

HOW AUSTRONESIAN FOCUS WORKS IN THE MISIMA LANGUAGE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Several recent writers have identified focus as being an important feature in Austronesian languages. For example, Naylor, in the article "Topic, Focus and Emphasis in the Tagalog Verbal Clause" (1975) exhibited how focus operates in Tagalog. George Milner in "On the Centrality of Austronesian Syntax" (1976) examines three articles written from different linguistic traditions, including Naylor's article on Tagalog. He sees a basic unity in Austronesian syntax despite the diversity of description. In discussing Naylor's article he states, "It is likely that the focus and topic method of analysis may have relevance for Oceanic languages also" (1976:9).

One very significant article on focus is Paz Naylor's "Toward Focus in Austronesian" (1978). In this article she summarizes the focus system in Tagalog, and also provides a survey of focus in eight other Austronesian languages drawn from a wide area. In her conclusion she states, "Underneath the surface differences among Austronesian languages is the same organisational matrix - a network of focus contrasts... Focus is discernible in the AN languages and there are good indications that this is the fundamental concept that underlies and typifies the structure of Austronesian languages" (1978:433).

In Naylor's article on topic, focus and emphasis in Tagalog, she gives the following language-specific definition of focus: "In Philippine linguistics, the term 'focus' has a unique meaning. It is mostly used to refer to the syntactic relationship between the verb and the surface subject, signalled by the verb's focus affix in conjunction with the subject form of noun phrases and pronoun" (1975:12-13).

In her later article dealing with Austronesian languages in general, it is obvious that the term is being used in a wider sense. In fact she argues that one of the reasons focus has not been recognised in Austronesian languages is that researchers have often looked for the same degree of formal marking as is found in Philippine languages. When such formal marking has not been observed they have tended to conclude that focus does not operate in that language.

Naylor notes that Austronesian focus is closely connected with semantics. "The notion of focus is predicated on two premises - one semantic and the other syntactic." (1978:429)

A correlate of focus is the possibility of focus selection. Concerning this Naylor states, "Essentially, selection is determined by the internal semantics of the verb and the pragmatics of discourse." (1978:401)

In this paper I will discuss how focus operates in the Misima language.¹ This discussion will involve the parameters of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Given a certain state of affairs, with certain participants, focus selects one of these participants as being the individual or entity from whose perspective the state of affairs is presented. For each illustration of focus I have given contrastive examples showing the different forms of the verb if a particular focus is selected. The surface forms used to indicate focus are in some cases quite complex. These will be discussed later. This paper will examine how focus is governed by transitivity, aspect and person and number of undergoer, as well as by discourse pragmatics.

2. ACTION FOCUS AND UNDERGOER FOCUS

2.1 Action Focus and Undergoer Focus Compared

Most verbs in Misima have different forms which can be used by the speaker to indicate focus within the predications. In the examples below, the form of the verb in the (a) set of examples is the form used for action focus. When the focus within the predication is on the undergoer then the form in the (b) examples is used. The difference in focus is indicated by the form of the verb used. The various forms are discussed in greater detail below. However, one common way to indicate undergoer focus is via shift of stress to the final syllable. Quite frequently there is also a vowel change in the final vowel.

Verb forms to indicate focus on the undergoer are obligatory in questions containing hauna 'what' or henala 'who' as the undergoer of the action or in answers to such questions.

(1a) Hi -na eyow(a)-a anán hi -áhi
 3pl:r go garden loc food 3pl:r get
 They went to the garden and got some food'.

(1b) Anan hi -ané limi -ya
 food 3pl:r get:UR house loc
 They got the food from the house'.

- (2a) Nolu eyowa hi -giyal
 yesterday garden 3pl:r dig
 'Yesterday they dug the garden'.
- (2b) Nolu eyowa hi -giyál
 yesterday garden 3pl:r dig:UR
 'They dug the garden yesterday'.
- (3a) Abwe wewel nu -wági nu -teli limi -ya
 later water 2s:ir draw 2s:ir put house loc
 'Get some water and put it in the house'.
- (3b) Wewel nu -wagè nu -pem na -im
 water 2s:ir draw:UR 2s:ir give:me 1s:ir drink
 'Give me some water to drink'.
- (4a) Ebo limi, ni -na yova tama -na wana limi
 If house, 3s:ir go woman father her his house
ni -tuwalali
 3s:ir work
 'If housebuilding, he will go and work on his wife's
 father's house'.
- (4b) John wana limi nihi -tuwalali-yan
 John his house 3pl:ir work UR
 'They will work on John's house'.
- (5a) Nu -na -u kabole hi -gòvi Nayum
 brother her pl sago 3pl:r cut Nayum
 'Her brothers cut sago at Nayum'.
- (5b) Kabole hi -govè hi -na hi -pek Sinemkalawata
 Sago 3pl:r cut:UR 3pl:r go 3pl:r give Sinemkalawata
elana
 to:her
 'They cut the sago and gave it to Sinemkalawata'.
- (6a) Bulin i -gan, abwe moti hi -ligaliga
 Night 3s:r become later fish 3pl:r cook
 'When it was night, they cooked the fish'.
- (6b) Moti u -liga
 Fish 2s:r cook
 'Cook the fish'.
- (7a) Dimdim ya -gagayáwa
 European 1s:r watch
 'I watched the European'.
- (7b) Wawaya ya -gagayawa-án
 Child 1s:r watch UR
 'I watched the child'.

