Araki

A DISAPPEARING LANGUAGE OF VANUATU

Alexandre François

Araki

A disappearing language of Vanuatu

Also in Pacific Linguistics

Terry Crowley, 2000, *An Erromangan (Sye) dictionary.*

John Lynch, 2000, *A grammar of Anejom̃.*

John Bowden, 2001, *Taba: Description of a South Halmahera Austronesian language.*

Catriona Hyslop, 2001, *The Lolovoli dialect of the North-East Ambae language, Vanuatu.*

John Lynch, 2001, *The linguistic history of Southern Vanuatu.*

John Lynch and Terry Crowley, 2001, *Languages of Vanuatu: A new survey and bibliography.*

Catharina Williams-van Klinken, John Hajek and Rachel Nordlinger, 2002, *A grammar of Tetun Dili.*

Pacific Linguistics is a publisher specialising in grammars and linguistic descriptions, dictionaries and other materials on languages of the Pacific, the Philippines, Indonesia, Southeast and South Asia, and Australia.

Pacific Linguistics, established in 1963 through an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund, is associated with the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at The Australian National University. The Editorial Board of Pacific Linguistics is made up of the academic staff of the School's Department of Linguistics. The authors and editors of Pacific Linguistics publications are drawn from a wide range of institutions around the world. Publications are refereed by scholars with relevant expertise who are usually not members of the editorial board.

The 470 publications before Publication 501 were numbered in four series, A, B, C and D, but the series were merged from the beginning of the year 2000 because the rationale for them had gradually disappeared.

FOUNDING EDITOR: Stephen A. Wurm

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Bowden, Malcolm D. Ross and Darrell T. Tryon (Managing Editors), I Wayan Arka, Andrew Pawley, Paul Sidwell.

Pacific Linguistics 522

Araki

A disappearing language of Vanuatu

Alexander François

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia

Copyright @ The author

First published 2002

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 85883 493 6.

1. Araki language. 2. Vanuatu - Languages. I. Title.

1. The Australian National University.
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.
H. Title (Pacific Linguistics)

499.4

Cover design by Emily Brissenden
Typeset by Margaret Forster
Printed and bound by Union Offset Printers, Fyshwick, Canberra

to the late Lele Moli,
in memory of his kindness and knowledge

Om mece laṗa, Lele, m̈ara posim mo holoho
kaṁam kesi kam coṁiko ro.

Contents overview

Table of contents

List of tables and maps

Foreword

1. *Introduction*

2. *Phonology*

3. *Syntactic categories and their relations*

4. *Nouns and noun phrases*

5. *Verbs and verb phrases*

6. *Clause structure*

7. *Complex sentences*

8. *Texts from the oral tradition*

9. *Araki – English dictionary*

10. *English – Araki finderlist*

References

List of abbreviations

Index

Table of contents

1. Introduction 1

   1.1. The geographic and social context of Araki 1
      1.1.1. Vanuatu 1
      1.1.2. Araki 4
   1.2. The sociolinguistic situation on Araki 5
      1.2.1. Araki, a dying language 5
      1.2.2. The influence of Tangoa 6
      1.2.3. Language use on Araki: a polyglossic situation 8
   1.3. Our research on the language of Araki 9
      1.3.1. Existing documentation 9
      1.3.2. Methodology 10
   1.4. The present study 11
   1.5. Typological overview 12

2. Phonology 14

   2.1. Phonemes 14
      2.1.1. Consonants 14
      2.1.2. Vowels 19
   2.2. Orthography 20
   2.3. Stress 21
      2.3.1. General rule for stress assignment 21
      2.3.2. The case of final high vowels 21
      2.3.3. Stress-rules for consonant-ending words 23
      2.3.4. Exceptional vowel-final words, and emergence of a distinctive accent 24
      2.3.5. Other processes of final deletion 25
   2.4. Phonotactics 26
   2.5. Morphophonemic rules 27
      2.5.1. Lexical vowel assimilation 28
      2.5.2. Morphological vowel assimilation 28
      2.5.3. Morphology of reduplication 30

3. Syntactic categories and their relations 33

3.1. Word classes 33
3.1.1. Nouns 33
3.1.2. Adjectives 34
3.1.3. Verbs 35
3.1.4. Numerals 35
3.1.5. Adjuncts 35
3.1.6. Adverbs 36
3.1.7. Demonstratives 36
3.2. Reduplication and derivation 37
3.2.1. From noun to noun 37
3.2.2. From noun to verb or adjective 38
3.2.3. From verb to verb 38
3.2.4. From verb to noun 40

4. Nouns and noun phrases 41

4.1. Pronouns and personal markers 41
4.1.1. Independent pronouns 42
4.1.2. Subject clitic personal markers 44
4.1.3. Object suffix markers 45
4.1.4. Possessive suffix markers 46
4.2. Nouns 47
4.2.1. Inalienable v. alienable nouns 47
4.2.2. Noun-modifying nouns and composition 48
4.2.3. Derivation patterns 50
4.3. Articles and reference-tracking devices 51
4.3.1. The pro-clitic va 'the' 51
4.3.2. The anaphoric post-clitic di 52
4.3.3. The personal nominaliser mada 53
4.3.4. The plural marker dai 54
4.3.5. The specific indefinite mo hese 54
4.3.6. The partitive-indefinite re 59
4.3.7. Reference-tracking devices: summary 68
4.4. Demonstratives 69
4.4.1. Paradigm of Demonstrative markers 69
4.4.2. Semantics of each Demonstrative 71
4.4.3. Syntactic issues 75
4.5. Number-marking and numerals in the Noun Phrase 78
4.5.1. Under-specified number and the context 78
4.5.2. Ambiguities and inconsistencies in number-assigning 79
4.5.3. Overt number-marking on NPs 79

4.5.4. Numerals 80
4.5.5. Other quantifiers 89
4.6. Adjectives 91
4.6.1. Syntax of adjectives 91
4.6.2. The intensive suffix -ha 92
4.6.3. The resultative clitic ra ~ raha 93
4.6.4. Suffixable adjectives 94
4.7. Possession 96
4.7.1. Syntax of inalienable possession 96
4.7.2. Syntax of possessive classifiers inside NPs 97
4.7.3. Semantics of possessive classifiers 98
4.7.4. Syntactic functions of possessive classifiers 100
4.8. Basic NP structure 101

5. Verbs and verb phrases 103

5.1. Basic syntax of subject clitics 103
5.1.1. Subject clitics and parts of speech 103
5.1.2. Syntax of subject clitics 104
5.2. Modality and time 105
5.2.1. Modality in main clauses 105
5.2.2. Modality and interclausal relationships 109
5.3. Aspect 114
5.3.1. General presentation of aspect markers 114
5.3.2. The aspect clitic le 'again' 116
5.3.3. The aspect clitic m̈isi 'still' 117
5.3.4. The aspect clitic pele 'Alternative' 118
5.3.5. The aspect clitic pa 'Sequential' 118
5.3.6. The aspect clitic re 'Perfect' 122
5.3.7. The aspect auxiliary iso 'Complete' 124
5.3.8. The aspect post-clitic ro 'Progressive' 126
5.4. Transitivity and object marking 130
5.4.1. Presentation of transitivity issues 131
5.4.2. Morphological allomorphisms 132
5.4.3. Syntactic influence on transitivity marking 135
5.4.4. Valency-changing processes 145
5.5. Verb serialisation 147
5.6. Basic VP structure 149

