSN-3.OBJ 1SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘I stayed at home because I was sick.’ (Lichtenberk 2013: 89)

In addition to the 53 languages listed by Lichtenberk (2013: 98–102) showing reflexes of POC *suRi either introducing clause or noun phrase complements or remaining as verbs, I can mention the East Uvean complex marker (*ko te* 'uhi lit. '(it is) the reason'), which introduces noun phrase causal complements (31a) as well as purpose complements when combined with the conjunction *ke* (31b).

East Uvean

- (31) a. Kua mapunu te ala i te 'akau 'uhi ko te afā.
 PFV stuck SPC road OBL SPC true reason PRED SPC hurricane
 'The road is stuck by trees because of the hurricane.'
 b. 'E au ako ko te 'uhi ke au potō.
 NPST 1SG study PRED SPC reason in.order.to 1SG intelligent
 'I am studying in order to become educated.' (Moyse-Faurie 2016: 198)

As noted by Lichtenberk, metonymy is the motivating factor in the rise of reason/cause-marking function from the verb meaning 'follow'.

14.2.4 VERBS OF TRANSFER AND SAYING

14.2.4.1 Verbs 'give', 'help', and 'say'

Lichtenberk (1985) mentions several Oceanic languages which have grammaticalized a benefactive/recipient/goal marker from the verb 'give', reconstructed in Proto-Oceanic as *pa(n,ñ)i, which was already also, according to Pawley (1973), a prepositional verb meaning 'motion to an animate goal'. The Xârâcùù verb *xù* 'give' is not cognate with the Proto-Oceanic form, but has undergone a similar development. In all the other New Caledonian languages, the benefactive marker has a different origin, being identical either to a possessive marker or to a locative preposition. In some North New Guinea languages (Tigak, Kaliai), only the grammatical reflex is maintained, marking goals, beneficiaries, or locations. In Nggela (Codrington 1885), the lexical reflex of *pa(n,ñ)i 'give' acquired a new meaning, 'say', while the grammatical reflex serves to introduce goals, beneficiaries, instruments, or causes. Grammatical reflexes of *pa(n,ñ)i are found either as verb-like markers, indexing their complements by means of object suffixes, or as noun-like markers, taking possessive suffixes, as in languages from the Southeast Solomonian subgroup. In Anejoñ (32), by contrast, the marker *imta-* (+ possessive suffixes), introducing beneficiaries and recipients, has another source than the verb 'give', namely the verb 'help', 'associate'.

Anejoñ

- (32) Et yipāl imta-ma a tata.
 3SG.AOR tell.story DAT-our.EXC.PL SBJ Dad
 'Dad told us a story.' (Lynch 2000: 128)

The verb 'say' is known to give rise to causal, conditional, evidential, and purposive meanings (Heine and Kuteva 2002), and may also develop into complementizer or quotative markers, as shown by Klammer (2000) and Hsieh (2012) for certain non-

Oceanic Austronesian languages. This is also the case in several Oceanic languages. In Drehu, for example, *hape* ‘say’ is now seldom used as a main verb, but introduces direct or indirect speech combined with the stative marker *ka*.

Drehu (Lifu, Loyalty Islands)

- (33) Hnei aji hna sa ka hape eni a madrin!
 SM rat PST answer STAT say 1SG IPFV rejoice
 ‘The rat answered: I am glad!’ (Moyse-Faurie 1983: 183)

14.2.4.2 Verbs ‘take’, ‘take off, throw away’

The verb ‘take’ is known to develop into causative, comitative, instrument, patient, completive, and future tense markers (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 286–91). According to Durie (1988), in most languages in which the verb ‘take’ became a relational marker, the verb was in V1 position in SVCs. Ozanne-Rivierre (2004) studied the evolution of ‘take’ verbs in several Caledonian languages, in which ‘take’ in V2 position gave rise either to lexicalization (SVC > compound verb > simple transitive verb) or to grammaticalization, through the reanalysis of V2 ‘take’ as an enclitic transitivizing applicative morpheme, with an associative meaning, in constructions implying simultaneous events. Below are examples in Nyelâyu showing two occurrences of the verb *pha* ‘take’, as an independent verb (34a), as V2 in a serial construction (34b), and under its grammaticalized form *-va* as an applicative associative marker (34c):

Nyelâyu (North of New Caledonian mainland)