(8a) Ebwakil i -mwéna
 †tree 3s:r climb
 'He climbed a tree'.

(8b) Kalehe i -mwéné
 †mango 3s:r climb:UR
 'He climbed the mango tree'.

2.2 The Form

The form used to indicate undergoer focus is a referencing clitic. The undergoer referencing clitic agrees in person, number and exclusiveness with the undergoer of the predicate.

(9) Waway(a)-au i -kite-l
 †child pl 3s:r see them
 'He saw the children'.

(10) I -lo1-ima
 †3s:r hit us(ex.)
 'He hit us (ex.)'.

The third person singular form may, however, be used to reference a third person plural undergoer if it is non-human. This is in accordance with Misima syntax in general, in which non-human nouns do not take any overt marking to indicate plural. (Within this paper, the third person singular form will be glossed as UR for Undergoer Referencing. For ease of reading, the Undergoer Referencing clitics for other persons and numbers will be glossed with an English pronoun as in examples 9 and 10 above.)

(11) Bobu i -lovakun -án
 †pig 3s:r frightened:of UR
 'He is frightened of the pigs/the pig'.

The undergoer referencing clitic occurs statistically most frequently on verb stems but it may also occur on a wide range of post-verbal modifiers including the completive aspect marker haba. Different modifiers behave differently in the way in which they take the undergoer referencing clitic. Whenever an undergoer referencing clitic occurs on a post-verbal modifier, almost always the verb itself also has undergoer referencing form. Frequently the

verb has the unmarked third person singular form, the clitic on the post verbal modifier may specifically agree in person, number and exclusiveness with the undergoer. (Example 12.) In other examples, however, this is reversed with the verb exhibiting specific agreement while the modifier occurs in an unmarked third person singular undergoer referencing form. (Example 13.) Also it is possible for both the verb and the modifier to exhibit specific agreement with the undergoer. (Example 14.) Example 15 contrasts an action focus form with an exhibiting undergoer referencing on the modifier.

- (12) I - labé bubun - au
 3s.r - help.UR well - me
 'He helped me a lot.'
- (13) I - lol - il bwabwagé!
 3s.r - hit - them no.reason.UR
 'He just killed them for no reason.'
- (14) Na - lol - imiu haba - miu.
 1s.ir - hit - you.pl comp. - you.pl
 'I will completely destroy you. (pl.)'
- (15a) Gol hi - ken nabi.
 Hole 3pl.r - dig much
 'They dug a hole for a long time.'
- (15b) Gol hi - ken nabi - yán.
 Hole 3pl.r - dig much - UR
 'They dug the hole very deep.'

There are two sets of undergoer referencing clitics. At this stage in the analysis it has not been possible to find an underlying semantic or phonological explanation for the two sets and so they are regarded as being lexically determined. In other words, the short clitics occur with one set of verb stems and post-verbal modifiers, while the long clitics occur with another set of verb stems and post-verbal modifiers. There are however a number of verb stems, and two modifiers, which may take either the short or long clitics. In only one or two examples is this associated with a difference in meaning.

Further analysis may reveal some semantic features governing the occurrence of either the short or long clitic.

The two sets of clitics are given in the table below.

	<u>Short clitics</u>	<u>Long clitics</u>
1s.	- <u>á</u> u	- <u>agá</u> u
2s.	' - <u>wa</u> (~ - <u>iwa</u>)	- <u>agiwa</u>
3s.	- <u>é</u> or - <u>ó</u> or final stress or ø	- <u>án</u> or - <u>i</u>
1pl.in	' - <u>la</u> (~ - <u>ila</u>)	- <u>agila</u>
1pl.ex	' - <u>ma</u> (~ - <u>ima</u>)	- <u>agima</u>
2pl.	' - <u>miu</u> (~ - <u>imiu</u>)	- <u>agimiu</u>
3pl.	' - <u>l</u> (~ - <u>il</u>)	- <u>agil</u>

Where the short clitic has an allomorph beginning with -'i', the form with the transitional 'i' is used following stems ending in a consonant.

The third person singular forms are varied and it is not possible to predict them on phonological grounds. As a general rule for third person singular short clitics, undergoer referencing is indicated by a change in stress to the final syllable (Example 2), which is frequently accompanied by the neutralization of vowel height to mid - i.e. when the verb root ends in the vowels -i or -a the vowel, with very few exceptions, changes to -e. (See examples 1,3,5 and 8 above.) When the verb root ends in -u the vowel, with very few exceptions, changes to -o.

- (16a) I - aipálu.
 3s.r - throw down
 'He threw something down.'

- (16b) Wana kaliko i -aipaló
 his clothes 3s:r throw:UR
 'He threw his clothes down'.