6. Clause structure 151

6.1. Verbless clauses 151

6.1.1. NP predicates 151
6.1.2. Other direct predicates 153
6.1.3. Parts of speech and direct predicativeness 155
6.2. Verbal clauses: peripheral complements 156
6.2.1. Adverbs and prepositional phrases 156
6.2.2. Oblique transitivity 160
6.2.3. Ditransitivity and three-argument verbs 161
6.3. Negation 162
6.3.1. Basic syntax of negation 162
6.3.2. Negative complex morphemes 163
6.3.3. Negative existential and grammaticisation 164
6.3.4. Independent negation 165
6.3.5. Negation and modality 166
6.4. Sentence types 168
6.4.1. General remarks 168
6.4.2. Imperative sentences 168
6.4.3. Interrogative sentences 169

7. Complex sentences 172
7.1. Coordination 172
7.2. Subordination 173
7.2.1. Relative clauses 173
7.2.2. Conditional systems 177
7.2.3. Time clauses 181
7.2.4. Sentential objects 183
7.2.5. The verb-conjunction de 184
7.3. Clause chaining 189
7.3.1. Definition of clause chaining 189
7.3.2. Typology of interclausal relations in clause chaining 190
7.3.3. Clause chaining and the building of discourse 198
7.3.4. The architectural complexity of sentences 199

8. Texts from the oral tradition 201
8.1. Legends and true stories 202
8.1.1. Myth of Araki 202
8.1.2. How Pastor Sope released the spell of a Devil 205
8.2. Tales of devils and animals 208
8.2.1. The Coconut Crab 208
8.2.2. The Rat and the Octopus 212

9. Araki – English dictionary 224

9.1. Foreword to the dictionary 224
9.1.1. The structure of lexical entries 224
9.1.2. Abbreviations and phonetics 226
9.1.3. Semantic field wordlists 228
9.1.4. A note on etymology 228
9.2. Kinship terms 229
9.3. Araki – English dictionary 234

10. English – Araki finderlist 320

List of tables and maps

Table 1-1	Fluent speakers of Araki: official figures v. our estimate	5
Table 1-2	Language use on Araki island in 2000: a polyglossic situation	9
Table 2-3	Consonants of Araki	14
Table 2-4	Phonemic contrast between apico-labials and bilabials	15
Table 2-5	Phonemic contrast between apico-labials and apico-alveolars	16
Table 2-6	Lexical distribution of bi-labial v. apico-labial v. apico-alveolar consonants, according to following vowel	16
Table 2-7	Allophones of phoneme *c* /ts/	17
Table 2-8	Phonemic contrast between affricate /ts/ and close phonemes /t/, /s/	17
Table 2-9	Phonemic contrast between glottal /h/ and alveolar /s/	18
Table 2-10	Phonemic contrast between trill /r/, flap /ɾ/, and lateral /l/	18
Table 2-11	Phonemic contrast between velar nasal, velar stop, alveolar nasal	18
Table 2-12	Vowels of Araki	19
Table 2-13	Number of vowel clusters VV in our lexicon	19
Table 2-14	The alphabet of Araki, with corresponding phonemes	20
Table 2-15	Stress on the penultimate syllable with words ending with V	21
Table 2-16	Suffixes and clitics are defined by their effects upon word-stress	21
Table 2-17	Optional deletion of final high vowels	22
Table 2-18	Deleted vowels reappear before a suffix	22
Table 2-19	Stress on the final syllable with words ending with C	24
Table 2-20	Stress-marked contrast between 1SG and 3SG object suffixes	25
Table 2-21	Optional deletion of some non-high final vowels	25
Table 2-22	Deletion of the whole final syllable /-CV/ for a few exceptional roots	26

Table 2-23 Emergence of word-internal closed syllables 27

Table 2-24 Morphological vowel assimilation from /a/ to /o/ 29

Table 2-25 Irregular morphology of /o/-ending verbs for 3SG object 29

Table 2-26 Transitive /o/-ending verbs taking a *zero* allomorph for 3SG object 30

Table 2-27 Reduplication through repetition of the whole root 30

Table 2-28 Reduplication through repetition of the first syllable 31

Table 2-29 Reduplication through repetition of the first two syllables 31

Table 4-30 Independent pronouns 42

Table 4-31 Subject clitic markers for REALIS mood 44

Table 4-32 Subject clitic markers for IRREALIS mood 44

Table 4-33 Object suffix markers 45

Table 4-34 Possessive suffix markers 46

Table 4-35 The three lexical categories of nouns, according to suffixation 47

Table 4-36 Female kin terms using **ve-** derivative prefix 50

Table 4-37 Syntactic uses of morpheme **re**: summary 68

Table 4-38 Definiteness and specificity in the noun phrase: summary 69

Table 4-39 Paradigm of deictic forms: a possible classification 71

Table 4-40 Syntactic functions attested for Demonstratives: according to prefixation and/or suffixation 76

Table 4-41 Numerals 81

Table 4-42 Ordinal numerals, and days of the week 81

Table 5-43 Morphology of aspectual markers: example with **hanhan** 'eat' 115

Table 5-44 Transitivisation of some intransitive verb roots 131

Table 5-45 Object suffix allomorphisms according to verb final vowel 132

Table 5-46 Competing transitivity paradigms for verbs ending in /e/ 134

Table 5-47 Syntactic rules for transitivity suffixation 136

Table 6-48 Parts of speech and direct predicativeness: summary 155

Table 7-49 Conditionals and modality: summary 180

Table 7-50 Syntax of the verb **de** 'say' used as a complementiser 185

Table 9-51 Kinship terms: consanguine relations 231
Table 9-52 Kinship terms: close consanguinity and affines – *Ego Male* 232
Table 9-53 Kinship terms: close consanguinity and affines – *Ego Female* 233

Map 1 Location of Vanuatu inside the Pacific Ocean xx
Map 2 The languages of Vanuatu 2
Map 3 Araki and its mainland Santo 3

Foreword

My encounter with the language of Araki was quite by chance. I had only spent my first week in Vanuatu, and was heading to the Banks Is. to carry out linguistic fieldwork on Mwotlap, when circumstances made me spend one more month in the island of Espiritu Santo, the largest of the archipelago. A French ethnobotanist asked me to carry out a questionnaire about plant names in some of the thirty languages which are spoken on this island of Santo; and on that occasion, I heard the people of Tangoa mention the existence of a 'small language' which had survived on the island of Araki, with only a handful of elderly people still capable of speaking it fluently.

This is how I first met Chief Lele Moli, who was about seventy seven years old at that time. Being himself aware of how much his language was in danger, he insisted that I record as much of it as I could before it was too late, which of course I accepted without hesitation. Since at that moment he was staying in Luganville, the second largest city of Vanuatu, I postponed my trip to the island itself; and during the month of November 1997, I took the habit of visiting him almost every day at his house, for an hour or so, to have long conversations about the language of Araki. He welcomed me into his family, always ready to teach me more and more; to all my questions he had the patience to answer carefully, together with his son Graham, whom I thank for his assistance. The majority of the linguistic information on which this book is based was given to me by Lele himself, to whom this work is fully dedicated. Sadly, Lele Moli passed away in June 2000, without seeing the fruit of our collaboration.