- (34) a. Lha pha ca pwa-ru dep.
 3PL take each CLS-two mat
 ‘They each took two mats.’ (~~Ozanne-Rivierre 2004: 336~~)
 b. Kam ron charemwa ta pha nae-n.
 so 3SG.PFV run go.up take child-3SG.POSS
 ‘So she ran up to get the child.’ (~~Ozanne-Rivierre 2004: 336~~)
 c. Ta taa-va an Cana nae-n.
 3SG sit-APPL ERG Rosana child-3SG.POSS
 ‘Rosana is sitting with her child on her lap.’ (Ozanne-Rivierre 2004 : 336)

In Fijian (Pawley 1986) or in Saliba (Margetts 1999), reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic suffix **-akin[i]* (analysed by Evans 2003 as two morphemes: the applicative suffix **akin* plus the transitivizing suffix **-i*) are used for associative casemarking, and to introduce objects referring to instrument, source, result, or accessory. This point is discussed in more detail in section 14.6.2.

In the Polynesian Outlier Vaeakau-Taumako (Næss 2004: 243), the verb *toa* ‘take’ underwent a grammaticalization process in a core-layer SVC, as V1, conferring a volitional or inceptive meaning on the clause.

Finally, in Xârâcùù, the verb *witaa* ‘throw away’ gave rise to the disattributive preposition *taa*:

- (35) Nà xādùù chaa lotoo **taa** Dapé.
 1SG buy one car OFF Dapé
 ‘I am buying a car from Dapé.’ (Moyse-Faurie 1995: 87)

14.2.5 PHASAL VERBS

Lichtenberk (2009) describes in detail the functions and development of two Toqabaqita phasal verbs, *sui* ‘end, finish, be finished’ and *thafali* ‘start, begin’. The verb *sui* either occurs as a plain verb, or in ‘mini-clauses’ in which it only admits a third singular pronominal subject and signals ‘the end of a state of affairs expressed in another, preceding clause’ (p. 230). *Sui* has also several grammatical functions: it is a sequential marker (‘then’), occurring clause-initially; a postverbal completive marker; a contrastive clausal coordinator (‘but’); or a noun-phrase internal particle with an ‘exhaustive-marking’ function, as in the following Toqabaqita example:

- (36) Wela nau ki **sui** boqo kera sukulu qi manga qeri.
 child 1SG PL end ASS 3PL.NFUT attend.school LOC time this
 ‘All of my children attend school at this time.’ (Lichtenberk 2009: 233)

The different grammaticalization paths described for *sui* in Toqabaqita are well known cross-linguistically, but are not so frequently found in other Oceanic languages, except for the use of ‘finish’ as an adverb meaning ‘completely’, ‘definitively’, as for example in East Uvean:

- (37) ‘E au mahalo ‘e nofo ‘osi!
 NPST 1SG think NPAST stay finish
 ‘I think he will definitively stay (here).’ (Moyse-Faurie 2016: 223)

or as a completive aspect, representing an event as completed, as in Mwotlap:

- (38) Nēk may suwsuw **bah** ēnōk?
 2SG PFV bathe FINISH now
 ‘Have you already taken your shower?’ (François 2001: 916)

In Toqabaqita, the transitive verb *thafali* ‘start, begin’ has another function: in a monoclausal construction, it is an inceptive marker, and in this use it has to be detransitivized with the *-qi* suffix:

- (39) Nau ku **thafali-qi** uqunu naqa.
 1SG 1SG.NFUT INCEPTIVE-DETR narrate PRF
 ‘I am about to begin to tell a/the story.’ (Lichtenberk 2009: 238)

14.2.6 VERBS OF (NON)EXISTENCE

I have already mentioned the fact that posture verbs often broaden their meanings to serve as locative and existential verbs (Lichtenberk 2002a). Other sources for existential or verbs of nonexistence are also worth mentioning. In East Uvean, the form

mole may occur either as a verb ‘not exist, disappear’, as in (40a), or as a negative marker, able to modify the positive existential verb *iai*, as in (40b).

- (40) a. 'E **mole** he 'aliki. (verbal occurrence)
 NPST not.exist NSPC chief
 ‘There is no [such person as a] chief.’
 b. 'E **mole** iai ni 'ao i te lagi. (negative marker)
 NPST NEG exist NSPC.PL cloud OBL SPC sky
 ‘There are no clouds in the sky (today).’ (Moyse-Faurie 2016: 131)

This negative marker *mole* has replaced the older form *he'e* (< Samoic-Outlier Polynesian *se'e), which remains only for the negation of nominals as in *he'e gata* ‘without end’ or in the complex negative form *he'eki* ‘not yet’.