Quite a number of verbs however do not have any overt marking for third-person singular undergoer referencing. Some of these are monosyllables, and therefore it is not possible to signify undergoer referencing by shifting the stress to the final syllable. Others however have stress on the penultimate syllable and are thus, in form, similar to the action focus form of other verbs. Verbs formed with the causative pa- fall into this category, except those in which the verb root ends in a consonant.

A few examples are given below and we will return later to a discussion of these verbs.

- (17) Tal -im ya -aténa
 brother your 1s:r know
 'I know your brother'.

- (18) Kom i -téli bwalal-a
 cup 3s:r put floor loc
 'He put the cup on the floor'.

- (19) Wawaya i -pa -kénu
 child 3s:r caus sleep
 'He put the child to sleep'.

The form of the long suffixes for third person singular is -an or -i. Again there are no phonological rules governing the occurrence of the two forms. The occurrence of -an or -i is determined by the lexical class of the verb. There are a few verbs which may take either suffix.

- (20) Wawaya ha -eguluwa-i
ha -eguluwa-an
 child 1pl:ex:r leave
 'We left the child behind'.

- (21) Dimdim i -lovakun -an
 European 3s:r frighten:of UR
 'He is frightened of the European'.

It should also be noted that some verbs have different stems for the action focus form and the undergoer focus form. Of particular note is the word meaning 'to carry on shoulders or in hands'. In the examples below the forms in the (a) examples are action focus stems and the forms in the (b) examples are undergoer focus stems.

(22a) Egowa i -kával
 basket 3s:r carry
 'She carried the basket on her shoulder (not on her head as is the usual)'.

(22b) Natu -na i -kalivai
 child his 3s:r carry
 'He carried his child'.

Quite a number of verbs have a reduplicated form which is the stem for the action focus form of the verb. The unreduplicated form is used as the stem for referent focus. Reduplication is also used in the language to express progressive aspect. There is also a correlation between progressive aspect and action focus, as will be demonstrated later in the paper. However the use being discussed here is a derivational use leading to a new verb stem.

With a number of verbs the action focus stem never occurs with an overt undergoer expressed as an argument of the predication. For some however this is possible, as in example (6) above, and example (23) below.

(23a) Abwe panuwa i -ha -hálahála
 later place 3s:r rd do:sweeping
 'She is going to sweep the place'.

(23b) Wana lum i -hála
 her room 3s:r sweep
 'She swept her room'.

(24a) Nolu hi -na hi -koskos
 yesterday 3pl:r go 3pl:r catch:fish
 'Yesterday they went fishing'.

(24b) Moti eton hi -kos
 fish three 3pl:r catch
 'They caught three fish'.

Verb stems which are inherently action focus are also formed with the derivational prefix lo- which may be roughly glossed, 'to do the activity of.' When such a verb stem is used there is rarely an overt undergoer expressed as an argument in the predication. The meaning is not always predictable.

(25a) I -losúmi
 3s:r do:secretly
 'He went off without anyone knowing'.

(25b) Buki i -sumé
 book 3s:r hide:UR
 'He hid the book'.

2.3 Non-textual Factors

In section 2.2 above it was shown that the surface form used to indicate undergoer focus is the undergoer referencing clitic and certain verb stems which are inherently undergoer focus. In this section I will show that there are several areas where undergoer focus is determined by non-textual factors. In other words there are some areas in the language in which the potential distinction between the two types of focus is neutralized, with one of the types of focus being necessitated by non-textual factors. From this it can be seen that Misima is perhaps not as highly developed in terms of undergoer focus as some other Austronesian languages, particularly the Philippine ones. On the other hand it can be seen that undergoer focus is nevertheless a significant feature in Misima grammar.

It almost goes without saying that undergoer focus is not observed with verb roots which only have one predicational argument. With such verbs there simply is no undergoer upon which to focus.

(26) Wawaya i -kâhin
 child 3s:r cry
 'The child is crying'.

In traditional English grammar these would be described as intransitive verbs. However, some verbs which would be 'intransitive' in English, may in Misima still have referenced undergoer within the predication. The term 'undergoer' can refer to items which have case relations such as range, means or goal.

(27a) Hi -sága
3pl:r dance
'They danced'.

(27b) Kalehe saga -na hi -saga -án
mango dance its 3pl:r dance UR
'They danced mango-type dance' (i.e. the kind of dance associated with cutting a small mango tree and bringing it to the person doing a feast.)

(28a) Ya -nawa ae -u elana te ya -nem e
1s:r walk foot my loc this 1s:r come this
'I came here on foot'.

(28b) Ae -u ya -nawa-án
foot my 1s:r walk UR
'I came by foot'.

(29a) I -lovakun dimdim elana
3s:r be:frighten European loc
'He was frightened of the European'.

(29b) Dimdim i -lovakun -án
European 3s:r be:frightened UR
'He was frightened of the European'.

Some verbs, then, are inherently action focussed. On the opposite end of the spectrum there are a large number of verbs in Misima which are inherently undergoer focussed. There are the verbs which are highly transitive; in Misima they must always have an undergoer referencing clitic. These verbs do not have action focus forms, the action focus versus undergoer focus mechanism which operates in other parts of the language being over-ruled or predetermined by the highly transitive nature of the verb.

