

Historical Changes in Pronoun Positions in Extra-Formosan Languages*

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This paper first provides a description of three different types of pronominal systems observed in Extra-Formosan languages: a Philippine-type, a Malay-type, and an Oceanic-type. Each of these systems will be illustrated and probable paths of development outlined. It will be shown that each system, rather than being a development from one of the other systems, appears to have developed directly from a reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan system. Pre-existing conditions that probably motivated the described developments are touched upon, and subsequent changes that took place to bring about some of the diversity that is currently found are also discussed.

1. Introduction

Although a morphologically case-marked clitic-pronoun system is reconstructible for Proto-Extra-Formosan (Malayo-Polynesian) (e.g., Blust 1977, Harvey 1982), pronominal systems case-marked by word order in various patterns are commonly found in its daughter languages. Kikusawa (2003a, 2003b), combining lexical comparison of pronominal forms with typological comparison of sentence patterns, reconstructs the earlier pronominal system with sentence structures for Proto-Extra-Formosan.¹ Furthermore, how two different word-order oriented systems developed from an earlier morphologically case-marked system is also illustrated. The two word-order oriented systems are referred to as the MALAY-TYPE system and the OCEANIC-TYPE system. This paper, based on my earlier publications where details of such changes were examined, presents an outline of these changes that affected the pronominal systems in some Extra-Formosan languages. It provides an overview of the whole picture, rather than repeating the details of the mechanisms of each change and their supporting evidence, which appear elsewhere.

In Section 2, sentence patterns of the three types of pronominal systems with different case-marking patterns are schematically described, and sentence examples from languages spoken today illustrating the three systems are provided. In Section 3, scenarios as to how the three different systems developed from the reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan

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¹ I use the word Proto-Extra-Formosan (rather than Proto-Malayo-Polynesian), because of the consistent definition associated with the term. For example, Starosta (1994) notes that different higher order subgrouping hypotheses have been proposed for the Austronesian family, and different definitions associated with the term Proto-Malayo-Polynesian in Blust (1977), Dahl (1976), Harvey (1979), Reid (1982), and Ross (1994), whereas the term Extra-Formosan refers to that subgroup of languages which includes all non-Formosan languages.

system are presented. In Section 4, I will comment on the chronological relationship among the illustrated changes.

2. The three basic pronominal systems

In this section, the three different types of pronominal system are described. They are classified into the following three patterns; namely, the Philippine-type, Malay-type and Oceanic-type. The three types are defined as follows.

In a PHILIPPINE-TYPE system, most pronouns are morphologically case-marked and their relative position is not relevant to the marking of their grammatical roles (that is, agent and/or patient). Pronominal sets in a system of this type typically consist of a set marking the A, and another set marking the S and O, thus showing an ergative pattern. The first set may be referred to as the ergative set, but it is more often referred to as the genitive set, because the forms in the set often are identical with those in the set marking the possessor of a noun. The second set is referred to here as the nominative set.²

In Malay- and Oceanic-type systems, unlike the Philippine-type system, the position of pronouns in relation to the main verb of the sentence is the primary means of marking the grammatical roles. In Malay-type languages, there are two sentence structures with both the agent and the patient of the sentence expressed, but their order relative to each other is reversed. In Oceanic-type languages, on the other hand, there is only one sentence structure where both the agent and patient are expressed.

It should be noted that the three different types of case-marking patterns on pronouns described above represent prototypical systems, and are by no means the only systems found in this language family. Many Extra-Formosan languages show a mixed system, sometimes reflecting transition from an earlier system to a later one, and sometimes reflecting local changes exclusive to the group they belong to. Also, remnants of the earlier morphological marking are commonly found in both Malay- and Oceanic-type languages.

In the rest of this section, example sentences are provided to show the basic sentence patterns of each of the three systems.³

² The term NOMINATIVE is used in this paper to refer to the element case-marked as the S of an intransitive sentence regardless of whether the language is accusative or ergative. Thus the term includes what is commonly referred to as ABSOLUTIVE in descriptions of ergative languages. This usage has a particular advantage when discussing changes involving the development of case-marking systems, in that it provides a consistent name for a constituent that remains unchanged during the shift from an ergative to an accusative language, whereas labeling the constituent as absolutive when ergative and nominative when accusative gives the false impression that a change has taken place in the function of the constituent.

³ Although there is a recent attempt to typologically describe the so-called western Austronesian languages by Himmelmann (2005:112), I do not apply his classification here for the following two reasons. First, the voice analysis, which is the basis for his classification, is not more cross-linguistically applicable than a transitivity analysis is, and in a comparison which includes non-western Austronesian languages, the transitivity analysis provides greater generalizations and is far more revealing of the morphosyntactic changes that have taken place in the languages. What is more, some voice analyses themselves are problematic (e.g., Kikusawa, forthcoming a). Second, and more importantly for the purpose of this paper, his classification not only does not reflect, but it obscures the historical development of these languages from Philippine-type to Malay-type. In short, Himmelmann's classification is not particularly suitable for an examination of the historical development of sentence structures in Austronesian languages.

2.1. The Philippine-type system

In the Philippine-type system, pronouns are morphologically case-marked. Examples illustrating this are given from Hiligaynon. The pronominal forms in Hiligaynon show a morphological contrast between the genitive set and the nominative set, as in (1). Example sentences with some of these forms are provided in (2). The form expressing the nominative in each sentence is underlined with a single line, while that expressing the genitive is underlined with a double line.

(1) Hiligaynon —Some pronominal forms (Wolfenden 1975:147–148)

	1sg	2sg	3sg
Genitive	<u>ko</u> , <u>nakon</u>	<u>mo</u> , <u>nimo</u>	<u>niya</u>
Nominative	<u>ako</u>	<u>ikaw</u> , <u>ka</u>	<u>sia</u>

(2) Hiligaynon (Western Visayas, Philippines)—Sentence examples with clitic pronouns

- a. Intransitive Nagapungko = ako sa bangko.
be.sitting = 1SG.NOM LOC chair

'I am sitting on the chair.'