In Xârâcùù, the active verb *xwi* ‘do, make’ may take any (pro)nominal subject, and there is agreement between the preposed pronominal subject and the lexical subject, which is postposed to the predicate and introduced by the subject marker *ngê* (41a). In its use as an existential verb, only the third person singular pronominal subject is possible. Moreover, the subject marker *ngê* is no longer required, and there is no agreement with the lexical subject, as shown in (41b).

Xârâcùù

- (41) a. Ri **xwi** farawa va nèkè-ri ngê pa pwângara.
 3PL make bread ASS CLS(starchy food)-3PL SM COLL European
 ‘Europeans make bread as their starchy food.’ (lit. ‘they make bread as their starchy food, the Europeans’)
 b. È nää **xwi** (ngê) mû pè-ngâârû rè ri.
 3SG PST.PROG exist (SM) PL stone-seed POSS 3PL
 ‘Their stones for seed-plants used to exist.’ (lit. ‘it used to exist, their stones for seed-plants’)

The existential predicate is also used to express the notion of ‘to amount to’, in reference to time, as in (41c), and it is well known that existence and quantification are often related.

- c. È **xwi** bachéé daa mè péépé wâ paii.
 3SG amount.to three day that baby PFV sick
 ‘The baby has been sick for three days.’ (lit. ‘it amounts to three days that the baby got sick’) (Moyse-Faurie 1995: 147)

Verbs meaning ‘do, make’ have several well-known grammaticalization paths (causative marker, continuous aspect, etc.), but the evolution into an existential verb has never been mentioned. Parallel evolutions leading to existential predications are attested in French, with *il y a*, corresponding to English ‘there is’, but not with the verb ‘do, make’ as a starting point. Moreover, in several New Caledonian languages spoken in the north of the Mainland, such as in Nyelâyu (Ozanne-Rivierre, unpublished comm.), the verb *thu* ‘do, make’ grammaticalized, by metonymy, into the subject/agent marker *ru*:

- (42) Nyelâyu
- a. Lhepe-harime lhe thu mwa.
 3DUREC-saythat3DUMakehouse
 ‘They take the decision to build a house.’
 - b. Ta pavararuuru ti hada-yeek.
 3SGbreak SMwindDEFbranch-tree
 ‘The wind broke the branch.’

14.3 GRAMMATICALIZATION OF NOUNS

With the exceptions of the grammaticalization of nouns meaning ‘thing’ (14.3.1) or ‘child’ (14.3.2), I have not found anything specifically Oceanic in the grammaticalization of nouns. As elsewhere, the nouns involved in a grammaticalization process correlate with certain semantic types (e.g. body parts, spatial notions, kinship terms, or parts of a whole), and generally are bound (relational) nouns, i.e. obligatorily possessed. Body part nouns in particular grammaticalized into locatives used for spatial deictic reference, as shown by Bowden (1992) in more than 100 Oceanic languages, or more specifically by Senft (1994) in Kilivila (Western Oceanic, Papuan Tip Cluster). I will just mention a few cases concerning bound nouns which have grammaticalized in the following ways:

- As ‘noun-like’ prepositions: In Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia), the bound noun *shi-* ‘hand’ is used to introduce a beneficiary or recipient complement, expressed as possessor (Bril 2002: 124), and in Cèmuhi (New Caledonia), the bound noun *nde-* ‘property’ first became the possessive marker (+ animate possessor) *te-*, and then was further grammaticalized into a comitative marker (Rivierre 1980: 189).
- Intensifiers and reflexive markers from body part nouns are found for example in Kwaio (Southeast Solomon) with *labe-* ‘body’ + possessive suffix (Keesing 1985) or in Lolovoli (North Central Vanuatu) with *sibo-* ‘self’ + possessive suffix (Hyslop 2001), but not in many other Oceanic languages.
- Possessive classifiers in Oceanic languages are nouns or ‘noun-like’ (being nominalizations of verbs), i.e. either independent nouns or bound nouns taking the same possessive suffixes as the ones occurring in direct possessive constructions. Lynch (1982) argues that at least two of the POc possessive classifiers had a verbal origin: POc *kani ‘eat’ > *ka- for the food classifier; POc *inum ‘drink’ > *ma- for the drink classifier. They had derived from earlier transitive verbs; the possessum had originally been a direct object, and the possessor an indirect/benefactive object, indexed on the verb by a suffix. Among Oceanic languages, Micronesian languages, as well as some New Caledonian languages and Kilivila (Papua New Guinea), are well known for having a large number of possessive classifiers. For example Iai (Uvea, Loyalty islands) has a rich paradigm of 23 possessive classifiers (Ozanne-Rivierre 1976: 188–94)—a number equivalent to that of the Micronesian classifiers—and their lexical origin is transparent for most of them (Dotte 2013: 245–8). Only three possessive classifiers are reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic: general, foods, and drinks classifiers.

