

## Pronouns in D and in N in Oceanic

Although the DP is well established in syntactic theory (following Abney 1987), it is under-investigated in Oceanic outside theoretical literature, largely on Polynesian (e.g. Ahn 2016; Aronovich 2013; Kahnemuyipour & Massam 2006; Pearce 1998, 2012; etc), and is absent from the Oceanic descriptive tradition (e.g. Lynch et al 2002). In that tradition, pronouns are assumed to be the head of an NP – in effect located in N.

Following that tradition, pronouns in Hoava (Solomon Islands) have been analysed as NP heads (Davis 2003). However, a range of facts mitigate against this analysis. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns *sa* '3SG' and *ria* '3PL' clearly occur as phrasal heads (1a), (2a). However, they are formally identical to Davis's singular and plural definite articles (1b), (2b). Moreover, these occurrences directly parallel non-3<sup>rd</sup> pronouns in isolation (3a) and preceding other material (3b). Davis analyses non-3<sup>rd</sup> forms as in (3) as pronouns in both contexts, arguing that data such as (3b) involves NP NP apposition, an analysis inconsistently not extended to parallel strings in (1b) and (2b). Davis's analysis involves treating *sa/ria* as pronouns in some contexts and articles in others, also inconsistently not extended to non-3<sup>rd</sup> forms. Her analysis also does not account for the fact that pronouns cannot be accompanied by an article, and that the supposedly apposed NP is also prohibited from carrying an article, facts that follow automatically from an alternative analysis in which pronouns are located in D. Following Palmer (2017), the paper argues that pronouns in Hoava may not carry an article because they are already occupying D, and the accompanying string involving a lexical noun may not carry an article because that string is an NP associated with the DP whose D is already occupied by the pronoun. The paper concludes that Hoava has a DP, with pronouns located in D, a position long associated with pronouns (e.g. Abney 1987:281-284; Longobardi 1994 etc).

This, however, is not the situation in many Oceanic languages, where pronouns are accompanied by articles. Standard Fijian has two articles: proper (*k*)o, and common *na*. The proper article occurs with personal names, place names and bound kin terms, as well as pronouns (Schütz 1985; Palmer & Smith 2016). Unlike Hoava, Fijian pronouns other than complements of V or P require the article (4a) (see Aronovich 2013). Unlike Hoava, when Fijian pronouns are accompanied by a string around an N expanding on the identity of the referent, that N is accompanied by its own article (4b). And unlike Hoava, a definite phrase with a lexical N head does not require the pronoun (4c), compare (2b). These facts demonstrate that pronouns in Fijian are located in N, rather than D, an assumption implicit in Aronovich's (2013) analysis.

The paper concludes that the syntactic status of pronouns differs among Oceanic languages. In some, such as Hoava, pronouns are in D, while in others, such as Fijian, they are in N. The paper concludes that category to which pronouns belong differs commensurately across languages. In Alderete's (1998) non-DP analysis of the distribution of Fijian NPs he assumes that the lexical category of pronouns in Fijian is N because they head an NP that carries a determiner. The present paper concludes that in languages such as Fijian, pronouns indeed have the syntax of N, while in languages such as Hoava pronouns have the syntax of D, therefore correspond to Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002) Pro-NP and Pro-DP respectively in terms of internal syntax, but without their corresponding distribution of predicate vs argument.

- (1) a. "Aso mae goe" gua-ni rao **sa** rao.                      b. **sa** nikana tarai  
 walk come 2SG say-APPL 1SG sa 1SG                      sa man pray  
 "Walk towards me" he said to me.'                      'the preacher'
- (2) a. Kiug=ii rao **ria**.    b. **ria** nikana Merika  
 call=ACC 1SG ria    ria man America  
 'They called me.'    'the Americans'
- (3) a. Va-mate=a **gami** keke boko.                                      b. **gami** nikana hupa  
 CAUS-die=3SG.ACC 1EXCL.PL one pig                              1PL.EXCL man black  
 'We killed a pig.'    'we black men'
- (4) a. Era s̄a qito **ko ira**.  
 3SG.SBJ PERSIST play PERS 3PL  
 'They are playing.'
- b. Era qito **ko ira na gone**.                                      c. Era qito **na gone**.  
 3SG.SBJ play PERS 3PL the child                                      3SG.SBJ play the child  
 'They the children played.'                                      'The children played.'

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