(Wolfenden 1975:113)

- b. Extended Naglampos = ako kay Pedro.
Intransitive struck = 1SG.NOM OBL Pedro

'I struck Pedro.'

(Wolfenden 1975:104)

- c. Transitive duawon = ko ikaw.
will.visit = 1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM

'... I'll visit you.'

(Wolfenden 1975:62)

It can be seen in (2) that genitive pronouns express the A of transitive sentences, while nominative pronouns mark the S of intransitive sentences and the O of transitive sentences, thus showing an ergative pattern. This, summarized in (3), is the system typically found in Philippine-type languages. The sentence structures of the languages with this type based on the pronominal patterns are schematically described in (4).⁴

(3) Typical case alignment on pronominal forms in Philippine-type languages

	actor	undergoer
INTRANSITIVE	S (NOM)	
EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE	S (NOM)	E (OBL/LOC)
TRANSITIVE	A (GEN)	O (NOM)

⁴ Clitic pronouns in Philippine-type languages typically occur in the second position of the clause. This pattern is also reconstructible for Proto-Extra-Formosan. See Section 3.1 for details.

(4) Philippine type pronominal system

- a. Intransitive 1 V = N_{PRON}
 INTR = NOM

- b. Intransitive 2 V = N_{PRON} (P)NP
 INTR = NOM OBL/LOC
 = actor undergoer

- c. Transitive⁵ V = N_{PRON} = N_{PRON}
 TR = GEN = NOM
 = actor = undergoer

2.2. The Malay-type system

Languages referred to as Malay-type in this paper are those that have two sentence structures with similar meanings, but the positions of the noun phrases indicating the actor and the undergoer are reversed. For example, in sentence examples from Madurese shown in (5), which both express the meaning 'I hit Alwi', it can be seen that the positions of the word for 'I' and the word 'Alwi' are reversed between (5a) and (5b). Between the two sentences, the verbs carry different morphological marking while the noun phrases are not differentiated by any morphological marking. It is commonly found that, in a Malay-type language, pronominal forms and non-pronominal noun phrases share the same word-order marking, as in Madurese.

(5) Two sentence structures with similar meanings in Madurese (Davies 2005:201)⁶

- a. Transitive 1 *Sengko' mokol Alwi.*
 I hit Alwi
 'I hit Alwi.'

- b. Transitive 2 *Alwi e-pokol sengko'.*
 Alwi hit I
 'I hit Alwi.'

Languages with this pattern are found in Central and South Sulawesi, part of Borneo and other areas in Indonesia. Another set of example sentences is provided from Sa'ban (a Kelabitic language spoken in Sarawak) in (6), where the element preceding the verb is interpreted as the actor and one following the verb is interpreted as the undergoer in the first sentence, while the grammatical roles are reversed in the second sentence.

⁵ The pronominal pattern shown here is typically found in each of the transitive sentence structures that have been traditionally described as goal focus, locational focus, instrumental focus, and benefactive focus. See (17) for relevant comments.

⁶ Davies analyzes sentence (5a) as agent voice and (5b) as object voice.

(6) Two sentence structures with similar meanings in Sa'ban (Clayre 2005:33)⁷

a. Transitive 1 *Éek nnal ieh.*
 1SG see 3SG

'I saw him.'

b. Transitive 2 *Éek inal ieh.*
 1SG see 3SG

'He saw me.'

Another set of example sentences are provided from Pendau in (7). It can be seen in (7b) and (7c) that the first person singular pronoun *?a?u*, occurring in two different positions, expresses undergoer in both sentences.

While it is common for independent pronouns to occur both preceding the verb and following it, in some languages the pronoun that expresses an actor following the verb may alternate with some other form, usually either a genitive pronoun or the reflex of an earlier genitive pronoun. This can be seen in (7c), where the form *=(o)nyo* occurs expressing the actor, instead of the independent form *io*.⁸ The Malay-type sentence structures are schematically shown in (8).

(7) Pendau (Northwest Sulawesi) Sentences illustrating a two-transitive system with pronouns⁹

a. Intransitive *...io ne-te-siir ma?o...*
 3SG look go

'(and) he looked...'

(Quick 1997:473)

b. Transitive 1 *Io neng-ebiling ?a?u.*
 3SG leave 1SG

'He left me.'

(Quick 1997:467)

c. Transitive 2 *?a?u ni-ebiling =onyo.*
 1SG leave =3SG.GEN

'He left me.'

(Quick 1997:467)

⁷ Clayre analyzes sentence (6a) as actor voice and (6b) as undergoer voice.

⁸ The occurrence of genitive pronouns in this position is a remnant of an earlier system, and makes a good "anchor" for identifying cognate structures (structures that have developed from the same proto-structure). The hypotheses proposed in this paper are established based on a comparison where such a method was applied. See Kikusawa (2003a:253–254) for details of the reconstructed forms and sentence structures.

⁹ Quick refers to sentences such as (7b) as active voice, and sentences such as (7c) as inverse voice.

(8) Malay-type sentence structures

- a. N_{PRON} V¹⁰
 IND
 actor/undergoer INTR

- b. N_{PRON} V N_{PRON}
 IND IND
 actor undergoer

- c. N_{PRON} V N_{PRON}
 IND IND
 undergoer actor

- c'. N_{PRON} V = N_{PRON}
 IND = GEN
 undergoer = actor

2.3. The Oceanic-type system

In languages that are referred to as Oceanic-type, there is only one sentence structure with two arguments. Example sentences are given in (9) from Kadavu Fijian, where the pronominal form preceding the verb always indicates the person and number of the actor, while the one following the verb always indicates the person and number of the undergoer. The pronominal forms can be said to show an accusative pattern in such languages.