Although I was living mainly in the northern parts of Vanuatu, I was able to spend some time, in April 1998, on the island of Araki. This gave me a better idea of its geography and culture, and allowed me to appreciate the hospitality of Arakians. Especially, I could meet and hear some of the last speakers of the language;[1] my first thanks go to Ropo, to Sohe Moli, to Vari Tamaute, who shared their stories with me – some of them are reproduced at the end of this book. I am also indebted to Vevuti, Lele's daughter, who helped me transcribe my recordings;

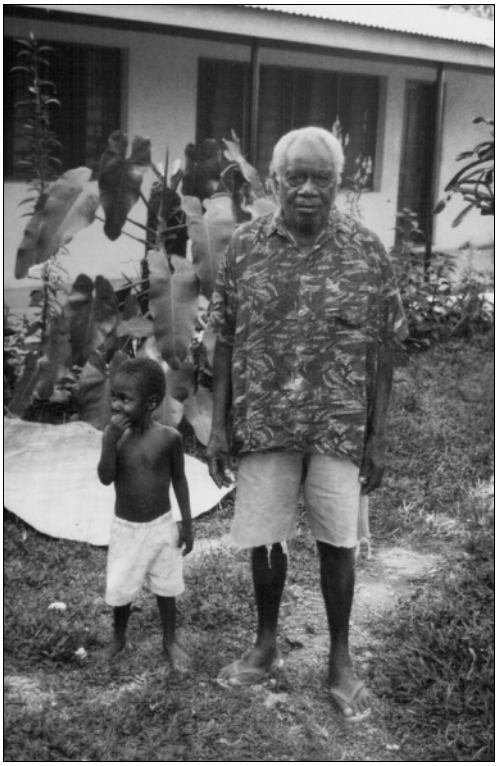
[1] Although we did not meet him, we also know of the Pastor Varisipiti Livo, who was involved in translation work, and was highly concerned with the survival of his language Araki (see Varisipiti and Bogiri-Vari 1998). Unfortunately, he passed away in 1999, at the age of sixty two.

and to Hannah Bogiri-Vari (University of the South Pacific), for the precious information she sent me about the sociolinguistic backgroung of her island.

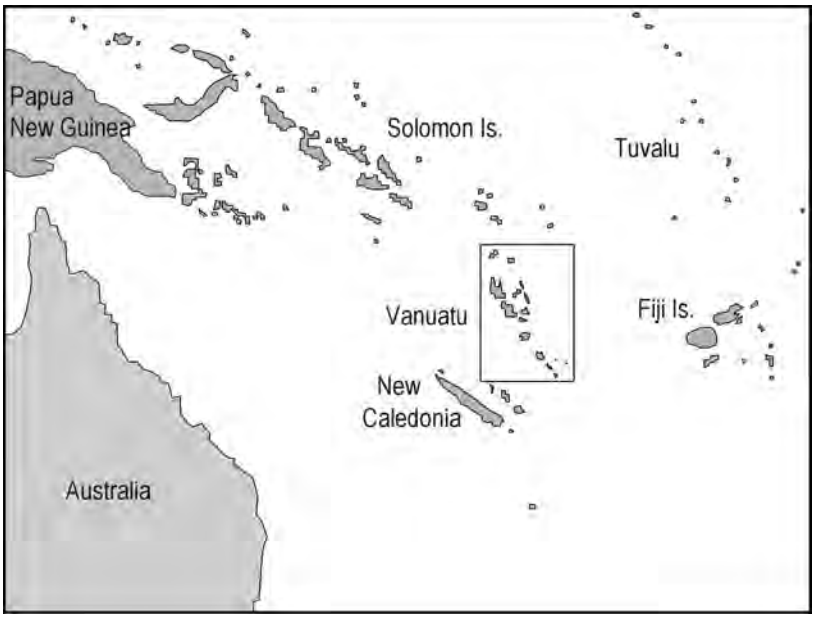
My discovery of Araki was a personal detour in the context of a fieldwork among the islands of Vanuatu, in 1997–1998, which was made possible with the financial support of the École Normale Supérieure (Paris) and of the Académie Française. Moreover, it is a pleasure for me to recall how I was helped in my research, by my supervisor Alain Lemaréchal (Université de Paris-Sorbonne); Darrell Tryon and his colleagues of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies (A.N.U., Canberra); and Ralph Regenvanu, head of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (Port-Vila).

During my writing of the present grammar in May–July 2000, I benefited from the encouraging advice of Jean-Claude and Françoise Rivierre (LACITO-CNRS), and of John Lynch (University of the South Pacific). Last but not least, I would like to thank my family for their indispensable assistance: Brenda for making my English accessible to English speakers, little Hugo for sparing my precious field notebooks, and Sawako for her chocolate cakes.

Ham mece lapa kamim povi, nam opoi kamim vutiana,
pani nam kila ro ha pa lesia noku vevehina nene ha pa avulai nia.



Chief Lele Moli was one of the last speakers of Araki.
The generation of his children have adopted the language of neighbouring Tangoa; as for his grandchildren who live in town, they are growing up in a modern environment where the dominant language is pidgin Bislama.



Map 1 Location of Vanuatu inside the Pacific Ocean

The largest island of this archipelago is Santo I., to which Araki is closest.

1. *Introduction*

The present grammar is the fruit of a short linguistic survey, which we carried out in November 1997 and April 1998 in Vanuatu. It represents what we have been able to reconstruct from the grammar of *Araki*, a disappearing language among the many tongues of that South-Pacific country. As is often the case with the languages of Melanesia, no other study has ever been previously published on Araki; knowing the threat which hangs over it, it is likely that the present work provides as much as is ever likely to be known about the grammar of this language.

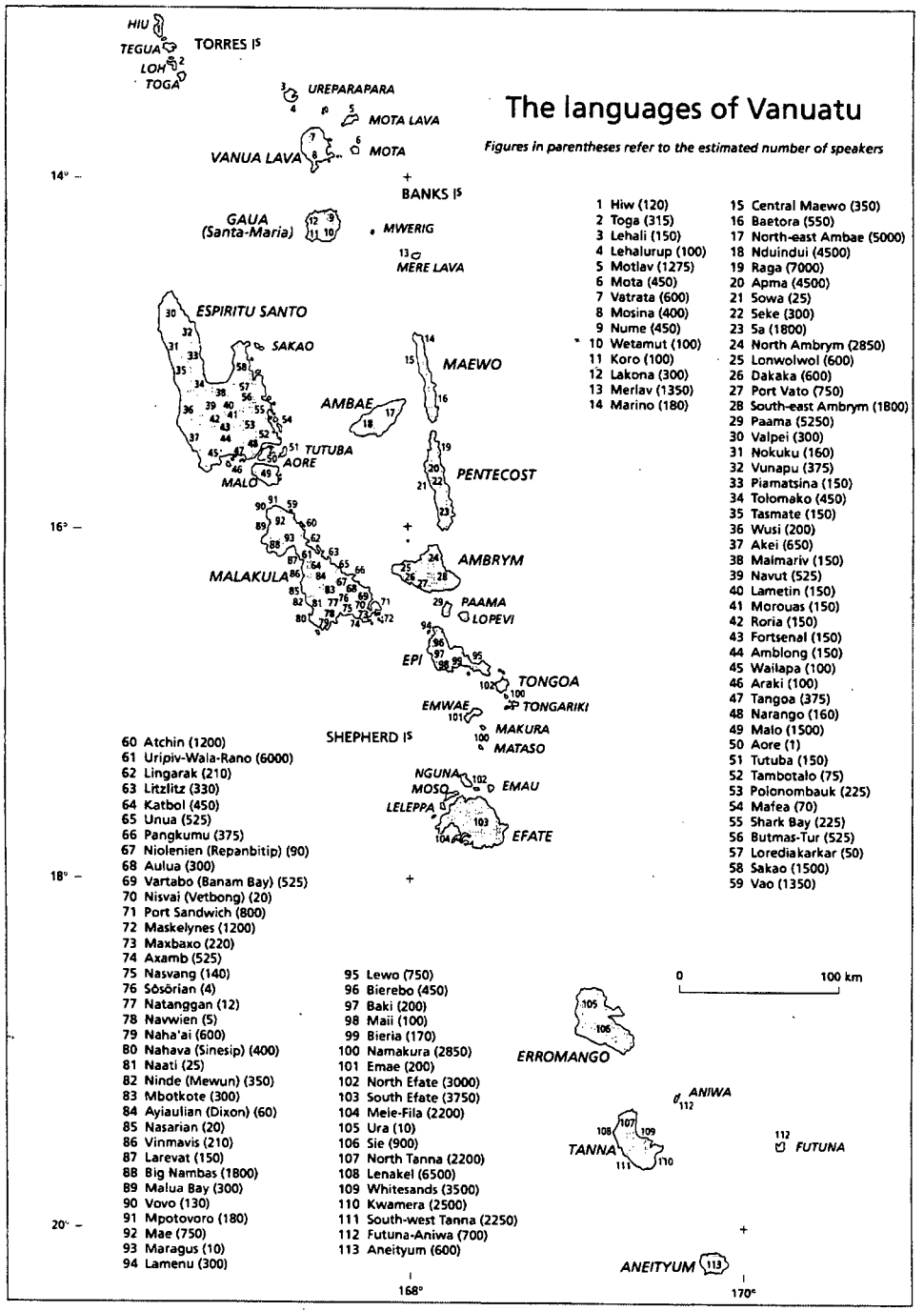
1.1. The geographic and social context of Araki