- Numeral classifiers also have a nominal origin. Their number varies from one language to the other. According to Bril (2002), Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia) has 25 numeral classifiers, such as *pwa-* to count round objects (*pwa-nem pwâ-mâgo* <CLS-five fruit-mango> ‘five mangos’), *pu(m)-* to count plants and trees (*pu-nem mâgo* <CLS-five mango> ‘five mango trees’), or *aa-* for living creatures (*aa-nem ak* <CLS-five man> ‘five men’).

14.3.1 NOUN ‘THING’ > ASPECT MARKER

In Tahitian (Vernaudeau 2011), as in Marquesan, the nominal *mea* ‘thing’ (43a) grammaticalized through a qualifying use (43b) into a stative aspect marker (43c):

Tahitian

- (43) a. Aore te ho’ê **mea** i toe. (nominal use as subject)
 NEG ART one thing PFV remain
 ‘There is nothing left.’
- b. E **mea** rahi te fare. (qualifying function)
 NPST thing big ART house
 ‘The house is big’ (*E rahi te fare).
- c. **Mea** ti’aturi Pito i teie rû’au. (aspectual function)
 STAT trust Pito OBJ DEM old
 ‘Pito trusts this old man.’ (Vernaudeau 2011: 334–5)

In (43c), *mea* acquired a new status, and commutes with the paradigm of aspectual markers. This is apparently also a very special path of development, which is not mentioned in Heine and Kuteva (2002).

14.3.2 NOUN ‘CHILD’ > RELATIVE MARKER

In Mwotlap (François 2001: 222–3), the noun **m̄ey* historically means ‘child’ (<PEOc **mweRa*). Yet this etymological meaning is nowadays only found as a formative in compounds, as in *lelep-m̄ey* (lit. ‘take-child’) ‘to give birth’. But apart from these vestigial cases, *m̄ey* is now only attested as a relative marker:

- (44) na-lqōvën **m̄ey** ne-leg
 ART-woman REL STAT-married
 ‘a married woman’

This development is arguably due to semantic extension. In northern Vanuatu languages, the root **mweRa* already shows semantic flexibility, from its original meaning ‘child’ to any human being. Thus, **mweRa-i somu* (lit. ‘child of shellmoney’) means ‘rich person’ (François 2013: 235). In Mwotlap, the form *m̄ey* has similarly become a dummy noun for all humans, and indeed for any referent, equivalent to Eng. ‘one’ in ‘the big one’; for example, it combines with deictics in *m̄ey gōh* ‘this one’, *m̄ey gēn* ‘that one’. This dummy-noun structure would then have been the source of a general relative marker, compatible with any referent (even non-human) and any type of predication:

- (45) na-pnō mēy ne-tegha
 ART-country REL STAT-different
 ‘a country [which is] different’ (François 2001: 258)

When used as a relativizer, the original form *mēy* [ɲm^wej] alternates freely with *mey* [mɛj]; this is an indication that the grammaticalization process is complete, so that the original noun has become synchronically a different morpheme with its own properties.

14.4 SECONDARY GRAMMATICALIZATION: DEVELOPMENT OF BENEFACTIVE MARKERS FROM POSSESSIVE MARKERS

Oceanic benefactive markers are of very diverse shapes. Some originated from the verb ‘give’, as mentioned in section 14.2.4.1, but others developed from already grammaticalized morphemes, i.e. from possessive markers.

Margetts (2004), Song (1997, 2005), and Lichtenberk (2002b) challenged the unidirectionality of the grammaticalization process from dative/benefactive marker to more abstract possessive marker, as posited by Heine (1997b: 146). In quite a few Oceanic languages, indeed, ‘an extension from possessive to benefactive markers is well attested’ (Margetts 2004: 446). Margetts details the different stages and the conditions under which the shift from possession to benefaction happened in Saliba (Western Oceanic, Papuan Tip Cluster):

Stage 1. Attributive possession with benefactive implicature occurs with verbs of transfer, verbs of obtaining, verbs of creation expressing an activity directly affecting the possessive relation, and verbs of performance expressing an intended transfer.