(30) Ulun i -gebál
clay:pot 3s:r break:UR,
'He broke the clay pot'.

(31) Wawaya ya -kité
 child 1s:r see;UR
 'I saw the child'.

(32) Mani i -sumé
 money 3s:r hide;UR
 'He hid the money'.

It was pointed out above that a large number of verbs never have any overt phonological marking for third person singular undergoer referencing. Yet these verbs may take undergoer referencing clitics for other persons and numbers. Why is there no undergoer referencing for third-person singular thus making inoperative an action focus versus undergoer focus distinction? As with the verbs discussed in the last paragraph these verbs appear to be highly transitive.

One of the emphases of Naylor's article is that the semantics of the verb itself is an important element in determining the way focus operates. She warns against looking for exactly the same surface forms as in Tagalog and states, "As we have seen in the Oceanic samples, an affixless verb may indicate actor focus or non-actor focus by its semantic orientation alone, i.e. whether its unmarked meaning is intransitive/actor focus or transitive/non-actor focus". (1978:431)

This would seem to be the case in Misima. Thus while some highly transitive verbs must always have undergoer referencing, others have no phonological marking for third person singular undergoer referencing. See examples (17) and (18) above and (33) and (34) below.

(33) Wanuka wawaya i -tal
 dog child 3s:r bite
 'The dog bit the child'.

(34) Ebwakil i -géla
 wood 3s:r split
 'He split the wood'.

It is perhaps significant that verb stems formed with the causative pa- fall into this category unless the verb root ends in a

consonant.⁴ Such verbs do not have any overt marking for third person singular referencing. However, verbs formed with causative pa- are highly transitive. See example (19) above and (35) below.

- (35) Pou i -pa- s¹ogu
 egg 3s:r caus fall
 'He dropped the egg'.

It is possible then, to think of Misima verbs as being on a lexical continuum, with inherently action-focus verbs on one extreme and inherently undergoer-focus verbs on the other. The inherently undergoer-focus verbs include those in which the undergoer referencing clitics are obligatorily present and those which never have an overt form marking undergoer reference in the third person singular. In the middle of the continuum are those verbs for which two forms are possible, one indicating action-focus and the other indicating undergoer-focus. Some of these verbs occur more frequently with the action-focus form while others further along the continuum occur more frequently with an undergoer referencing clitic attached marking undergoer-focus.

A second area in which undergoer focus is obligatorily present is when first and second person participants are involved as undergoers. Such first or second person undergoers must always be referenced on the verb by a clitic that agrees in number, person and inclusiveness with the undergoer. In Misima, free pronouns are used for emphasis or topicalisation and are rarely present as undergoers (as in Example (36)). Therefore a first or second person undergoer is usually only encoded via an undergoer referencing clitic.

- (36) Nau te i -lol-au
 me this 3s:r hit me
 'I am the one he hit'.

- (37) I -tobal -agiwa
 3s:r praise you
 'He praised you'.

Similarly, if the undergoer is human and third person plural, the verb must be referenced to this undergoer with the appropriate undergoer referencing clitic.

- (38) Wawaya-u ya -labe-l
 child pl 1s:r help them
 'I helped the children'.

A human third person singular undergoer is almost always referenced on the verb, though with some verbs it is possible not to reference this undergoer. See examples (7) and (29) above.

Non-human undergoer, both singular and plural, may be referenced by a third person singular undergoer referencing clitic or not referenced at all.

The third area in which quite often undergoer focus does not operate is in relation to progressive aspect. Progressive aspect is typically expressed by complete reduplication.

- (39) Ebwakil i -g^ovi -g^ovi
 tree 3s:r rd cut
 'He is cutting the tree'
 '(While) he was cutting the tree,...'.

The form of the verb used for complete reduplication is always the action-focus form. It is not possible to add to such a reduplicated form an undergoer referencing clitic. Thus, it is not possible to have a form such as *i-govégové. It is worth noting again that reduplication is also used to form some action-focus verb stems. This feature was discussed above in section 2.2.

Following are some further examples in which undergoer focus does not operate in the presence of progressive aspect.

- (40) No kalehe to hi -pani-pani to
 my mango that 3pl:r rd climb that
 'That is my mango tree they are climbing'.
- (41) Misa wana tenki to hi -bwáli -bwálin o
 Misa his tank that 3pl:r rd patch that
 'That is Misa's tank they are patching'.

- (42) Hauna hi -páli -páli o?
 what 3pl:r rd sell that
 'What are they selling there?'

As is noted above, progressive aspect is typically expressed by complete reduplication. However, some verbs only reduplicate their first syllable. For verbs which reduplicated only their first syllable it is possible to have an undergoer-focus form.

- (43) Tali -na i -la-labé
 brother his 3s:r rd help:UR
 'He is helping his brother'.

It is to be noted however that this verb is an inherently undergoer-focus form verb, and never has an action-focus form.

It is possible to see then a kind of tension in the language between progressive aspect and undergoer focus. For some verbs undergoer focus dominates and progressive aspect is reduced to partial reduplication. Some verbs will allow two forms. Thus examples (41) may equally be rendered as below in example (44).