1.1.1. Vanuatu

Araki language is spoken in a small, round, rocky island officially called Araki – that is, **Daki** ['raki] in the vernacular; it is just three miles off the southern shores of Espiritu Santo, which is the largest island of the country. Vanuatu, formerly the New Hebrides, is an independent Republic of the South Pacific (Map 1); it is mainly populated by Melanesian people, who settled there about three thousand years ago.

The archipelago of Vanuatu is famous for its linguistic density, one of the highest in the world: more than a hundred distinct languages are spoken in its eighty islands,[2] for an overall population of less than 200 000 (Map 2). They all belong to the Oceanic group of Austronesian languages, and are often designated as 'Melanesian' languages, though this label corresponds to more than one genetic subgroup. More precisely, Araki belongs to the set of languages which Clark (1985) labelled 'North and Central Vanuatu'. Beside these vernacular languages, all Ni-Vanuatu can speak the English-based pidgin Bislama; but this *lingua franca* is mainly used in the two towns of the country, Port-Vila and Luganville, and seldom in rural areas.

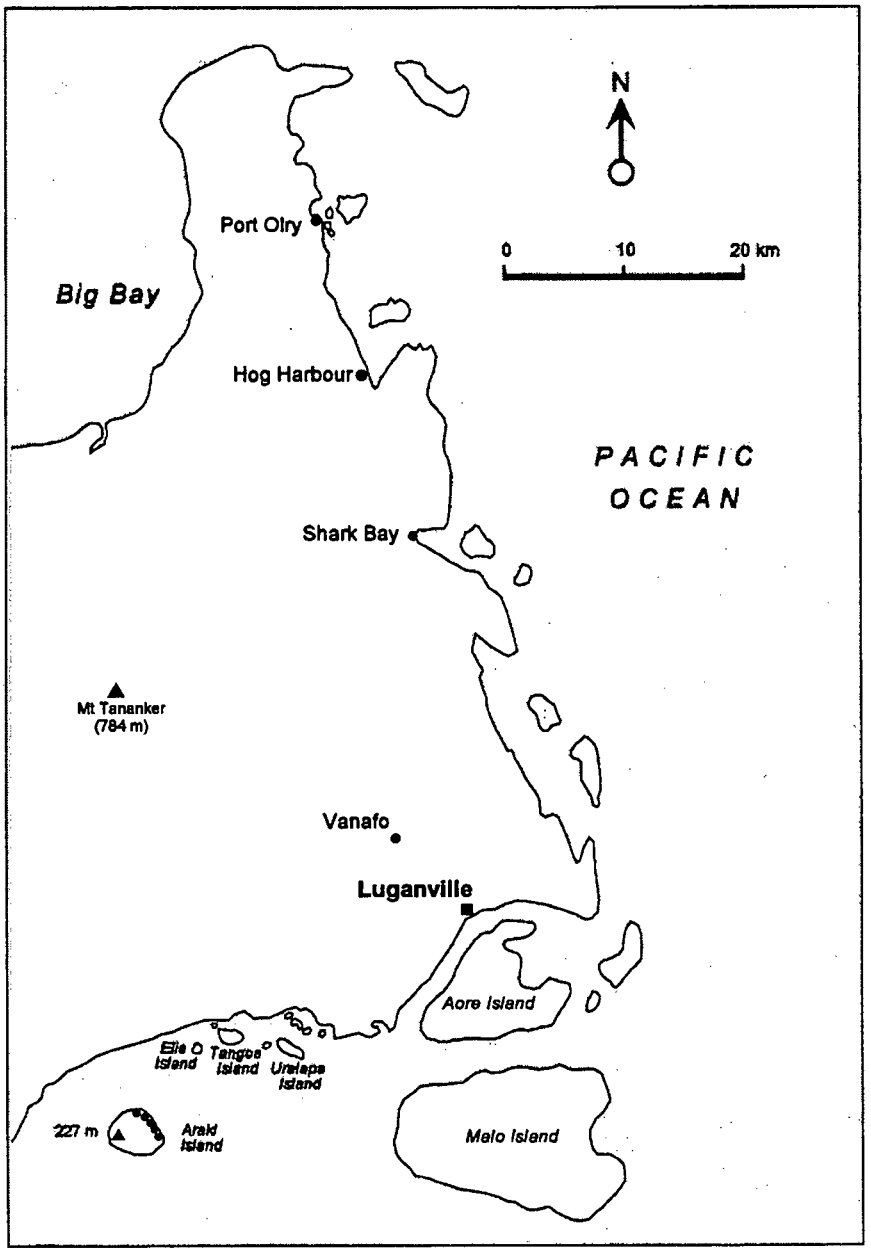
[2] See Tryon (1976, 1996)



© Darrell Tryon 1996

Map 2 The languages of Vanuatu

The Republic of Vanuatu consists of more than a hundred distinct languages, all belonging to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian family. Along with Araki (#46), the languages which are mentioned in this study correspond, on this map, to #5, 6, 29, 47, 49, 55, 71, 95, 102, 105, 108.



Map 3 Araki and its mainland Santo

Araki is a small island located south of Santo I., in Vanuatu. A famous myth tells how Araki moved from Hog Harbour to its current location, near Tangoa and Elia (see §8.1). *Other place names which are mentioned in this study include: Tangoa I., Malo I., Luganville, Shark Bay, Port Olry.*

1.1.2. Araki

With an area of 2.5 square kilometers, Araki always had a low population. Census records as early as 1897[3] give 103 islanders, while they were 112 in 1989, and 121 in 1999.[4]

Araki is sometimes considered to have one single village, located on the northern flank of the island, facing the shores of Santo (Map 3). In reality, this community is divided into five hamlets or villages, that is, from west to east: Belinda (including Leilehina), Parili, Parili-Aru, Vinapahura, and Sope.[5]

> These villages are basically homes to individual extended family clans; these clans can be referred to as **vapa** (literally 'cave'). For example, the village of Sope belongs to Lele Moli and his extended family, that is, his sons, their wives and children. (Bogiri-Vari 2000)

In addition, a common area close to Sope is called the Mission (**Misin**):

> The Mission is where the church, the *nakamal* (meeting house), the cooperative, the aid post, the Chief's house, the Pastor's house, the women's club house are located. (Bogiri-Vari 2000)

As is often the case in rural areas of Vanuatu, most of the people are subsistence farmers, exploiting the resources of land and sea for their own consumption; they also breed pigs and poultry. At the same time, many Arakians have developed various trade activities as sources of income:

- culture of copra and especially cocoa;
- local stores and bakery;
- selling crabs, coconut crabs, fish, and fruit, to the market of Luganville.