- (46) a. Yo-da ku hedehede. (attributive possession)
 CLS-1EXCL.POSS 2SG tell
 ‘Tell us something!’ / ‘Tell us a story!’ (Margetts 2004: 450)

Stage 2. Separate constructions with distributional overlap; the benefactive reading begins to emerge as a grammatically distinct construction (bridging contexts preceding the grammaticalization).

- b. Yo-na tobwa ya-halusi. (either possessive or benefactive reading)
 CLS-3SG.POSS bag 1SG-weave
 (a) ‘I wove her bag.’ (b) ‘I wove a bag for her.’ (Margetts 2004: 454)

Stage 3. Separate constructions without distributional overlap (no more bridging contexts).

- c. Yo-na ya-tolo. (benefactive reading only)
 CLS-3SG.POSS 1SG-stand.up
 ‘I stood up for her (because they falsely accused her).’ (Margetts 2004: 458)

In Saliba, there is the same marker for both possessive and benefactive expressions, though constituent order may be different (Margetts 2004: 456). In other languages there are subsequently different base morphemes, with replacement of the possessive

marker by a new form, the old form expressing benefactives only, as in Toqabaqita, where POc *ka- possessive classifier for food items developed into *qa-*, the grammatical marker of benefaction.

Toqabaqita (Southeast Solomon)

- (47) *Kini kai faali-a qa-kuqa teqe teeter.*
 woman 3SG.NFUT weave-3.OBJ BEN-1SG.PERS one fan
 ‘The woman will weave me a fan.’ (Lichtenberk 2002: 454)

Some of Margetts’s remarks (2004: 465) relate to the role of specificity: ‘Lack of a specificity constraint for attributive possessive expressions may constitute a prerequisite for the benefactive implicature to grammaticalize towards a formally distinct construction.’

There is total agreement between the three authors (Lichtenberk, Margetts, and Song) that the benefactive-marking function in Oceanic languages developed from possessive markers through a process of reanalysis. This innovation has taken place independently in several languages belonging to different branches of Oceanic: Micronesian, Southeast Solomonic, and Papuan Tip Cluster (Western Oceanic) subgroups (Lichtenberk 2002: 446).

14.5 RELEXIFICATION

14.5.1 VERBAL COMPOUNDS AND VERBAL CLASSIFIERS

Mostly attested in the Western Oceanic subgroup, verbal compounds that have given rise to verbal classificatory prefixes are also a lesser-known feature of New Caledonian Mainland languages. Whereas this development, probably stemming from former nuclear-layer serializations, is often linked to V-final word order,⁹ it is worth mentioning that it also happened in V-initial languages, as described in detail by Ozanne-Rivierre and Rivierre (2004). The verbal prefixes, however, show a close semantic similarity in both types of languages: they express the manner of the action—more precisely, the type of gesture accompanying the action along with the body part involved—while the second part of the compound expresses the result. Depending on the languages, these prefixes have, or lack, corresponding independent verbs. Nine of the ten Manam (Madang Province, Papua New Guinea) classificatory prefixes (Lichtenberk 1983: 214–17) have corresponding transitive verbs, while in New Caledonian languages, ‘both elements forming the compound have often lost their status of independent verbs’ (Ozanne-Rivierre and Rivierre 2004: 352), although their verbal origin can generally be reconstructed. There is also large variation concerning the number of prefixes expressing the manner of the action: there are only a few of them in the north of the Mainland, but up to several dozen in each of the southern languages. Below are some Xârâcùù examples from Moyse-Faurie (1995). For a fuller semantic and typological treatment of event compounds, see Gast, König and Moyse-Faurie (2014).

⁹ Languages belonging to the Papuan Tip Cluster, as well as other languages of the Western Oceanic subgroup, have changed their word order from SVO to SOV through contact with the surrounding non-Austronesian languages.

The first component is a bound form (with CV-syllable structure) derived from a verb through a reduction of all but the first syllable. Cf. the list of verbs with *bi-* from *biri* ‘turn, ‘twist’ in (48).