- (44) Misa wana tenki to hi -bwa-bwalin o
 Misa his tank that 3pl:r rd patch:UR that
 'That is Misa's tank they are patching'.

Example (42) could also be rendered in a form similar to (44). However, there is no other form possible for examples (39) and (40). For these verbs and similar verbs, progressive aspect has rendered inoperative the mechanism of undergoer referencing. Thus it is not possible to have a form such as *i -go -gové expressing progressive aspect.

2.4 Discussion

In the previous section we examined actor focus and undergoer focus in relation to the transitivity of the verb, the person and number of the undergoer, and the aspect of the verb. In each case the inter-relationships are complex and are such that at times the

principle of focus distinction is completely overridden by other principles.

This however is not surprising since other authors have discussed the same features. In her article "Towards Focus in Austronesian" Naylor (1978) devotes a section to a discussion of focus and transitivity in Tagalog. After a survey of several Austronesian languages she concludes, "The notion of focus is predicated on two premises - one semantic and the other syntactic." (1978:429) "In the sample languages we have just considered, we see how the semantics of the verb plays a crucial part in the syntactic organisation of the clause. The fundamental criterion is whether or not the verb is actor-biased or goal-biased; i.e. whether or not the action denoted by the verb inherently involves a semantic object or not. Some verbs do not at all involve a semantic object or goal. Others always involve a semantic object or goal as without it, the meaning of the verb would not be complete. On the axis of transitivity, these represent the extremes. In between are verbs whose unmarked meaning is intransitive and those whose unmarked meaning is transitive." (1978:430)

It has been shown above that this is the case in Misima and how this relates to the concept of undergoer focus in Misima. Misima verbs may be seen as occurring on a continuum with inherently low-transitivity/action-focus verbs on one extreme and inherently high-transitivity/undergoer-focus verbs on the other.

Scott De Lancey (1980) has used the notion of viewpoint in an analysis of split ergativity. Viewpoint relates to the individual or entity from whose stance the action is presented. There are a set of actions and participants and viewpoint is one of the mechanisms which languages uses to impose a structure on this. The same set of actions and participants may be presented from more than one viewpoint. Viewpoint is responsible for rendering of elements to highly marked order. De Lancey identifies two main

viewpoints as being source and goal. In a transitive sentence the agent is the source and the patient is the goal. The difference between an active and passive construction can be explained as being due to a difference of viewpoint.

Part of the notion of viewpoint is that first and second person constitute natural viewpoints in language; it is natural for actions to be presented from the viewpoint of the speech act participants. De Lancey shows that this is what is happening in certain split ergative constructions.

So also in Misima first and second persons always constitute natural viewpoints, even when they are patients rather than agents. This is eminently reasonable, given the highly salient status of human beings. Moreover, given the presence of two speech act participants in a predication, one as agent and the other patient, it would seem appropriate that the potential conflict in viewpoint should be resolved in favour of the patient speech act participant, because of the departure from the more cardinal transitive situation in which an animate Agent acts on inanimate Patient.

There are many similarities between what Austronesian writers refer to as focus and focus selection and what De Lancey describes in terms of viewpoint. Both are concerned with the individual or entity from whose perspective the state of affairs is presented.

De Lancey also states that there is a correlation between aspect and viewpoint. Perfective aspect correlates with terminal (or goal) viewpoint. "It therefore seems natural... to view perfective aspect as a specification of terminal viewpoint."
(1980:23)

He is then able to show how this relates to aspectual splits in ergative languages.

It is not surprising either to find a correlation between aspect and focus in Misima. As described above, there is an aspectual split in the way Misima uses action focus (onset or source viewpoint) and undergoer focus (terminal or goal viewpoint).

Thus, especially with certain verbs, action focus is seen to correlate with progressive aspect.

Naylor (1978) also devotes a section to focus and aspect and sees a correlation between them. "The nature of the focus relationship... is inherently aspectual and distinctions of perfectivity or non-perfectivity of perspective of the sentence as a whole is part of its meaning." (1978:403)

Hopper and Thompson (1980) have identified a number of parameters associated with greater transitivity and less transitivity. Using these parameters, it is possible to study transitivity not simply in terms of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive but as something related to the predication as a whole, including the noun phrase elements. Parameters which correlate with greater transitivity include two or more participants, perfective aspect, punctual, totally affected object and highly individuated object. These same parameters operate in Misima in the selection of undergoer focus.

This now concludes the discussion of actor and undergoer focus. The next topic to be addressed is that of Locative Focus.

3. LOCATIVE FOCUS

3.1 Examples of Locative Focus

The verb in Misima may also be overtly marked to indicate locative focus. The form used to mark locative focus is the suffix &&-a&. This suffix always carries the word stress. It may also be attached to most nouns to express location. However its use with the verb is what is being discussed here. It is used to place focus on the location of the activity of the verb. It is obligatory in questions starting with the question word ga 'where', and is responses to such questions.

In the examples below, the (b) examples would be chosen by a speaker where the focus within the predication was on the location involved.