(9) Kadavu Fijian (Kikusawa, fieldnotes)¹¹

- a. Intransitive Au = *maa laxo niyavi*.
 1sg = past go yesterday
 'I went yesterday.'

- b. Transitive Au = *maa xacivi = ixo*.
 1sg = past call = 2sg
 'I called you.'

¹⁰ The core NP of an intransitive sentence may precede or follow the verb.

¹¹ Pronominal forms such as *au* in example (9a, b) and *xo* in (9c) appearing in Fijian languages have been analyzed as agreement markers, subject pronouns (preceding the verb), and/or object pronouns (following the verb) (Dixon 1988, Kikusawa 2002, Schütz 1985). Although agreement markers and independent pronouns have syntactically different characteristics, it is commonly known that they often originate from the same source, through such processes as grammaticalization and lexicalization, and can potentially participate in a single cognate set. Therefore, in a comparative morphosyntactic study such as the one presented in this paper, pronominal forms are examined together, according to their cognacy rather than their (synchronic) syntactic characteristics. The grammaticalization of pronominal forms apparently took place throughout the Extra-Formosan family following their dispersal. Some of these changes are described in Sections 3.2. through 3.4.

3. The development of the three pronominal systems from Proto-Extra-Formosan

In this section, I will first present the reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan pronominal system, and then illustrate how the three different patterns found in the pronominal systems described in Section 2 developed from the reconstructed system.

3.1. Reconstructing the Proto-Extra-Formosan system

Proto-Extra-Formosan is the parent language commonly shared by languages with the three different types of pronominal systems described in Section 2.

The reconstructed pronouns for Proto-Extra-Formosan include genitive and nominative sets. As noted above, the genitive set expressed ergative actors (and nominal possessors), while the nominative set expressed actors of intransitive sentences and undergoers of transitive sentences. Some pronominal forms, along with their functions, have been reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian, a parent language of Proto-Extra-Formosan. One such reconstruction is shown in (12).

(12) Proto-Austronesian—Some reconstructed pronominal forms (Blust 1977:10–11)

	1sg	2sg	3sg
Nominative	*i-aku	*i-Su *(i)kaSu (polite)	*Si-ia
Genitive (Ergative) clitic	*(n)i-ku	*(n)i-Su *(n)i-mu (polite)	*(n)i-a

The nominative pronouns in intransitive sentences and the genitive pronoun occurring in transitive sentences were probably second-position clitics. In (13), it can be seen that all clitic pronouns follow the clause-initial verb in the second position of each sentence (clitic pronouns are indicated with boxes). Sentences can be classified into two patterns depending on the nature of the clause-initial verb: whether it was the main verb, or an auxiliary verb. When the clause-initial verb was the main verb, the pronouns occurred on the main verb (13a, c, e). When the clause-initial verb was an auxiliary verb(s), the pronouns occurred on the (first) auxiliary verb (13b, d, f). Whether the nominative pronouns occurring in transitive sentences were clitics has yet to be determined.¹³

(13) Reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan basic sentence structures

- Intransitive
- a. V =N_{PRON}
 INTR = NOM
- b. V =N_{PRON} (V) V
 AUX =NOM (AUX) INTR

¹³ Reid (1999:17) suggests the possibility that there were two Nominative sets in Proto-Austronesian, one occurring in intransitive sentences and the other in transitive sentences.

Extended Intransitive	c. V	$\boxed{=N_{\text{PRON}}}$		(P)NP	
	INTR	=NOM		OBL/LOC	
Transitive	d. V	$\boxed{=N_{\text{PRON}}}$	(V)	V	(P)NP
	AUX	=NOM	(AUX)	INTR	OBL/LOC
	e. V	$\boxed{=N_{\text{PRON}}}$			N_{PRON}
	TR	=GEN			NOM
	f. V	$\boxed{=N_{\text{PRON}}}$	(V)	V	N_{PRON}
	AUX	=GEN	(AUX)	TR	NOM

Features of the reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan system, such as morphological contrast, clitic climbing and word order are generally well retained in Philippine-type languages.

3.2. Changes from the Proto-Extra Formosan system to the Philippine-type system

One of the changes commonly shared by Philippine-type languages involves the clitic status of nominative pronouns in transitive sentences. These typically became second-position clitics and immediately followed the genitive clitic pronoun. Figure 1 illustrates this change, and an example sentence from Tagalog is given in (14), where a nominative clitic pronoun =*siya* occurs in the second position immediately following the genitive clitic pronoun =*ko*.