- (48) **bi-** < **biri** turn, twist
- | | |
|--|---|
| bica twist and break | bimwêrê turn off (tap) |
| bicaa pick (fruits) by twisting | bipuru break in two pieces by twisting |
| bichâ be unscrewed | bitia tear by twisting |
| bichêe screw in the wrong way | bitùrù squeeze by twisting |
| bifagö unclamp, unscrew | biwi unscrew |
| bikakörö pull to pieces | bixwêê twist to make fall, etc. |
| bikörö grind | |

The second element may have one, two, or even three syllables, but is still rarely attested as an independent verb, as is shown by the formations with *-puru* ‘break in two pieces’ in (49).

- (49) **-puru** break in two pieces (variant **-buru** when the preceding vowel is a nasal):
- | | |
|--|---|
| bipuru — by twisting | jöpuru take a short cut |
| capuru — with the hand | kêburu break in two with the hand |
| chäburu burn the middle of a wooden | kèpuru — with the teeth stick |
| to break it into two pieces | kipuru — with a saw |
| chapuru — break with an axe | kwipuru — with a saber |
| chèpuru — (a rope) by pulling | söpuru — with a circular |
| fiburu — by hitting (with a bar of metal) | movement of the hands |
| gwépuru — by throwing | tapuru — with a stick |
| jipuru — (bread) | tipuru — and tear |
| | tupuru — and fold up, etc. |

The development of such lexical prefixes and suffixes through compounding processes has contributed to a (still ongoing) expansion of the lexicon in New Caledonian as well as in some Western Oceanic languages. It does not apply, however, to borrowings.

14.5.2 REANALYSIS OF ARTICLES INTO NOUNS

As suggested by Heine (p.c.), this section and the following deals with what can be interpreted as the final stage of grammaticalization where a form loses its function and merges with its host.

According to Lynch (2001), Proto-Oceanic articles were rarely retained in the Southern Oceanic language subgroup, least of all as ‘free-standing articles’. Many Vanuatu languages ‘have accreted one or more of these articles onto some nouns, with greater or lesser degrees of morphological fusion with the noun’ (Lynch 2001: 224). The POc common article **na* has been integrated as initial *n+V* in many nouns in Vanuatu languages, even if **na* can be omitted in some cases, such as compounds or plural marking. For example in Neve’ei, ‘noun-initial *nV-* is semi-productively lost in compounds and in address terms’ (Lynch 2001: 227): *niyim* ‘house’ > *liyim* ‘at/to the house’. In his grammar of Anejomä, Lynch (2000) mentions that slightly over 85 per cent of Anejomä nouns begin with *n-* (or *in-*), reanalysed as integral part of the

root. The Anejoñ reflexes of POc *kutu ‘louse’ and *lima ‘hand’ are respectively *necet* and *nijma*, analysed as the fusion of the former article into the root:

- (50) POc *na kutu > Anejoñ *necet* [ne+cet] ‘louse’,
 POc *na lima > Anejoñ *nijma* [ni+jma-] ‘hand’, etc. (Lynch 2000: 48)

Crowley (1982: 51–2) argues that not only POc articles but also locative markers have been reanalysed as parts of nouns in Paamese.

14.5.3 REANALYSIS OF A PREVERBAL PARTICLE

Lynch (1975: 91–5) discusses in detail the origin of the realis/irrealis distinction, which is marked in some Oceanic languages by an oral/nasal consonant alternation. This alternation could be explained ‘as a secondary development resulting from the fusion of a preverbal particle [*ma realis and *na irrealis] with the verb’.

14.6 INSTANCES OF DEGRAMMATICALIZATION?

Although grammaticalization is generally described as a unidirectional process (Haspelmath 1999, 2004), I would finally like to discuss a few cases that appear to be instances of what Norde (2009: 135) described as cases of degrammation, defined as ‘a composite change whereby a function word in a specific linguistic context is reanalyzed as a member of a major word class’.

14.6.1 FORMATION OF EXISTENTIAL AND MANNER DEIXIS VERBS

In section 14.5.1 I discussed cases where new verbal lexemes were formed through compounding, the compounds themselves stemming from serial verb constructions. In the data presented below, the new verbal lexeme—existential verb and manner-deixis verbs—is composed of different grammatical morphemes, which are fused in order to yield a new meaning.