But for many Arakians, inland activities do not generate sufficient income: therefore they prefer to cultivate larger land slots in the mainland Santo, or even choose to live in the local capital Luganville. As a result, the official figure of a hundred islanders does not reflect the population which really lives permanently on Araki: several men, or even whole families, live between their island and the mainland. The development of the modern town Luganville, especially after the American presence in 1942, continues to attract people for socio-economical

---

[3] This figure appears in Miller (1990), who wrote a detailed history of how the Presbyterian Church first settled among the islands of Vanuatu.

[4] For all these social and sociolinguistic data, I am most grateful to H. Bogiri-Vari for her precious help; a great part of the present introduction will be based on her information (Bogiri-Vari 2000).

[5] The history of Sope, as well as the origin of its name, appear in a holy legend which we give at the end of this book (§8.1.2 p.205).

reasons easy to understand. This situation exposes most Arakians – as well as their children – to languages other than their own, that is, local South Santo vernaculars (for example Wailapa, Narango, especially Tangoa) as well as pidgin Bislama.

1.2. The sociolinguistic situation on Araki

1.2.1. Araki, a dying language

Former figures recorded up to *eighty* (Tryon & Charpentier 1989) or even *one hundred and five* (SIL 1983) speakers of Araki; but they are evidently over-estimated. An in-depth sociolinguistic survey of the island (Varisipite and Bogiri-Vari 1998) showed that though *thirty four* people claimed to speak Araki, the majority of them are not fluent.

In reality, there appears to have been a steady decrease in the number of speakers over the last three or four generations: as a consequence, there are nowadays hardly *fifteen speakers*, who can understand and speak Araki fluently.[6] Most of them were born between the 1920s and the early 1960s, which means that this language ceased to be used daily, in most families of the island, at least fifty years ago.

Table 1-1 Fluent speakers of Araki: official figures v. our estimate

source	island population	speakers, official	speakers, our estimate	year
Miller 1990	*103*	(103)	(103)	1897
SIL	(105)	*105*	45 ?	1983
Tryon & Charp.	112	*80*	30 ?	1989
Bogiri-Vari	121	*34*	**15**	1999

As will be shown below, Araki is no longer used in public, but only in a domestic context. This can explain why the language has survived in some families more than in others: for example Lele Moli's ten children, and even some of his grandchildren who lived with him, can still speak the language fairly well; but this extension to three generations is not usually found in other family clans.

While only 15 per cent of the Arakian population are fluent enough to use the language in any situation, the rest have at least a passive knowledge of it, that is, they can understand it, and even make whole phrases or sentences. Nevertheless, they have already forgotten most of the vocabulary, the difficulties of syntax, and even the most idiosyncratic phonemes of the language. For example, only the

[6] The name of some of them were mentioned in our Foreword. Future sociolinguistic survey should provide more precise information about each speaker individually.

fluent speakers can still distinguish between the flap [ɾ] and the trill [r]; and only them are still able to pronounce – or even to *hear* properly – the apico-labial consonants [p̈], [v̈], [m̈]; the other 'passive' speakers, when they try and speak Araki, will replace these sounds either with bilabials [p], [β], [m] or with apico-alveolars [t], [n].

As is common in such cases of language death,[7] the vernacular disappears more or less rapidly according to the personality of each individual, to the way of life of each family, and to their sensitivity to foreign influence. As a result, it is difficult to draw the boundary between those who do and those who do not 'speak Araki', because everything is gradual and quite subjective. On the one hand, several people overestimate their own linguistic competence, mainly for psychological reasons, and this leads to exaggerated figures of thirty or forty fluent speakers; on the other hand, a very strict conception of what a good knowledge of the language should be, convinced Lele Moli that he was '*the* last speaker' of Araki. The actual size of the Araki-speaking population lies somewhere between these two extremes, and the figure of fifteen seems reasonable.

1.2.2. The influence of Tangoa

In the present case, the language which is replacing Araki on the island is not – or not only – the pidgin Bislama, as one could expect. For a couple of generations, everybody on Araki has been switching to the language of the neighbouring island *Tangoa*. The latter language is close enough to Araki, at least from the linguist's point of view,[8] in such a way that it has been proposed to consider Araki and Tangoa two dialects of the same language; nevertheless, native Tangoans usually do not understand Araki, which suggests they are two distinct languages.

1.2.2.1. Inter-island marriages

Several reasons can be considered for the recent progress of Tangoa over Araki.[9] The explanation which is most often given, is the increase of inter-island marriages between both islands: many men from Araki, during the last generation,

---

[7] See Wurm (1991) and Dixon (1991), among many other studies on this issue.

[8] In fact, the grammar sketch which was written by Ray (1926) shows that the two languages are quite distinct from each other, especially from the syntactic point of view. References to Tangoa will be made throughout this study – see our *Index*, 'other languages'. On the other hand, the little documentation we have been able to find on neighbouring languages (e.g. Clark 2000) suggests Araki is profoundly close to – or is even a dialect of – the language of Malo.

[9] The essential of this information is drawn from Varisipite and Bogiri-Vari (1998), Bogiri-Vari (2000).

would marry women from Tangoa, in such a way that their children would have mostly Tangoa as their 'mother tongue'. This situation can be observed typically with our main informant Lele Moli, who married successively with two women from Tangoa; as a consequence, his ten children did not have Araki as their first language, but as a secondary tongue.

One could question this phenomenon, and wonder, for example, why the reverse process did not occur – that is, Tangoa men marrying Araki women. However, the theoretical symmetry of a women-exchanging system is of little relevance here, when the communities are so small: among a population of a hundred people, the number of nubile youngsters was too low to reach mathematical equilibrium between genders – in other terms, it remains statistically possible that Arakian boys were more numerous than girls for a certain period, and this, combined with a couple of other factors, could result in a quick reshaping of the sociolinguistic situation on the island. This observation suggests that the historical disappearance of languages in these small Melanesian communities must have occurred more often than what is usually believed.[10]

Another answer to the same question, is that the population of Tangoa being four or five times as big as that of Araki, there are necessarily more Tangoan women marrying to Araki than the reverse. Moreover, Arakian women marry to other islands of Vanuatu – for example Santo, Pentecost, Efate – in such a way that no Araki-speaking community can be formed outside their home island.

H. Bogiri-Vari shows that in 1998, out of 28 women aged twenty to forty who had married and come to live on Araki, no less than 24 were born outside the island, while only 4 were Arakian women married to Arakian men. Even if these 24 women do not all come from Tangoa, they have all adopted its dialect first as a *lingua franca*, and eventually as the unique way to communicate.

1.2.2.2. Missionary and Church influence

The second main reason for the increasing influence of Tangoa language during the last century, is the development of Christian missions. The first Presbyterian missionaries settled on Tangoa as early as in 1887, and founded the TTI (Tangoa Training Institute),[11] which had and still has a deep influence upon the social life of the whole South Santo area.

---

[10] Interestingly, we observed a very similar situation in the northern area of Vanuatu, more precisely in Vanua Lava (Banks Is). In the village of Mosina, the younger generations have shifted to the use of Vürës, which is becoming the dominant language on the island, with about 400 sp.; the traditional language of Mosina, in turn, is dying out, with only eight speakers left. Once again, the reason for this language death has nothing to do with colonisation or modern creolisation, but is assigned to the dissymmetry of inter-community marriages across the last generations (information provided by Chief Tevêt of Mosina, June 1998).