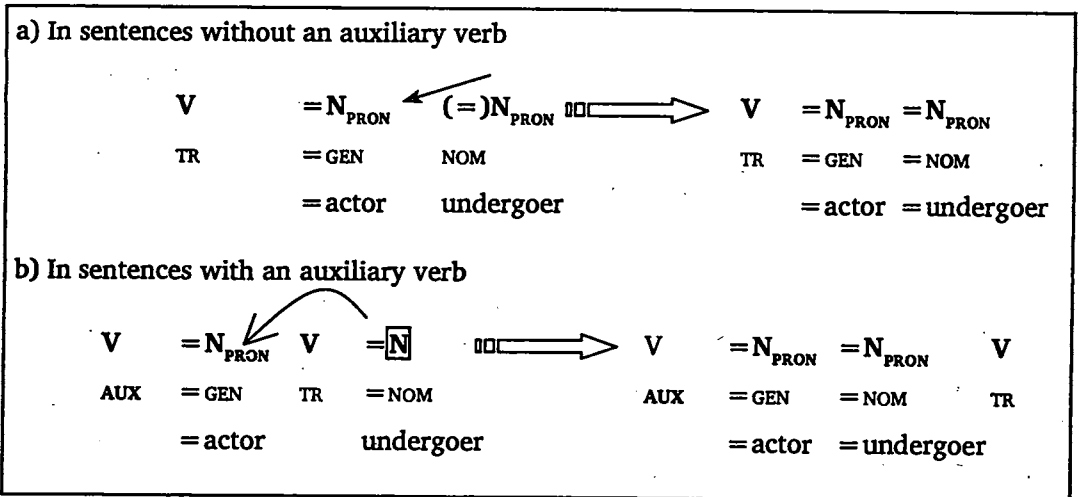


Figure 1. Change from Proto-Extra-Formosan to the Philippine-type system

(14) Tagalog—Clitic pronouns in sentences with auxiliary verb

Hindi = ko = siya nakita ngayon.
 AUX.NEG = GEN.1SG = NOM.3SG see today

'I didn't see him/her today.'

(Schachter 1973:216)

Changes subsequent to this, which took place locally, include the following:

- a) In some languages, the order of the two clitic pronouns in transitive sentences began to be phonologically conditioned.
- b) Fused forms of some sequences of genitive and nominative pronouns occurred.
- c) AUXILIARY-AXING, yielding sentence structures with a clitic pronoun occurring in the initial position.
- d) Increase or decrease of the number of contrasting transitive sentences.

Change a) is reflected in such languages as Tagalog and Hiligaynon. Example (15) shows another sentence from Tagalog, but with a different combination of the person and numbers of the clitic pronouns from that in (14).

(15) Tagalog—Clitic pronouns in sentences with and without auxiliary verb

Nakita = ka = niya.

see = NOM.2SG = GEN.3SG

'He saw you (sg.).'

(Schachter 1973:215; Schachter and Otnes 1972:185)

Here, the order of the two clitic pronouns occurring in the second position depends on their phonological length. In languages with such a system, shorter pronouns precede longer pronouns, regardless of their case form. Thus, in (14), the genitive form, which is the shorter of the two, precedes the nominative form, while in (15), the nominative form, which is the shorter of the two, precedes the genitive form.

Change b) is reflected in Kapampangan, where fused, or PORTMANTEAU FORMS for certain sequences of a genitive pronoun and a nominative pronoun developed. An example sentence is given (16) where the fused form *ne*, indicating third person singular genitive and third person singular nominative, appears.

(16) Kapampangan

(I)*buklat* = *ne*.

open = ERG.3+NOM.3

'He'll open it.'

(Mithun 1994:257)

Change c) was originally proposed by Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982:152–158). In some Philippine-type languages, some clitic pronouns occur in initial position, before the main verb. Such pronouns are considered to be a result of a process called auxiliary-axing, by which an auxiliary verb in clause-initial position (thus hosting a clitic pronoun) was lost, leaving its dependent clitic pronoun stranded before the main verb. According to Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982:152–158), supporting evidence is found in the Chamorro language of Guam, Ibaloi, and other northern Philippine languages. The process of auxiliary-axing is schematically shown in Figure 2.

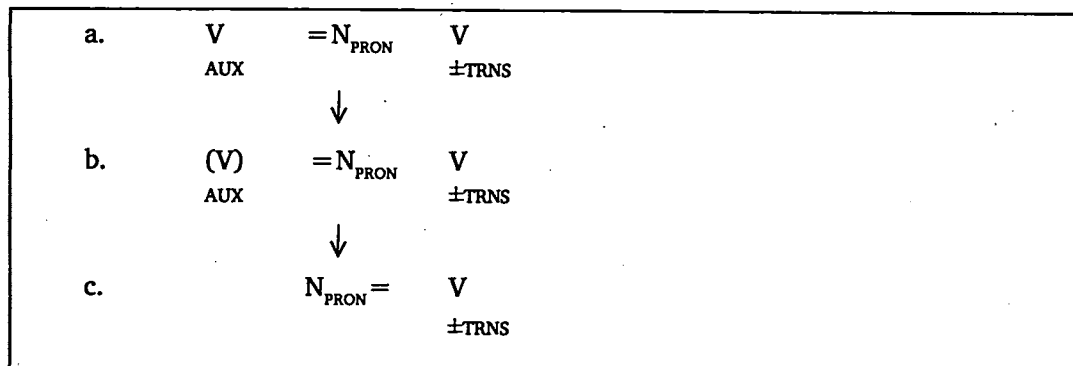


Figure 2. The process of auxiliary-axing (Cited from Kikusawa 2003a, based on Starosta, Pawley, and Reid 1981)

Finally, in many languages, the number of contrasting transitive sentences either increased or decreased.

One characteristic of many Philippine-type languages is that the semantic role of O, the element that is expressed with the nominative phrase in transitive sentences, may vary depending on the morphological derivation of the verb. The set of different verb-nominative relations are traditionally referred to as different 'focuses' or 'voices' (cf. Wouk and Ross 2002, Arka and Ross 2005). Some of the semantic distinctions that exist in such a system are shown in (17).

(17) Semantic features expressed by the O of transitive sentences

	ACTOR	UNDERGOER
TRANSITIVE A. (GOAL FOCUS/VOICE)	A (GEN)	O (NOM): Goal
TRANSITIVE B. (LOCATIONAL FOCUS/VOICE)	A (GEN)	O (NOM): Location
TRANSITIVE C. (INSTRUMENTAL FOCUS/VOICE)	A (GEN)	O (NOM): Instrument
TRANSITIVE D. (BENEFACTIVE FOCUS/VOICE)	A (GEN)	O (NOM): Beneficiary

Among the four listed in (17), transitive D, or the structure with the nominative noun phrase expressing the beneficiary, may have developed independently in some languages adding an additional transitive structure to the language.