Several Polynesian languages have an existential verb *iai*, ‘there is, it exists’, resulting from a lexicalization/degrammation process. This verb derives from the locative anaphor *i ai* (consisting of the preposition *i* ‘location, at, in’ plus the deictic anaphoric *ai*), which refers back to a locative phrase that occurs earlier in the sentence or in a preceding sentence. In these Polynesian languages, the preposition *i* has morphological variants, as for example in East Futunan, with three different forms: *i* + toponyms, deictics and common nouns; *ia* + proper nouns and dual/plural pronouns; *iate* + singular pronouns. Only the form *i* is involved in the degrammation process. Chapin (1974)¹⁰ offers a thorough analysis of the different uses of the anaphoric *ai*, mainly as locative, but also temporal, goal, attributive, or causal complements, in 15 different Polynesian languages. He also describes the non-anaphoric use of *ai* as an existential predicate (p. 286), most often in combination with

¹⁰ I am indebted to Andrew Pawley for pointing out to me the importance of Chapin’s 1974 article.

the preposition *i*, even in the languages in which this preposition does not obligatorily occur before the anaphoric *ai* (p. 301). Below in (51) is an example of East Futunan, a language for which Chapin had no data. Here the existential verb *iai* and the locative anaphoric prepositional phrase *i ai* may co-occur in a sentence:

East Futunan

- (51) O kaku atu loa ki Mamalu’a e iai le nofolaga i ai...
 and reach DIR SUCC OBL Mamalu’a NPST exist SPC camp OBL ANA
 ‘And arriving in Mamalu’a, there is a camp there ...’ (Moyse-Faurie 2010: 311)

The existential verb *iai* ‘exist’ acquired most of the morphosyntactic properties which are typical of the verb class, ie. the compatibility with all the tense-aspect markers and the negative marker (cf. (40b)). In addition, the existential verb *iai* ‘exist’ can occur in a nominalized phrase, as can any other verb, preceded by the specific article (and eventually an aspect marker), and followed by a possessive noun phrase, introduced by the alienable preposition *a* in (52a), or by the inalienable preposition *o* in (52b), depending on the relation between the possessor and the possessum:

- (52) a. Ko le kua iai a motokā, e se koi ano lalo le fenua.
 PRED SPC PFV exist POSS car NPST NEG CONT go on.foot SPC people
 ‘Since there are cars, people do not walk any more.’ (lit. ‘this is the now existence of cars, people do not walk any more’)
 b. Ko le kua iai fa’i o ne’alava.
 PRED SPC PFV exist RESTR POSS clothes
 ‘It is the fact that we now wear clothes.’ (lit. ‘this is the now existence of clothes’)

The same lexicalization is attested in East Uvean, as shown in example (53), in which both the existential verb *iai* and the prepositional phrase *i ai* co-occur:

- (53) Ne’e iai te fo’i ’utu i ai ’e higoa ko ’Utuuhu.
 PST exist SPC CLS rock PREP ANA NPST name PRED ’Utuuhu
 ‘There there was a rock called’-Utuuhu.’ (lit. ‘it existed a rock in that place called’-Utuuhu’)

A similar degrammation process has been described by Lynch (2000: 74) for Anejoñ (South Vanuatu), as shown in Table 14.2.

‘The existential verb bears a strong formal resemblance to the anaphoric demonstrative pronouns. It may be that the existential verb is a verbalisation of the demonstratives, which might explain its irregularity’ (Lynch 2000: 74).

TABLE 14.2. ‘Verbalization’ of the Anejoñ anaphoric demonstrative

Existential verb	Corresponding anaphoric demonstrative
<i>yek</i> singular	<i>yiiki</i> singular
<i>rak</i> dual	<i>raaki</i> dual
<i>sjek</i> plural	<i>jiiki, jeken</i> plural

Heine and Kuteva (2002) identify a development from demonstratives to copula verbs. In Oceanic languages, however, the changes under discussion do not have copular verbs as targets but full (existential) verbs.

Another case of relexification from grammatical morphemes concerns verbs of manner deixis. In East Futunan these verbs are made up of two different sorts of grammatical morphemes: deictics (*nei* ‘near speaker’, *nā* ‘near addressee’, and *lā* ‘away from speaker and addressee’) combined with the reciprocal circumfix *fe-...-’aki*¹¹. This combination has not turned the deictics into verbs, but forms verbal compounds. The three compound verbs *fela’aki*, *fene’eki*, *fena’aki* have similar meanings, ‘be so’, and mainly occur as main predicates or adverbs. The choice of a specific form depends on the location of the entity referred to, and on that of the speaker:

East Futunan

- (54) E **fena’aki** lana ’aga o takai a Alofi kâtoa.
 NPST be.so his facing POSS surround ABS Alofi entire
 ‘It is in this way that he starts to go around the entire island of Alofi.’