- (45a) Ya -kite limi -ya
1s:r see house loc
'I saw him in the house'.
- (45b) Ya -kite-ya limi -ya
1s:r see -loc house loc
'I saw him in the house'.
- (46a) Kapoi i -siun bakubaku -wa
Kapoi:tree 3s:r grow house:area loc
'A kapoi tree was growing in the cleared area around the house'.
- (46b) Kapoi i -siun-a to bakubaku -wa
Kapoi:tree 3s:r grow loc there house:area loc
'There was a kapoi tree growing there in the cleared area around the house'.
- (47a) Buki i -leli dimdim ana -liy(a)-a
Book 3s:r write European language their loc
'He wrote a book in English'.
- (47b) Buki i -leli -ya dimdim ana -liy(a)-a
book 3s:r write loc European language their loc
'He wrote the book in English'.
- (48a) Nasi konsel -au nihi -nogogo Bwagaioia
today councillor pl 3pl:ir meet Bwagaioia
'The councillors will meet today at Bwagaioia'.
- (48b) Nasi konsel -au nihi -nogogo-wa Bwagaioia
today councillor pl 3pl:ir meet loc Bwagaioia
'The councillors will meet today at Bwagaioia'.
- (49a) Wawaya i -kahin limi -ya
child 3s:r cry house loc
'The child is crying in the house'.
- (49b) Wawaya i -kahin-a limi -ya
child 3s:r cry loc house loc
'The child is crying in the house'.

3.2 Locative Focus and the Directional Suffixes

In Misima there are also two sets of directional suffixes which typically occur with verbs of motion, giving or sending. With many of these verbs it is obligatory for the directional suffix to be present.

The first set of suffixes are illustrated by the following examples. These shall be referred to as the 'i' directional

suffixes. Following verb roots ending in vowels, however, the `i` is dropped giving the forms -m, -wa and -k respectively. The `i` directional suffixes are used to indicate the direction of the movement.

-im (-m) signifies in the direction of the speaker, either where he is now or where he was in the story.

-iwa (-wa) signifies in the direction of the addressee.

-ik (-k) signifies in the direction of a third person or away from both the speaker and hearer.

(50) I -pwatan-im
 3s:r bring dir
 'He brought it to me/us'.

(51) I -pwatan-iwa
 3s:r bring dir
 'He took it to you s/you pl'.

(52) I -pwatan-ik
 3s:r bring dir
 'He took it to him/them'.

The second set of directional suffixes - termed the `e` directional suffixes - are used to indicate location which is not central to the meaning of the verb. With verbs of motion this indicates source or route as in examples (53) and (54) below. The `e` directional suffixes are used with non-motion verbs but for which direction may still be shown, as in examples (55) and (56) below.

(53) I -no-ek noleleya
 3s:r go dir outside
 'He went along the coast'.

(54) I -lo -em Nigom
 3s:r go:west dir Nigom
 'He came (in westerly direction) from Nigom'.

(55) I -abulil -ewa elam
 3s:r believe dir to:you
 'He believed you'.

- (56) I -ba -em elau
 3s:r say dir to:me
 'He said to me'.

In example (55) the directional suffix is obligatory but in (56) it is optional.

The directional suffixes never co-occur with the locative suffix -a. Therefore those verbs of giving, motion and sending for which directional suffixes are obligatory cannot take the locative suffix.

- (57) I -pe -k John elana
 3s:r give dir John to:him
 'He gave it to John'.

- (58) *I - pe - a John elana

However for the verb sikal 'return' the directional suffixes are optional. It may take the locative suffix as in the following example. In this sense the locative suffix is obligatory.

- (59) Ha -sikal -a Liyak
 1:pl:ex:r return loc Liyak
 'We returned at Liyak'. (meaning, 'We have come (back) from Liyak!')

The language may use the 'e' directional suffixes in a non-directive sense where there is a focus on the location. The use of the 'e' directional suffixes as over against the locative suffix is for emphasis on location, such as when a great distance is involved or an unusual location.

- (60) Kaini ga hi -pwatan-ek e?
 knife where 3pl:r bring dir this
 'Where did they put the knife when they brought it?'

- (61) John kadoya i -kit(e)-em o pun(a) á
 John possum 3s:r see dir my tree:base loc
 'John saw the possum in the tree which I was in'.

- (62) U -na u -teli-ewa huwoko bwan(a)-a o
 2s:r go 2s:r put dir over:there shelf loc there
 'Go and put (something) over there (in your direction) on the shelf'.

- (63) Iya i -nival-ek huwo natiya o
 she 3s:r smile dir there above there
 (But) she was above laughing (not down in the water, where
 he was looking)'.
 (64) Hi -tal -ek Rossel
 3pl:r build dir Rossel
 They built them in Rossel (a distant island)'.
 (65) I -mimin(a)-ek Alotau
 3s:r remain dir Alotau
 He was staying at Alotau (the provincial capital)'.

The verb stem pwatan in example (60) most frequently has one of the 'i' set of directional suffixes (see examples (50) to (52) above.) In example (60) the suffix -ek is used because of the locational focus inherent in the question.

In examples (61) to (65) above it would have been possible to use the locative suffix instead of the directional suffix. However the form used gives contrastive emphasis on location. If there was no locational focus involved, then the verb form without any suffix could be used.