[11] The name of this institute features as **Titiai** ('TTI'), in the holy story of the missionary Sope –

From 1892 to 1923, several parts of the Bible and hymn books were produced in the area; they were all written in Tangoa language, which had been chosen as the local *lingua franca* for missionary purposes. It was used not only in church, but also in all forms of education[12] and inter-island communication; on the island of Araki, Tangoa began to be the normal idiom on many public occasions, at the expense of the local vernacular. At the same time, Bislama became more and more commonly used in the same activities:

> Church services are usually carried out in Bislama or Tangoa, and only occasionally in Araki language, if the service is carried out by such people as Pastor Varisipiti or Elder Lele Moli. (Bogiri-Vari 2000)

1.2.2.3. Other factors for language loss

The public (non-religious) school system is also decreasing the use of Araki. First, because secondary school is officially held in French or English; second, because the teachers usually come from different places of Vanuatu, and therefore speak Bislama; third, because Araki island only has a Kindergarten and a primary school, in such a way that children continue their schooling on the mainland:

> The last two years of primary education are usually away from home, in a *boarding school* on the mainland; there, children are exposed to other languages such as Tangoa, Bislama and English. Others continue on to other high schools, and because of lack of finance, hardly come home for holiday. (Bogiri-Vari 2000)

What is more, we have already mentioned the socio-economical attraction of the neighbouring town, and its employment opportunities; as well as the need, for many islanders, to cultivate copra or food crops on the mainland, which is more fertile and extended than their inherited land on the island.

1.2.3. Language use on Araki: a polyglossic situation

To sum up, Table 1-2 shows how four distinct languages are being used today on the island, depending on the social occasion. The low status of Araki is obvious.[13]

---

see §8.1.2 p.205.

[12] Education and church are not easy to separate in those central parts of Vanuatu held by Presbyterians. As an illustration, the Araki word **skul** (< Bsl. *skul* < English *school*) means 'church', or (as a verb) 'attend church, go for prayer' – see also Tryon and Charpentier (1989).

[13] Data from Bogiri-Vari (2000).

Table 1-2 Language use on Araki island in 2000: a polyglossic situation

social context	Araki	Tangoa	Bislama	English
Kindergarten	–	+	+	–
Primary school	–	–	+	+
Bible classes ('Youths')	–	+	(+)	–
Women's club	–	+	+	–
Church	(+)	+	+	–
between villagers	–	+	–	–
at home	(+)	+	–	–

1.3. Our research on the language of Araki

1.3.1. Existing documentation

To date, almost nothing is known about the language of Araki, apart from a wordlist published in Tryon (1976), along with all the other languages of Vanuatu. Not only the list for Araki (list #75), but also the general presentation given for all the languages, provide important insights to most of the phonological features with which we are concerned, especially the apico-labial consonants (1976:52). As for the flap/trill distinction, although he does not mention it in the introduction (for example 1976:29), it does appear occasionally – even if not systematically – throughout the list, in the form of a contrast between [r] and [ř]: for example [paru-ku] 'head', [puřo-ku] 'navel'.

On some occasions, Darrell Tryon's list shows forms which differ from what we heard during our own field: for example we have [rɪp̈a] 'axe' when he has [ripa]; [v̈erali] 'banana' when he gives [βerale]; [p̈ep̈e] 'butterfly' corresponding to his [p^{w}ep^{w}e], and so on. The reasons for these discrepancies can be of two kind: one possibility is an error in transcribing, either on his part[14] or on ours; the second would be an actual difference in the way lexical items were given by the speakers. This would mean that certain Araki consonants may have been subject to *variation*, either historically, geographically, socially or individually; we believe this might indeed have been the case at least for apico-labial consonants.[15] Deeper research would be needed, if it is not too late, to check the scope of these variations in Araki phonology.

[14] Tryon himself is aware of this possibility, as he points out in a footnote: 'Phonetic transcription of lists [Tangoa] and [Araki] is uncertain' (1976:13).

[15] Our own lexicon (Chapter 9 below) shows competing forms for such words as **v̈apa ~ vapa** 'cave', **lep̈a ~ lepa** 'earth'.

1.3.2. Methodology

As we mentioned in the Foreword, the main bulk of our research on Araki language was carried out as individual interviews with Lele Moli, at his house in Luganville. As a result, what we lack most in our data is spontaneous speech between native speakers, which we usually consider the best approach to language description (François 2000). However, given the sociolinguistic situation of Araki, it is most likely that we would have enjoyed few opportunities to hear such casual conversations, even if we had carried out this work on the island itself.

Our fieldwork on this language could only be done during the spare time left by our main field study, that is, the linguistic description of Mwotlap (Banks Is). During the four weeks we were able to dedicate to Araki, we did not acquire enough fluency to have any deep intuition about its grammar. As a consequence, the present study is entirely based on a *corpus analysis*, however frustrating this method may be.

This corpus consists of two separate bunches of data:

- *elicited sentences*, which we aimed to be as natural as possible, with mainly Lele Moli as our informant;
- *oral literature*, consisting of fifteen stories (about 40 minutes) recorded from various fluent speakers, including Lele, Ropo, Vari, Sohe. Ten of these texts were fully transcribed and translated, with the help of native speakers.[16]

In the chapters of the present study, we will always privilege the second part of this corpus, because of its spontaneity; and we will cite our isolated sentences only when no equivalent is found in our texts. However, even the first part of our fieldwork, that is, 'grammatical' elicitation, was deeply concerned with naturalness of the speech. For theoretical reasons which we shall not detail here, we always refused to ask our informants whether a sentence was 'grammatical' or not, and always preferred to ask if it would be the most *natural* in a given context – even a fictitious context.

Not only our methodology, but also the core of our scientific concerns and of our linguistic reasonings, are based on the correlations between the speaker and his anthropological, social, and pragmatic environment.

[16] The total size of our transcribed corpus is 3990 words (see fn.189 p.189). The reader will find a more detailed presentation of our oral corpus, together with a selection of literary texts, in §8 p.201.

1.4. The present study

This book provides a grammar description of the language of Araki; it is as comprehensive as was made possible by our limited corpus. After a presentation of the Araki sound system (Chapter 2), the reader will find an overview of the major parts of speech defined on distributional ground (Chapter 3). Then we provide a detailed study of the internal organisation of noun phrases (Chapter 4) and verb phrases (Chapter 5), with a discussion on the relevant linguistic issues which are raised by these syntactic rules: for example issues on referentiality, number-marking and possession for NPs; questions on modality, aspect and transitivity for VPs. Chapter 6 presents the internal syntax of whole clauses, with a reflection on the predicativeness of each part of speech, as well as the informational hierarchy between constituents; and we eventually (Chapter 7) examine how these clauses organise together to build whole sentences and paragraphs. The next part of this book (Chapter 8) breathes life into this grammar sketch, by offering a selection of texts from the oral tradition of Araki; and finally the last two chapters provide a short *Araki-English-Araki dictionary*, as detailed as was made possible with our limited corpus.

The functional approach to language we mentioned earlier, together with a focus on the pragmatics of discourse, turned out to be extremely fertile when trying to have a clear understanding – or even just trying to give an accurate description – of how a language like this really works. At the same time as it describes the syntax of Araki, our study aims at emphasising the paramount importance, for the interpretation of these syntactic structures, of the functional parameters involved in any speech situation. Grammar is not just a set of formal, arbitrary rules that one has to obey, but rather a sophisticated arsenal geared to resist, adapt and reply to the never-ending modifications of the speaker's environment. The speaker permanently shapes and reshapes his verbal strategies, eager to reconcile his immediate communicative intents with the heavy structural, cognitive and pragmatic constraints hanging over the success of his speech acts.