The distal manner-deixis verb *fela’aki* also has a different function, viz. as optative marker, when it occurs at the beginning of the sentence and is followed by the distal directional *ake*:

- (55) **Fela’aki** ake la loa ke ’ua i le afiafi!
 be.so DIR EMPH SUCC in.order.to rain OBL SPC evening
 ‘If only it could rain this evening!’

14.6.2 APPLICATIVE SUFFIX AND/OR PREPOSITION: THE POC *-AKIN(I)

A long-standing debate among Oceanic linguists concerns the status of the morpheme(s) reconstructed as *-akin(i) in POc. As mentioned earlier, *akin(i) is best analysed as two morphemes, applicative *akin plus *-i. The final *-i occurs when the suffix precedes a direct object (usually an object pronoun), i.e. when it marks a transitive verb. The reflex of *akin is typically *aki in languages which lose word-final consonants. This debate is about the following questions:

- (i) Was it already both an applicative suffix and a preposition, as suggested by Evans (2003), as it still is in some languages?
- (ii) Was it only a suffix, which was later on reanalysed as a preposition in some languages?
- (iii) Or was it a free-form preposition that became grammaticalized to an applicative suffix independently in various daughter languages, as suggested by Harrison (1982), drawing heavily on evidence from Micronesian languages?

¹¹ In East Futunan, the circumfix *fe-...-’aki* is generally used to express reciprocity along with sociative, iterative, dispersive, etc. meanings; it always derives verbs or adverbs, from verbs (*tio* ‘see’, *fe-tio-’aki* ‘see each other’), but also from nouns (*’uluga* ‘pillow’, *fe-’uluga-’aki* ‘share the same pillow’), or deictics.

There is no space here to go further into this debate.¹² I will only give an example from East Uvean, a language in which (as is the case in Tongan), the instrument adjunct is introduced by the preposition ²*aki* (a reflex of POc *-akin(i), a situation that leaves open the hypotheses in (i) and (ii):

- (56) a. 'E fai te filó 'aki te kili o te faú.
 NPST make SPC string INSTR SPC skin POSS SPC bourao
 'Strings are made with the bark of the bourao tree.'

This instrumental preposition *'aki*, however, often occurs immediately postposed to the predicate, hence separated from its complement, *te toki*, in the following example:

- b. 'E tu'usi 'aki e Soane te fu'u niu te toki.
 NPST cut INSTR ERG Soane SPC CLS coconut.tree SPC axe
 'Soane is cutting the coconut tree with an axe.'

According to Durie (1988: 6–8), a similar development from suffix to preposition, in accordance with hypothesis (ii), occurred in Mokilese (Micronesia): S V-*ki* (Object) Instrument > S V Object *ki* Instrument. This development is illustrated in the following examples:

- (57) a. Ngoah insingeh-*ki* kijinlikkoano nah pehno.
 1SG write-with letter his pen
 'I wrote the letter with his pen.'
- b. Jerimweim koalikko pokihdi jerimweim siksikko *ki* suhkoahpas.
 boy big hit boy little with stick
 'The big boy hit the little boy with a stick.' (Durie 1988: 6–8)

14.7 CONCLUSION

I have tried to present the clearest instances of grammaticalization processes in Oceanic languages from a typological perspective. Some of these, such as prepositions coming from nouns or verbs, are common cross-linguistically. Others are common in Oceanic but possibly rare in other language families, as for example the contribution of serial verb constructions to grammaticalization on the one hand and to relexification on the other. Some kinds of change do not seem to be attested elsewhere, such as the grammaticalization of the verb 'follow' to express causal adjuncts, or of the noun 'thing' becoming a stative aspect marker. The evolution from possessive suffixes into benefactive markers, which occurred in some Oceanic languages belonging to different subgroups, is also noteworthy. Finally, the development from morphemes to existential and manner verbs in Polynesian languages seems to be a clear case of degrammatication, and thus to present a problem for the unidirectionality hypothesis.

Whatever the precise developmental paths or the origins of the presumed sources were, the main conclusion is that the semantic domain of space is primary, more obviously so in the Oceanic languages than elsewhere.

¹² Moyse-Faurie (2015: 1026) also discussed the case of the Xârâcùù multifunctional preposition *ngê*, probably cognate with an applicative co-agent clitic.