3.3 Locative Focus and Progressive Aspect

Progressive aspect is typically expressed by complete reduplication. However when the locative suffix -a is attached to the verb to signify locative focus, complete reduplication is changed to partial reduplication is changed to partial reduplication. This is consistent with what happens in progressive aspect for undergoer focus with certain verbs, as in example (43) above.

- (66a) Lehi hi -pali-pali
 betel:nut 3pl:r rd sell
 'They are selling betel nut'.
 (66b) Lehi ga hi -pa-pali-ya?
 betel:nut where 3pl:r rd sell loc
 'Where are they selling betel nut?'.
 (67a) Hi -saga-saga
 3pl:r rd dance
 'They are dancing'.

- (67b) Hi -sa-sag(a)-a abavavasili-ya
 3pl:r rd dance loc school loc
 'They are dancing at the school.'

A few verbs will allow two forms with the locative suffix, one form with only partial reduplication as in the (b) examples above and another form which retains the full reduplication for progressive aspect.

- (68a) Bagiyewa hi -luwa-luwan
 coconut 3pl:r rd plant
 'They are planting coconuts.'

- (68b) Bagiyewa ga hi -luwa-luwan-a?
 coconut where 3pl:r rd plant loc
 'Where are they planting coconuts?'

- (68c) Bagiyewa ga hi -lu-luwan-a?
 coconut where 3pl:r rd plant loc
 'Where are they planting coconuts?'

4. INSTRUMENT FOCUS

4.1 Examples of Instrument Focus

In the preceding sections we first examined action focus and undergoer focus and secondly, locative focus. A further focus which may be expressed by a suffix on the verb is instrument focus. The suffix used is -iya. This suffix always carries the word stress, the stress occurring on the 'i'. It is used when the focus is on the instrument used to carry out the action. It is obligatory in questions starting with Hauna i ahe... 'What did he take and...' when the object of the main verb is third person.

In the examples below, the (b) examples would be chosen by a speaker when the focus within the predication was on the instrument involved.

It is necessary to note at the onset that in Misima the instrument is rarely expressed by an adpositional instrument phrase. The following sentence is not grammatical.

- * Bobu i -lol ebwakil ela-na
 pig 3s:r strike wood loc it
 'He struck the pig with a piece of wood.'

Normally one uses another clause with the verb ahe 'take' as in example (69a) below.

When the locative suffix -iya is used on the main verb the verb ahe 'take' may sometimes be omitted as in example (69b) below. The instrument is filling the topic slot in the sentence.

- (69a) Ebwakil i -ahe bobu i -lol
 wood 3s:r take:UR pig 3s:r strike
 'He struck (and killed) the pig with a piece of wood'.
- (69b) Ebwakil bobu i -lol -iya
 wood pig 3s:r strike ins
 'He struck (and killed) the pig with a piece of wood'.
- (70a) Kilepa i -ahe nimwa-u i -gove¹
 bush:knife 3s:r take:UR hand my 3s:r cut:UR
 'He cut my hand with a bush-knife'.
- (70b) Kilepa i -ahe nimwa-u i -gove -iya
 bush:knife 3s:r take:UR hand my 3s:r cut:UR ins
 'With a bush-knife he cut my hand'.
- (71a) Tulak hi -ahe ebwakil hi -momol
 truck 3pl:r take:UR wood 3pl:r pull:UR
 'They pulled the log with a truck'.
- (71b) Tulak hi -ahe ebwakil hi -momol-iya
 truck 3pl:r take:UR wood 3pl:r pull ins
 'They used a truck to pull the log'.
- (72a) Kipwam hi -ahe kadoya tine -na
 pen:knife 3pl:r take:UR possum intestines its
hi -pet
 3pl:r take:out
 'They took out the possum's intestines with a pen-knife'.
- (72b) Kipwam hi -ahe kadoya tine -na
 pen:knife 3pl:r take:UR possum intestines its
hi -pet -iya
 3pl:r take:out ins
 'With a pen-knife they took out the possum's intestines'.
- (73) Houhouwena kepu te hi -anan-iya
 first:time shell this 3pl:r eat ins
 'In the old days it was shells people used to eat with'.
- (74) Kaliko i -pakukilow-an i -kaus -iya
 material 3s:r hang:up UR 3s:r close ins
 'He hung material up and using this shut it off from view'.

4.2 Instrument Focus and Undergoer Focus

There is some interaction between instrument focus and undergoer focus. When the undergoer is third person, the verb may have an undergoer referencing clitic as well as the instrument suffix -iya. In such cases the word stress falls on the instrument suffix and not on the undergoer referencing clitic.

- (75) Lagewal i -ahe waway(a)-au i -lol-il -iya
 Lagewal 3s:r take child pl 3s:r hit them,ins
 He hit the children with some lagewal vine.

See also example (70b) above.

The verb momol 'pull' in example (71b) above has not been glossed for undergoer referencing clitic since the only identifying feature for it in (71a) is word final stress, whereas in (71b) the stress is now on the instrument suffix. The verbs in examples (69) and (72) belong to the class of highly transitive verbs which have no overt form for the undergoer referencing clitic in third person singular.