These theoretical issues appear throughout the following chapters, together with questions belonging more specifically to the studies on Oceanic languages. We sincerely hope that this grammar of Araki, however sketchy it may appear, be of some help to linguists at large, whatever their speciality. On the one hand, Oceanists will find several diachronic and areal reflections on the linguistic situation of Araki, as well as the more specific data they need; on the other hand, typologists should be able to discover the interest of such a language for language theory. A detailed index at the end of this book, as well as several footnotes dealing with cross-linguistic differences and universal trends, will help the reader figure out the linguistic identity of Araki among the languages of the world.

1.5. Typological overview

We will end this introduction with a typological overview of the language of Araki. This can also be read as an abstract to the present grammar; all the notions mentioned here will easily be found in our index (p.343–353).

Phonologically speaking, Araki belongs to a very small set of languages, found only in Vanuatu, which have created and maintained a series of apico-labial consonants. Another unusual feature is the phonemic opposition between a trill, a flap and a liquid, on the same point of articulation. The diachronic effects of word stress result in the irregular loss of some syllables, and the creation of new phonotactic patterns – that is, CVC, CCV, which is rare in the area; another consequence of this stress is the emergence of a distinctive accent, following a spectacular – though typologically well-known – path of evolution.

Araki follows many Oceanic languages, in contrasting different patterns for the coding of possession: in addition to the alienability opposition – which appears to be particularly free in this language – five possessive classifiers are used to distinguish between different semantic relations.

Number categories were reduced to a binary contrast between singular and plural, with only vestigial forms of dual; the former trial has been reinterpreted with a globalising effect ('all together'), which is slightly different from a paucal. What is more, even the singular/plural opposition is far from being universal: non-human referents most often neutralise this semantic category, and are coded as singular whatever the actual number of the referent.

Rather than animacy, the criterion of humanhood appears to be more relevant to describe Araki syntactic categorisations: in particular, the use of the construct suffix in genitive structures is normally a privilege of human possessors; and the strategies for cross-referencing the object also mark a clear boundary between human and non-human individuals. The only exception to these rather strict rules, are for proper place names, which are always treated as humans.

As far as reference-tracking strategies are concerned, the pivotal linguistic category in Araki is not so much definiteness – which is not necessarily coded for – but rather *specificity* of the referent. In a most original way, this semantic parameter appears to be essential throughout the syntax of this language. Not only articles distinguish between specific and non-specific noun phrases, but this feature also splits up existential predicates, and plays a crucial role in the coding for transitivity. Indeed, only referential objects are given an autonomous status in the clause, whereas non-referential NPs are systematically incorporated into the nuclear verb phrase.

Most interestingly, the referentiality contrast strongly correlates with the pragmatic and modal status of the clause: specific nouns are typically associated to realis assertions, whereas most other sentence types – negation, interrogation, irrealis assertion – regularly code their arguments as being non-specific, unless

they are definite. In this regard, pragmatic or cognitive referentiality are often more relevant than semantic referentiality.

Furthermore, the notion of referentiality does not only apply to nouns and to the representation of objects: even verbs appear to obey a similar division, since their mood marking between realis and irrealis mood can reasonably be described in terms of referentiality v. non-referentiality of the event. Again, Araki is quite original in having grammaticised a strictly binary opposition between these two moods: not only all verb phrases, but also adjectival or numeral predicates, necessarily take either realis or irrealis marker, with absolutely no other alternative. Not only are all modal categories reduced to this binary opposition, but there is no other device for coding tense: as a result, the sentences of Araki look like a string of clauses switching back and forth from realis to irrealis modality. The only other notion to which verbs are sensitive is aspect, with a handful of optional markers.

To be precise, these semantic features of aspect and modality define only one kind of predicate, whose head is a verb, an adjective or a numeral – seldom a noun. Conversely, other parts of speech (nouns, demonstratives, adverbs) are directly predicative: they basically form equational predicates, which are normally sensitive neither to time nor to pragmatic variations. The constituent order is strictly SVO, with a clear formal boundary between the direct object – always internal to the predicate phrase, whether incorporated or not – and the oblique arguments: adverbs, prepositional phrases and indirect objects always appear outside the VP.

Finally, the last major original feature of Araki, is the overwhelming development of clause chaining. More frequent than verb serialisation, this strategy is exploited in almost all sentences, as a powerful device for analysing a complex situation into several events, or a complex event into several of its facets. The interclausal relations involved in a clause-chaining string correspond either to cognitive iconicity, or to functional constraints such as the hierarchy of information. This grammatical device has even supplanted most subordination patterns, in such a way that any sample of normal speech in Araki often resembles a never-ending chain of clauses, following each other in Indian file. And indeed, if there is a structural hierarchy between these clauses, it is seldom coded by any formal, unambiguous marker, but has to be inferred through a complex semantic and pragmatic analysis.

2. *Phonology*

From a general point of view, Araki phonology is quite conservative of the Proto Oceanic system, especially because it has retained the five vowels of its ancestor, with little innovations. But consonants have undergone a few changes, with the creation of apico-labials, and a high degree of phonemic distinctions at the alveolar point of articulation (stop, affricate, fricative, nasal, lateral, flap and trill).

More significant are the modifications of syllable structure, due to the effects of stress, both diachronically and synchronically: out of a strictly open-syllable (CV) language, Araki has created richer patterns like CVC or CCV syllables, with many word-final consonants. Some effects of this stress also involve vowels, either through deletion or assimilation; as a result of this, a word accent is emerging, which can be morphologically distinctive.

2.1. Phonemes

2.1.1. Consonants

The phonological inventory of Araki contains 16 consonant phonemes, presented in Table 2-3. These consonants generally appear at the beginning of a syllable, although word-final Cs and consonant clusters will be discussed below (§2.4).

Table 2-3 Consonants of Araki

	bilabial	apicolabial	alveolar	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p	p̈	t	k	
voiceless affricate			ts		
voiceless fricative			s		h
voiced fricative	β	v̈			
nasal	m	m̈	n	ŋ	
lateral			l		
flap			ɾ		
trill			r		

The main features of this system, which differs from other neighbouring languages, are the following :

- existence of an apico-labial series;
- lack of a row of voiced/prenasalised stops;
- high number of phonemic differentiation on the apico-alveolar point of articulation.

2.1.1.1. Apico-labials

Apico-labial phonemes form an areal feature of Central Vanuatu languages, being found mainly on Santo and Malekula islands, and in very few other places in the world (Maddieson 1989). Also known as 'linguo-labials', they are pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the middle of the upper lip. In Araki, this involves either complete blocking of the air followed by exploding – thus forming the voiceless obstruent /p̈/ – or a constriction at this same point – to form the voiced /v̈/ – or a complete obstruction, correlated with nasality – which defines the nasal consonant /m̈/. These three phonemes may be opposed one-to-one to their bilabial correspondents, either with minimal or semi-minimal pairs:

Table 2-4 Phonemic contrast between apico-labials and bilabials

/rap̈ala/	'friend'	/rapala/	'Grouper (fish)'
/p̈irina/	'its seed'	/pilina/	'his shoulder'
/v̈a/	'go'	/βa/	Definite
/v̈aha/	Multiplicative	/βaha/	'lightning'
/m̈atsi/	'fish/bird'	/matsi/	'leg's calf'
/m̈ara/	'because'; 'eye'	/mara/	'snake'

It has been often observed, in other languages of Santo or Malekula,[17] the diachronic shift from a bilabial to an apico-alveolar or dental consonant, via precisely an apico-labial stage : thus $*p > *p̈ > t$, or $*m > *m̈ > n$. In this perspective, it is of interest to point out that Araki has retained the three series of consonants, as is shown through the following pairs contrasting apico-labial /p̈/ and /m̈/ with the phonetically close apico-alveolar sounds /t/ and /n/ respectively.

