Contact Induced Grammatical change: Evidence From Vanuatu
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Public Speaking Extract:

1. GN: iama ia-am-an-ø-ol anaunsem, miting u ona
   1SG.say 1.EXCL-PST-PRF-SG-make announce meeting PROX why
   I think I just ANNOUNCED this: Why is this MEETING happening?

2. Nasak, ia-an-ot-aharang rakis ie noan raha-timah
   Nasak 1.EXCL-PRF-PL-sit already LOC area POSS-1PL.EXCL
   Nasak, we are already sitting in our area.
   (1.87)

3. iama ia-am-an-ø-ol deklaresm la, afta onieh
   1SG.SAY 1.EXCL-PST-PRF-SG-make declare DAT after day.after.tomorrow
   t-uen ie natiapa
   3SG.NPST-go LOC umm
   I think I have just DECLARED this, that the day AFTER he went and ummm,

4. ko ia-k-ø-ol deklaresm ie jenis raha-timah
   then 1.EXCL-NPST-SG-make declare OBL change POSS-1PL.EXCL
   ia-en-ot-os rakis
   1.EXCL-PRF-PL-hold already
   then I just DECLARED a CHANGE of ours which we already have made.
   (1.43)

5. ST: natiapa, n-eni-i-en iatami asoli t-at-anghati la
   umm NMLZ-say-NMLZ person big 3SG-PROG-talk DAT
   umm, the talk that the big man is talking about. 100329-02-all_074
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>WSN Archaic</strong></th>
<th><strong>BISLAMA Replacement</strong></th>
<th><strong>Gloss</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-imi</td>
<td>aniwa</td>
<td>‘the atoll island to the east of Tanna’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-eni</td>
<td>tif</td>
<td>‘chief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ-PERSON-say</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>i-te</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amsu</td>
<td>storian</td>
<td>‘to chat (&lt;story)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napen</td>
<td>traoses</td>
<td>‘trousers/clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>askoen</td>
<td>skul</td>
<td>‘to learn (&lt;school)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Selection of contemporary lexical replacements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>KWE</strong></th>
<th><strong>Topic</strong></th>
<th><strong>% Bislama</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rights to use exchange “road”</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marital discord</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Land rights</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Family discord over death of child</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Percentage of Bislama in Kwamera texts (circa. 1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>WSN</strong></th>
<th><strong>Topic</strong></th>
<th><strong>% Bislama</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Life on Tanna and migration</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How the volcano came to Tanna</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Land rights and leadership</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tupunas rights</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Percentage of Bislama in Whitesands texts (circa. 2007-2010)

**Case Study 1: Whitesands verbs and their Bislama replacements**

The Whitesands unmarked word order is (S)VO with a nominative/accusative case alignment. Oblique cases are marked primarily through prepositions. The verb is obligatorily prefixed for PSA person, tense, negation/aspect/mood and PSA number (ex. 6-10). It takes a range of optional suffixes denoting direction, object person, manner and negation.

6.  ilah  k-ot-apali  
    3PL  3-NPST.PL-sleep
    They all slept. 090301-ak02.018

7.  ilau  k-am-w-atul-pən  ukunu  
    3DU  3-PST-DU-stand-TO3  here
    They (DU) stood here. hi_full_3013

8.  iou  ie-n-ø-etow-pen  ra-lah  tingting  
    1SG  1.EXCL-PRF-SG-listen-TO3  POSS-3PL  think
    I will follow them in their thinking. 080417-all01.047

1, 2, 3 'PERSON'; COMP 'COMPLEMENTIZER'; DAT 'DATIVE'; DU 'DUAL'; ES 'ECHO SUBJECT'; EXCL 'EXCLUSIVE'; IF 'ILLOCUTIONARY';
9. ia-k-ø-uen apa pari
   1EXCL-NPST-SG-go LOC land
I go up into the hills.

10. ia-am-ø-ek kapiel apiapwei kani t-us nelma-k
    1.EXCL-PST-SG-touch rock hot and 3SG.NPST-bite hand-1SG
I touched a hot stone and it burnt me (lit. it bit my hand).

Borrowed predicates must use the –ol construction (cf. Kwamera –o (Lindstrom 2007) which maps into previous typologies of verb borrowings as a “light verb construction” strategy (Wohlgemuth 2009)). This is a light verb -ol ‘make’ immediately followed by an uninflected foreign verb: [−ol + borrowed.verb] (ex. 11-16). Foreign verbs cannot take native morphology for neither core, peripheral or clause level operators (ex. 11’ and 15’).

11. ent raha tei uroiu, ia-k-ø-ol anaunsem i
    end POSS day PROX now 1.EXCL-NPST-SG-make announce TRNS
At the END of TODAY, I will ANNOUNCE that.

11’. *ent raha tei uroiu, ia-k-ø-anaunsem i
    end POSS day PROX now 1.EXCL-NPST-SG-announce TRNS

12. m-ot-ol win e kot
    ES-PL-make win DAT court
And we (PL) WON in COURT.

13. na-k-at-w-ol penapena
    2-NPST-PROG-DU-make prepare
You will be PREPARING.

penapena (Futuna-aniwa < pena)

Imperatives in Whitesands are marked with no TAM prefixing on the verb (ex. 14). Borrowed verbs in the imperative must still use the –ol construction (ex. 15) and it is ungrammatical to have a zero inflected borrowed verb for an imperative (ex 15’).