An example of decrease in the number of transitive constructions is found in Malagasy, a Philippine-type language.¹⁴ In Betsimisaraka Malagasy, there are only two types of transitive sentence today, one with transitive verbs requiring the undergoer to appear in the nominative, while the other type consists of ditransitive *APPLICATIVE* verbs requiring either the location, instrument, or beneficiary to appear in the nominative (Kikusawa, 2008). According to J. Sabel (p.c.) the corresponding verb forms in Standard Malagasy both require a *THEMATIC OBJECT*, implying that the form occurring in the nominative carries the same semantic property regardless of the form of the (main) verb of the sentence.

¹⁴ In an earlier version of this paper, Betsimisaraka Malagasy was classified as a Malay-type language based on different criteria.

3.3. Changes from the Proto-Extra-Formosan system to the Malay- and Oceanic-type systems

Unlike the development of the Philippine-type system, which is a relatively simple word order change affecting clitic pronouns, the development of the Malay- and Oceanic-type systems involve major structural changes. The changes that resulted in each of these systems could only have resulted from the presence in the commonly-shared proto-system of two possible positions for genitive clitic pronouns.

In (18), the same set of reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan sentences are shown as are given in (13), but with the main verb of each sentence boxed with dotted lines and with the sentences re-aligned according to the position of the main verb.

(18) Re-aligned Proto-Extra-Formosan basic sentence structures

Intransitive	a.			$\boxed{\begin{matrix} V \\ INTR \end{matrix}}$	$\boxed{= N_{PRON}}$ = NOM	
	b.	V AUX	$\boxed{= N_{PRON}}$ = NOM	(V) (AUX)	$\boxed{\begin{matrix} V \\ INTR \end{matrix}}$	
Extended Intransitive	c.			$\boxed{\begin{matrix} V \\ INTR \end{matrix}}$	$\boxed{= N_{PRON}}$ = NOM	(P)NP OBL/LOC
	d.	V AUX	$\boxed{= N_{PRON}}$ = NOM	(V) (AUX)	$\boxed{\begin{matrix} V \\ INTR \end{matrix}}$	(P)NP OBL/LOC
Transitive	e.			$\boxed{\begin{matrix} V \\ TR \end{matrix}}$	$\boxed{= N_{PRON}}$ = GEN	N _{PRON} NOM
	f.	V AUX	$\boxed{= N_{PRON}}$ = GEN	(V) (AUX)	$\boxed{\begin{matrix} V \\ TR \end{matrix}}$	N _{PRON} NOM

It can be seen that there are two contrasting positions for the clitic pronouns in relation to the main verb: that is, either preverbal or postverbal. As we see in this section, all the sentence structures in (18) except for (18f) appear to be relevant to the development of the Malay-type system, while the Oceanic-type system developed from a system in which only sentence structures (18b, d, f) occurred. The preconditions for the development of the two systems under discussion are as follows. The Malay-type system developed directly from the Proto-Extra-Formosan system by losing the clitic-climbing rule that affected genitive clitic pronouns when an auxiliary was present. These pronouns became stranded following the main verb. The development which ultimately resulted in the fixed position of nominative pronouns before the main verb will be discussed in section 3.3.1. The Oceanic-type system also developed directly from the Proto-Extra-Formosan system, but subsequent to a change whereby pronouns expressing the actor (that is genitive clitics in transitive constructions and nominative clitics in intransitive constructions) became fixed as proclitics before the main verb, as discussed in 3.3.2.

3.3.1. Development of the Malay-type system

As mentioned above, it is most reasonable to assume that the Malay-type system developed directly from the Proto-Extra-Formosan system (without going through another system, such as the Philippine-type system). While genitive clitic pronouns and other genitive noun phrases remained postverbal, all nominative arguments became preverbal. The pre-Malay system where the nominative clitic pronouns occurred following the main verb, and the Malay-type system are shown in Figure 3. The fact that nominative pronouns in the clause initial position are not clitic forms that can be shown to be reflexes of reconstructed nominative clitics but are typically independent forms suggests that they were not the result of auxiliary-axing as happened in some Philippine languages, but were fronted by some other mechanism.