If the undergoer is first or second person, the instrument suffix is not used⁵. Thus, in a similar way in which action focus is overridden by highly salient nature of the first or second person undergoer, so too it is not possible to have instrument focus in this environment.

The locative suffix -a and the instrument suffix -iya never co-occur. The restriction is perhaps semantic as well as grammatical in nature.

5. CONCLUSION

Several writers have considered focus to be a significant feature in Austronesian syntax. In this paper I have shown how focus operates in Misima and how it is modified by other facets of the language.

Austronesian languages differ as to the number of kinds of focus. Naylor says, "Fijian and Tongan have a three focus system

since the instrumental may also function as the in-focus NP. Most other Oceanic languages have the basic two-focus system since, of the non-actor roles, only the goal may be in focus." (1978:431)

In Misima I have identified four kinds of focus: action focus, undergoer focus⁶, locative focus and instrument focus. Furthermore, locative focus is signalled by two forms, one of which, the `e' directional suffix, is used for contrastive emphasis on location.

Austronesian languages also differ in the way in which they encode focus. Naylor states: "Not all AN languages overtly encode all of its facets in the syntactic structure. Even when the same facet is encoded, the manner of encoding varies." (1978:398-9)

In this paper I have shown the ways in which the four kinds of focus are encoded in Misima. In common with most Oceanic languages action focus has little overt marking. There is no specific suffix which can be identified with action focus. There are however some formal features that correlate with action focus, namely reduplication and penultimate stress. Some verbs have a specific action focus stem formed by reduplication. Verb stems formed with the derivational prefix lo- are action-focus stems.

Undergoer focus is typically marked by the undergoer referencing clitic. The undergoer referencing clitic occurs on verb stems and post-verbal modifiers. The third person singular forms of undergoer focussed verbs are quite varied, the form being lexically determined. A common way of indicating that a verb has a third person singular undergoer is to change the stress to the final syllable. With this there is often also an associated change of vowel quality in the final vowel. Other verbs take the suffix -an or the suffix -i. Undergoer focus in Misima is closely associated with the semantics and especially the transitivity of the verb. It is more than just the use of the undergoer referencing clitics. Certain verb stems are inherently undergoer focus, while for others, the focus is permitted to be determined by textual factors

such as pragmatic focus, the nature of the undergoer referent, aspect etc.

Locative focus is marked by the locative suffix -a occurring on the verb. It is also used on nouns. Misima has two sets of directional suffixes with one of these, the 'e' set of directional markers, also being used to signal locative focus when there is contrastive emphasis on location.

Instrument focus is marked by the instrumental suffix -iya. Paz B. Naylor has suggested that "Austronesian languages appear to represent points on a continuum - a cline of focus." (1978:78-9) She places Philippine languages such as Tagalog at the highest point since they have "the most extensive surface apparatus for signalling focus." From the foregoing discussion it would seem that in Misima, with four focus types, focus is formally quite well-distinguished. While it is conjecture to say exactly where Misima may occur on such a cline of focus, focus would certainly seem to be more marked in Misima than in many other Oceanic languages such as Fijian and Tongan.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Misima language is spoken by over 11,000 speakers living on Misima island, Panaeati island and the islands of the West Calvados Chain, in the Misima District, Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. We have worked in the Misima language since 1978 under the auspices of Summer Institute of Linguistics. I would like to acknowledge the help received from numerous friends at Misima including several language helpers, and from fellow colleagues.
2. The following abbreviations are used for the glosses in the examples:

caus	causative prefix
comp	completive aspect

dir	directional suffix
ex	exclusive
in	inclusive
ins	instrument
ir	irrealis mood
loc	locative
pl	plural
r	realis mood
rd	reduplication
s	singular
UR	Undergoer Referencing

In vernacular examples, stress has been marked by the symbol "!" above the vowel of the stressed syllable e.g. án. It has only been marked where significant for the grammar.

3. There are a number of reasons for regarding it as a new verb stem and not another case of reduplication for aspect. Firstly it has already been shown that elsewhere in the language action-focus stems exist (kaval 'to carry'). There are at least three reasons for also regarding these as stems:
 1. The new stem so formed may be further reduplicated for aspect.
 2. The reduplicated stem may also be used in past time even when there is no sense of continuous or simultaneous action.
 3. The meaning of the reduplicated stem is not always predictable.
4. If the verb root ends in a consonant, the stress moves to the final syllable and it thus becomes similar in form to other undergoer reference forms, as in example (76) in which the verb stem is formed from lovakún 'be frightened'.

(76) Wawaya i -palovakún
 child 3s:r make:afraid:UR
 'He made the child afraid'.

5. I have never heard a form with both first or second person undergoer referencing clitic and an instrumental suffix. When I have deliberately produced such a form, I have had conflicting opinions from different language helpers as to whether or not it is at all possible. An example of such would be:

(77) * I -lol-au-iyā
 ʒs:r hit me ins
 'He hit me with it'.

6. My use of the term 'undergoer focus' would seem to be analogous to Naylor's 'goal focus'. I have avoided the term 'goal focus' to avoid possible confusion with the Misima directional suffixes.

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