14. niiel ø-akwəkir, niiel ø-akwəkir
    oak IF-short, oak IF-short
‘Oak tree be short, oak tree be short!’

15. ø-ol weit
    IF-make wait
Wait (SG)!

15’. *weit!
Wait
16. Iau [iou] Elsie Edwin t-at-ol wok e nahu
1SG Elsi Edwin 3SG-PROG-make work DAT water
v-ta ko m-ol text kam ik
3SG-come and.then ES-make text OBL 2SG
It is me Elsi. Edwin is WORKING on the water [supply]. He will come
back and then TEXT you. text_msg-100201-ee

17. NA: k-ot-ol pan flas ie nawanien
3.NPST-PL-make TO3 decorated INST feast
ne-k-ø-eru t-evær
2-NPST-SG-see 3SG.NPST-good
They are ALL DRESSED UP, the food you see is very good.

18. EK: k-ot-ol flas
3.NPST-PL-make decorated
They are DRESSED UP.
(1.16)

19. EK: k-ot-ol
3.NPST-PL-make
They are
(1.04)

20. SJ: k-ot-afeli
3.NPST-PL-painted
They are all made up.

21. EK: k-ot-afeli
3.NPST-PL-painted
They are all made up.

22. SJ: !
yes

23. samə k-ot-ol flas k-ot-afeli
NOT 3.NPST-PL-make decorated 3.NPST-PL-painted
It is not kotol flas but kotafleri.

24. NA: samə k-ot-ol flas
NOT 3.NPST-PL-make decorated
It isn't kotol flas.

25. EK: samə k-ot-ol flas mə k-ot-afeli
NOT 3.NPST-PL-make decorated COMP 3.NPST-PL-painted
It is not kotol flas, it is kotafeli.

Note: Bislama/Whitesands flas ‘nicely.decorated/made.up’ (Eng. < flash)

There has been one case of a “nativisation” strategy in two hundred years of European contact. There is a
very common prefix m- ‘es’ used in the Whitesands switch reference system. The Bislama complex
predicate make wash has evolved into a native predicate by losing the initial m- and thus being inflected
for normal operators.

26. apaha enteni ierman t-əs-eikwas-ie
LOC tanna male 3SG-NEG-wash.clothes-NEG
On Tanna, men don’t wash clothes
eikwas (< make wash)
Case Study 2: Possession structures of borrowed nouns

The Whitesands possession system makes a typically Oceanic distinction between direct (inalienable) and indirect (alienable) constructions. The directly possessed nouns are a closed class of words. They are marked with a series of obligatory suffixes on the noun stem and typically (although not exclusively nor exhaustively) cover the semantic categories of kin terms, body parts and part/whole relationships (ex. 27).

27. a) pia-k   b) matelinga-kuri   c) narme-Remeto   d) nakala-imaiim
   S.S. sibling-1SG ear-dog image-Remeto side-nakamal
   my brother/sister a/the dog’s ear Remeto’s ghost side of the nakamal

Indirect possession is marked using possessive classifiers either before or after the possessum (ex. 28-30). These classifiers in the past made a four-way distinction between GENERAL, EAT, DRINK and PLANT. This distinction is currently being narrowed into a single indirect possessive classifier raha ‘POS.GENERAL’ which is similar to Bislama’s single possession structure using blong ‘of’ (ex. 31).

28. a) raha-n nau   b) imaiim raha-tah
    POSS-3SG knife nakamal POSS-1PL.INCL
    his knife our nakamal

29. a) raha-m nu   b) ning-əm nu
    POSS-1SG yam POSS.EAT-2SG yam
    your yam (e.g. for exchange) your yam (for eating/that you ate)

30. a) nem-ək nien   b) nai-k nien (archaic)
    POSS.DRINK coconut POSS.PLANT-1SG coconut
    my coconut (for drinking/that I drank) my coconut (for planting/that I planted)

31. a) nien raha John
    coconut POSS John
    John’s coconut (used in contexts that could use nem- or nai-)

Borrowed terms are of particular interest as there is a parallel to the first case study. Many indigenous terms are being replaced and all borrowed words must use the indirect possession construction with the classifier. This is even if a borrowed noun fits phonologically and semantically into one of the previously direct possession constructions (ex. 32-33). As core inalienable lexemes are replaced with their Bislama equivalent, the semantic motivation for direct possession becomes less clear. That is, not all inalienable nouns behave the same way syntactically, and not one semantic category (such as kin terms or body parts) fills the inalienable noun class. The further the lexicon replacement develops, the less populated the directly possessed noun class becomes and thus more marginalized as a syntactic structure. We are starting to find examples of previously inalienable nouns that were in the direct construction being used in the indirect construction (ex. 34) – further evidence of a convergence to the Bislama-like periphrastic possession construction.
32. a) foto raha-n  
   photo POSS-3SG  
   his/her photo

   b) brata raha-m
   brother POSS-2SG
   your brother

33. a) *foto-n
   photo-3SG
   his/her photograph

   b) *brata-m
   brother-2SG
   your brother

34. a) netə-k
   child-1SG
   my child

   b) netə raha-k
   child POSS-1SG
   my child

   c) pikinini blong mi (BISLAMA)
   child of me
   my child
References