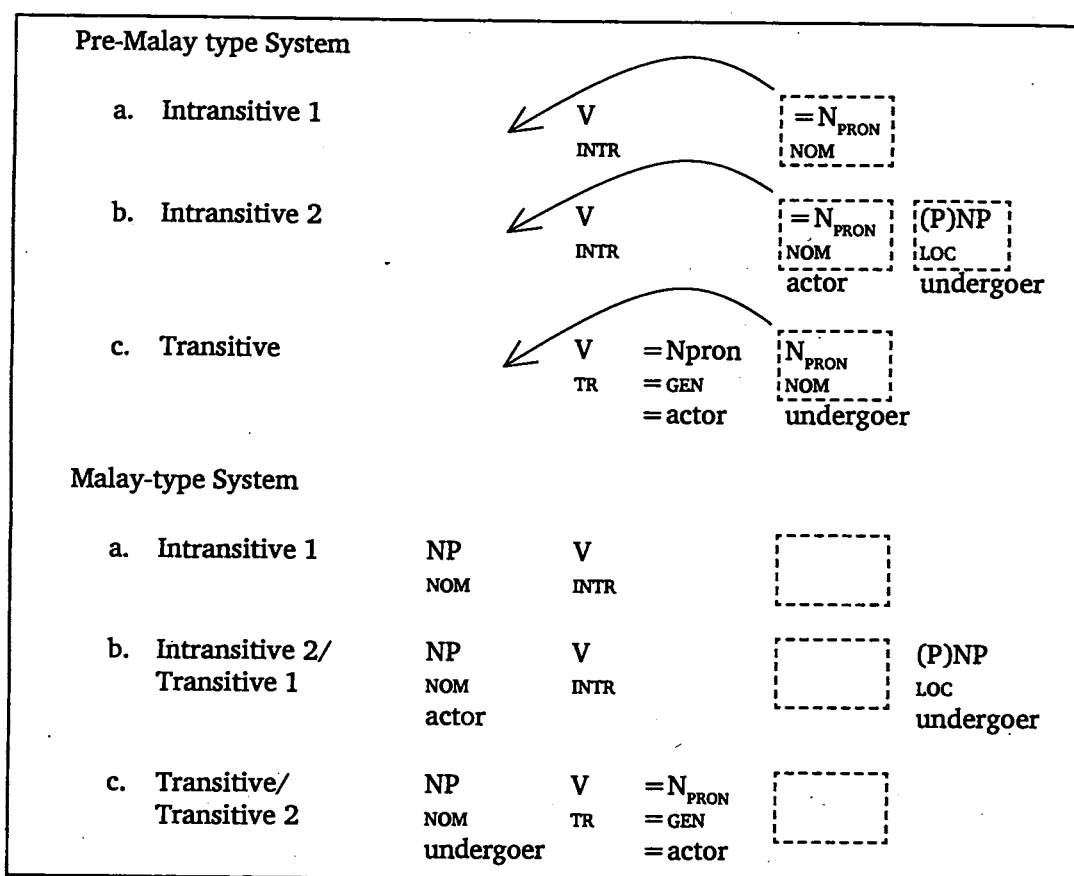


Figure 3. Change from the Proto-Extra-Formosan system to the Malay-type system

There are several possible explanations. For example, it is possible that nominative pronouns became fronted by topicalization, with clitic forms being replaced in this position by independent (non-case-marked) pronouns, and that such forms substituted for other topicalized nominative arguments which occurred in the same position. The major change that followed this change was the treating of the topic position of a sentence as the unmarked

position for the nominative argument of all three sentence structures, namely, transitive, intransitive, and extended intransitive sentences. This change is indicated with arrows in Figure 3. In this hypothesis, although sentences (18a, c) appear to be directly relevant to the development of the pre-Malay system, the fronting of sentences (18b) and (18d) may also be relevant. In fact, the existence of the latter two structures, where clitic pronouns occurred in the pre-main verb position, may have been a motivation for the proposed change to take place. Regarding the transitive sentences, however, the genitive clitic pronoun acquiring the post-main verb position was the necessary precondition. In other words, sentence (18e) existed independently of sentence (18f) in the pre-Malay system.

An equally likely explanation is that when a nominative pronoun was topicalized and occurred in the preverbal position, it originally required a coreferential clitic pronoun to co-occur with it. Subsequently, an alternation developed, allowing either the preverbal form to occur or the postverbal clitic form to occur, resulting in a system such as the one found in Manggarai, shown in (19), where it is obligatory for either one of the two alternating elements (underlined) to appear in a sentence. Subsequently, the independent (topicalized) pronoun became the default marking for the nominative element, while the enclitic nominative pronoun was lost.

(19) Manggarai sentence examples

(Arka and Kosmas 2005:91)

a. Hia onnga aku.
3SG hit 1SG

'S/he hit me.'

b. Ornga aku = i¹⁵
hit 1SG = 3SG

'S/he hit me.'

Another possible explanation is that the nominative clitic pronouns were replaced by the corresponding independent pronouns, then the nominative independent pronoun subsequently gained the clause initial position, where only topicalized forms had occurred, becoming its default position.

It is also possible that the three changes could have taken place separately in different language groups independently from each other. Further investigation, including the examination of syntactic characteristics and occurrence patterns of clauses with topicalized elements (cf. Wouk 2002:292–293), is necessary to clarify the details of the process whereby the Malay-type languages acquired nominative initial clause structures.

Other major changes that have taken place in Malay-type languages include:

- a) Replacement of some genitive clitic pronouns by independent pronouns.
- b) Development of new pronominal sets.
- c) Development of PASSIVE structures.
- d) Development of the so-called APPLICATIVE structures.

¹⁵ The nominative enclitic pronoun in Manggarai occurs on the clause final element, and is not a second position clitic. See Arka and Kosmas (2005) for details.

Change a) is reflected in many languages with the Malay-type system. The genitive clitic pronoun occurring on the verb was later replaced by the corresponding independent pronominal form in most languages. In a number of languages, such as Pendau (cf. (7c, d)), remnants of earlier forms reconstructed as genitive clitics still occur. The pronoun expressing the actor in (7c) may still reflect earlier genitive clitic forms, even though they are now being replaced with independent forms. Also, in earlier Indonesian, the third person genitive form could occur in (7c) under certain conditions (Tadmor p.c.).

Change b), the development of additional pronominal sets, is reflected in some languages. For example, four pronominal sets in Kambera described in Klammer (1997) reveal that they developed from earlier genitive and nominative sets. Through an examination of the forms in each set, it is obvious that in this language, two sets developed from the earlier genitive set, and another two sets from the earlier nominative set, one set of each having developed with a prenasalizing element.

Changes c) and d) are structural changes affecting the whole syntactic system and are not directly related to changes in the pronominal system. The development of passive structures and of a new, regular vs. applicative transitive contrast has been discussed elsewhere (Tadmor 2006, Kikusawa 2006, forthcoming, cf. Arka and Kosmas 2005, Donohue 2005).

Many languages show a transitional stage between the reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan system and that described for Malay-type languages, often showing characteristics somewhere between the Philippine-type and the Malay-type systems. In particular, those where the genitive clitic pronouns occur both as proclitics and enclitics, such as Sasak (Wouk 2002:287–189) and the genitive clitic pronoun showing a mixed system consisting of both proclitics and enclitics such as Totoli (cf. van den Berg 1996, Mead 2002), are expected to provide key evidence in identifying the development of Malay-type languages in the future.

3.3.2. *Development of the Oceanic-type system*

Oceanic type pronominal systems developed as a result of a change that is completely different from that which yielded the Malay-type pattern. The development of the Oceanic-type pronominal system from the Proto-Extra-Formosan system is illustrated in Figure 4.

In this change, the positions of the clitic pronouns, which are boxed with dotted lines in the Figure, became fixed in the pre-main verb position. Once the contrast between pre-main verb and post-main verb positions was established, two morphologically distinct sets that occurred in these positions started to merge, to be eventually lost.¹⁶ A possible motivation for this change was that in both extended intransitive and transitive sentences, the actor occurred in the same position.

The position for clitic pronouns expressing the actor is fixed today following certain auxiliary verb(s) and preceding the main verb in many languages, rather than retaining the earlier second clitic position characteristics. For example, in Tongan, clitic pronouns expressing the SUBJECT occur in the position between the tense marker and the verb (Otsuka 2005:125), as shown in (20).

¹⁶ Note that this involves a change from an ergative pattern to an accusative pattern. Details of this change and its supporting evidence are presented in Kikusawa (2003a) and (2003b).

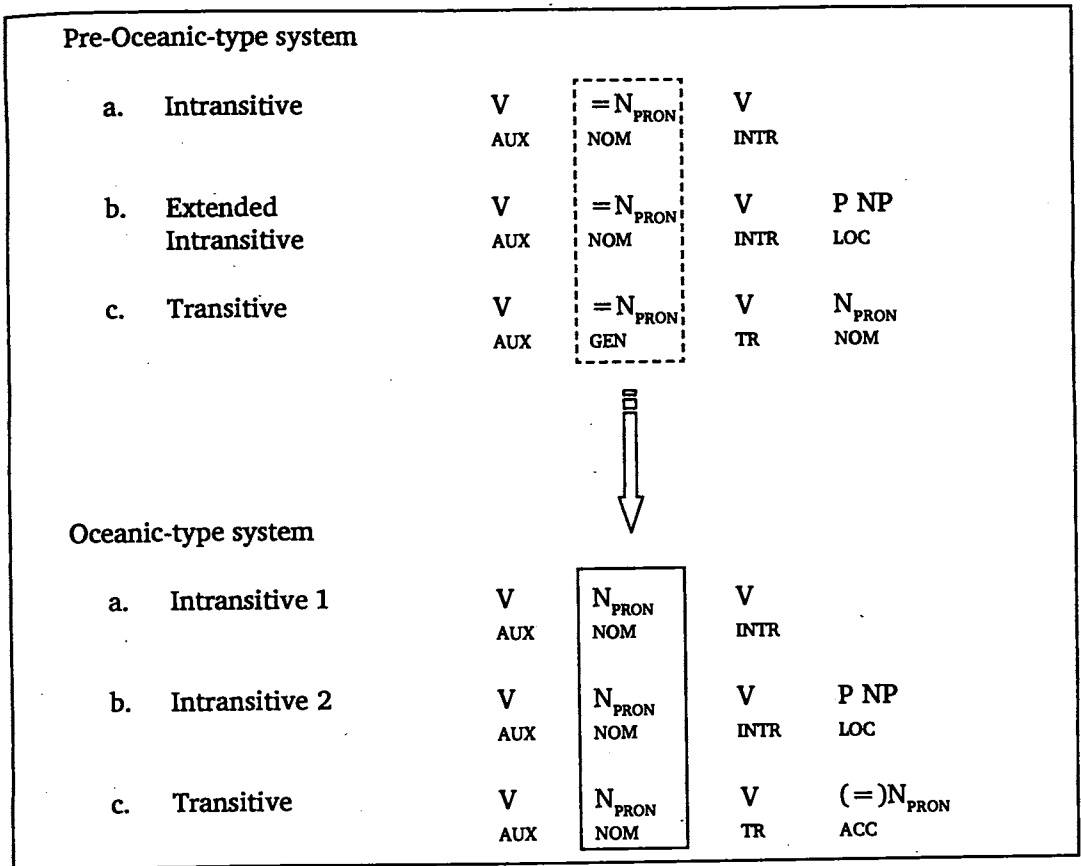


Figure 4. Change from the Proto-Extra-Formosan system to the Oceanic-type system

(20) Tongan sentence examples

(Otsuka 2005:125)

a. *Na'a ku 'alu ki ai.*
PAST 1SG go to there

'I went there.'

b. *Na'a ku 'ave 'a e tamasi'i ki ai.*
PAST 1SG take NOM DEF boy to there

'I took the boy there.'

One of the commonly shared subsequent changes is that clitic pronouns became proclitics, as seen in Fijian languages, such as shown in (9) and (10). However, even in such languages, the remnants of the earlier position are sometimes found. For example, in one variety spoken in Kadavu, the form *qu* '1sg' follows certain auxiliary verbs, instead of preceding them, as the corresponding forms in other varieties do. Compare sentence (21) with sentences (9) and (10). (See also Pawley and Sayaba 1982.)

(21) Nabukelevu Fijian sentence examples

Sa = *ŋgu laxo*.
 PAST = 1SG go

'I'm leaving now.'

(Kikusawa fieldnotes)

Other changes that are typically reflected in Oceanic-type languages include:

- a) Clitic/independent pronouns developed into agreement markers, and coreferential independent pronouns began co-occurring with them.
- b) Replacement of all clitic pronouns with independent pronouns, resulting in all nominative pronouns becoming clause-initial.

Example sentences reflecting changes a) and b) are given from Tetun in (22), where the earlier clitic pronoun has been grammaticalized and now is analyzed as the 'SUBJECT AGREEMENT MARKER (*n-* in the example sentence). An independent pronoun may co-occur with the agreement marker (22a), but it may also occur without any agreement marker (22b).¹⁷

(22) Tetun (the Fehan dialect)—Sentences illustrating an accusative-pattern system

a. *Nia n-alai ti?an*.
 3SG 3SG.AGR-RUN already

'She has run away.'

(van Klinken 1999:179)

b. *Tán nia n-aklelek ha?u, foin ha?u fota nia*.
 because 3SG 3SG.AGR-speak.abuse 1SG then 1SG hit 3SG

'Because she verbally abused me, then I hit her.'

(van Klinken 1999:179)

4. Chronological sequence of the proposed changes

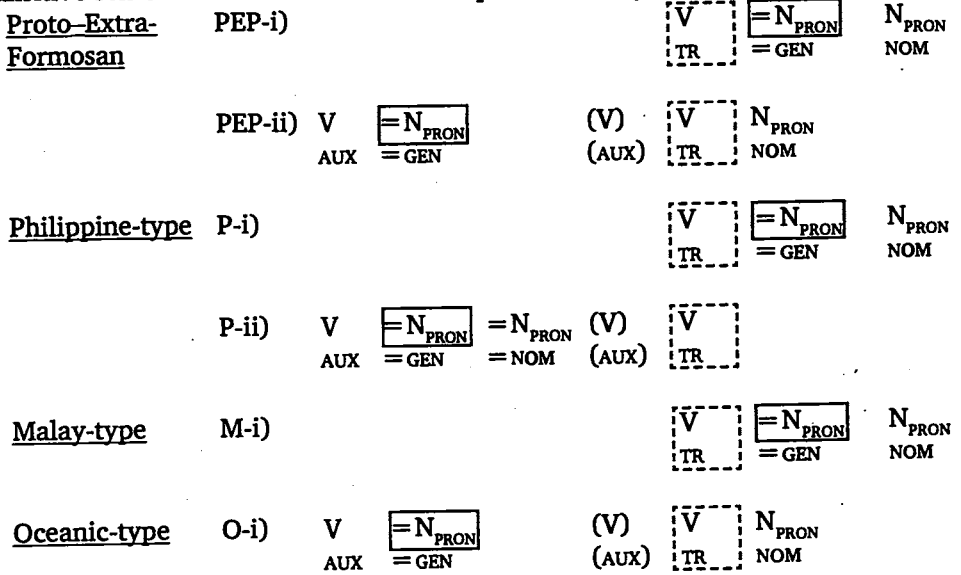
The scenarios of the changes from the reconstructed Proto-Extra Formosan system to the three different types of pronominal systems, namely, the Philippine-type, Malay-type and Oceanic-type, were outlined in Section 3. In this section, I will argue that the three different patterns do not show three different stages of a single sequence of changes, but have developed independently from the same reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan system.

Reconstructed Proto-Extra-Formosan transitive sentence structures are shown together in (23) with the three different systems that developed from it for comparison. Comparing them with those in (13), it can be seen that the Philippine-type system has retained the earlier two transitive structures, while the Malay- and Oceanic-type systems

¹⁷ It should be noted that the OCEANIC-TYPE system is not exclusively seen in languages belonging to the Oceanic language family. Tetun and some other non-Oceanic languages spoken in Indonesia have pronominal systems of this type as well.

retained one or the other of the two proto-sentence structures. The clitic status and the position of pronouns are summarized in (24).

(23) Transitive sentence structures in the three pronominal systems



(24) Position and type of clitic pronouns in the three systems¹⁸

	PEF/Philippine-Type	Malay-Type	Oceanic-Type
Nominative pronouns	enclitic	proclitic	proclitic
Genitive pronouns	enclitic	enclitic	proclitic
Position	second position	post-main verb	pre-main verb

As shown in (23) and as has been mentioned earlier (Section 3.3), the Malay-type system implies an earlier system in which genitive clitic pronouns had acquired a fixed post-main verb position, while the Oceanic-type system implies that genitive clitic pronouns (that is the actors of transitive sentences), as well as nominative clitic pronouns (the actors of intransitive sentences) had acquired a pre-main verb position. What this implies is that the Oceanic-type pronominal system did not go through the Malay-type system as it developed, but the two systems have developed independently from the reconstructed proto-system. Considering factors both related and unrelated to pronominal systems, it appears to be most reasonable to assume that the pronominal systems described in this paper (Section 2) have developed relatively recently, relevant changes having taken place long after the languages dispersed. Thus, whether a language shows a Malay-type pronominal system or an Oceanic-type does not necessarily serve as a criterion for subgrouping. What it does,

¹⁸ This table shows proto-typical patterns of each system and does not attempt to indicate the diversity that occurs in the languages. Also, the nature of clitic pronouns (whether they are proclitics or enclitics) and their positions are not necessarily always correlated. For example, in languages such as Mandarin, the genitive clitics have acquired pre-main verb position and are proclitics, while the nominative clitics remains as enclitics occurring in second position (Lee 2006).

however, is provide examples of parallel developments of certain grammatical features that have taken place in some groups of languages that require explanations of the type outlined in this paper.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations conform to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08_09_12.pdf) with the exception of the following:

actor	(semantic) actor	NP	noun phrase
AGR	agreement marker	N _{PRON}	pronoun, pronominal form
AUX	Auxiliary verb	P	preposition
DET	determiner	PAST	past tense
GEN	genitive (case)	±TRNS	transitive, or intransitive
IND	independent (pronoun)	undergoer	(semantic) undergoer
LOC	locative (case)	V	verb
N	noun	=	boundary of a clitic form
NOM	nominative (case)	-	boundary of an affix

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