[17] See Tryon (1976:52).

Table 2-5 Phonemic contrast between apico-labials and apico-alveolars

/p̈aheu/	'shark'	/tahaβu/	'cover'
/p̈ep̈e/	'butterfly'	/tetei/	'father's sister'
/p̈ilahe/	'Rail (bird)'	/tilaβono/	'poor, deprived'
/m̈arua/	'righthand'	/naruna/	'his child'
/m̈em̈e/	'tongue'	/nene/	'here'

Despite the lack of perfect minimal pairs, this evidence should suffice to prove the existence of three series of consonants opposed by their point of articulation, namely bilabial v. apico-labial v. apico-alveolar consonants.

However, it should be noticed that the distribution of these apicolabial v. bilabial consonants throughout the lexicon, depends largely on the following vowel. Table 2-6 shows the distribution of apico- v. bi-labial consonants according to the vowel following, throughout the lexical entries of our lexicon: the figures indicate the number of such -CV- syllables, whatever their position within the word.

Table 2-6 Lexical distribution of bi-labial v. apico-labial v. apico-alveolar consonants, according to following vowel

	i	*e*	*a*	*o*	*u*
p	5	15	31	18	17
v	60	15	35	24	41
m	3	6	26	8	3
p̈	6	8	24	–	–
v̈	–	8	22	–	–
m̈	5	5	61	–	–
t	7	5	26	10	7
n	23	5	28	22	9

This table shows not only that some vowels are generally more common than others – which is not surprising – but more specifically that apico-labials are incompatible with both rounded vowels /o/, /u/. The absence of *v̈i* syllables could be due to insufficient data, but the contrast with the number of *vi* syllables suggests that /v̈/ might well be incompatible with the high front vowel /i/, too.

2.1.1.2. Affricate

Araki contrasts with its immediate neighbouring language Tangoa, in having a (voiceless) alveolar affricate /ts/.[18] To be precise, this phoneme is generally

[18] Araki /ts/ has merged two distinct POc phonemes, *^{n}d (e.g. /tsai/ < *$^{n}daRaq$ 'blood') and at

realised phonetically as:

- [ts] or [tɕ] before /i/.
- [tɕ] or [tʃ] before /a/ and /e/,
- [tʃ] before rounded vowels /o/ and /u/,

As a consequence, [ts], [tɕ] and [tʃ] are no more than three allophones of the same phoneme /ts/; in the orthography, it will be spelt **c**. We therefore find such words as:

Table 2-7 Allophones of phoneme *c* /ts/

ciha	[tsiɦa]	'disappear'	**m̈aci**	[m̈atsi]	'bird/fish'
ceu	[tɕeu] ~ [tʃeu]	'surpass'	**mece**	[metɕe] ~ [-tʃe]	'thanks'
cam	[tɕam] ~ [tʃam]	'yam'	**daca**	[ɾatɕa] ~ [-tʃa]	'rib'
coco	[tʃotʃo]	'dark, night'	**meco**	[metʃo]	'cooked'
cuvu	[tʃuβu]	'grass'	**racu**	[ratʃu]	'man'

The affricate phoneme /ts/ can be distinguished from other phonetically close phonemes /t/, /s/ through the following evidence :

Table 2-8 Phonemic contrast between affricate /ts/ and close phonemes /t/, /s/

/tso/	3sg (Irrealis)	/to/	'hen, chicken'
/tsu/	'nice, handsome'	/tu/	'son/daughter'
/tsoɾo/	'it's all right'	/soɾo/	'blow, talk'
/m̈atsa/	'wooden club'	/m̈asa/	'mushroom'

2.1.1.3. Fricative

The glottal fricative phoneme /h/, at least in the idiolect of our main informant Lele Moli, has two allophones, which are partly predictable, and partly randomly represented in our corpus: it is generally voiceless [h] everywhere, especially at the beginning of a word; and it optionally takes the voiced variants [ɦ] ~ [ɣ], mostly between vowels within a word. Yet, there is no minimal pair contrasting these sounds, suggesting that they are all free/context-sensitive variants standing for the same phoneme /h/.

Some pairs contrasting the two voiceless fricative phonemes /h/, /s/ include the following :

---

least some examples of **s* (e.g. /tsam̈a/ < **saman* 'outrigger') .

Table 2-9 Phonemic contrast between glottal /h/ and alveolar /s/

/hoɾo/	'root'	/soɾo/	'blow, talk'
/laho/	'trunk'	/laso/	'testicles'

2.1.1.4. Trill, flap, lateral

Finally, one of the difficulties of Araki, is to hear the difference between three very close phonemes, that is, the lateral /l/, the flap /ɾ/, and the trill /r/. Since these distinctions do not exist in Tangoa or in the neighbouring languages,[19] they typically disappear after the last generation of fluent speakers of Araki: though younger people can often understand or repeat many words, they will very often skip the contrast between /r/ and /ɾ/.[20]

Nevertheless, the following evidence shows these three phonemes to be distinct in Araki:

Table 2-10 Phonemic contrast between trill /r/, flap /ɾ/, and lateral /l/

/m̈ara/	'eye'; 'because'	/m̈aɾa/	'breadfruit biscuit'	/m̈ala/	'hawk'; 'chief'
/mara/	'snake'	/maɾa/	Personal Article	/mala/	Megapodius
/re/	Partitive	/ɾe/	'say'; 'that'	/le/	'again'
–		/eɾe/	'open'	/ele/	'seek'
–		/hoɾo/	'root'	/holo/	'coconut'
/reono/	'its nest'	–		/leono/	'his/her voice'

Unlike with apicolabials, there appears to be no particular restrictions on the distribution of these three consonants, which are all very common in Araki.

2.1.1.5. Other contrasts

Among the other phonemic contrasts which have not yet been illustrated, we may mention the ones involving /ŋ/ :

Table 2-11 Phonemic contrast between velar nasal, velar stop, alveolar nasal

/ŋaŋa/	'Canarium almond'	/kaka/	'reach'
/poŋ/	'day'	/pon/	'smell'

[19] Phonetic correspondences are almost systematic between TGO /t/ and ARK /r/ (< **t*), on the one hand, and TGO /r/ and ARK /ɾ/ (< **r*), on the other hand; e.g. TGO /turu/ = ARK /ruɾu/ 'stand'.

[20] The sociolinguistic background of this sort of phonological simplification was described in §1.2.1 p.5.

2.1.2. Vowels

The phonology of Araki is quite straightforward regarding vowels, with five elements organised in a symmetrical system.

Table 2-12 Vowels of Araki

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

There are no phonetic or phonemic long vowels, each vowel being normally short. From the historical point of view, notice that these five vowels almost systematically reflect the five vowels of Proto Oceanic etyma, with very few cases of change in quality; for example POc **tasik* > **rasi** 'sea', **tolu* > **rolu** 'three'.

Nothing in this language makes it necessary to consider diphthongs on the phonemic level. However, vowels do meet in many lexical items, as shown in *Table 2-13*. It is not even rare to hear sequences of three or four consecutive vowels, as in **Nam poe-i-a** 'I like him'.

Table 2-13 Number of vowel clusters VV in our lexicon

	-i	*-e*	*-a*	*-o*	*-u*
i-	–	–	10	5	2
e-	2	1	2	2	2
a-	26	3	–	5	19
o-	–	2	–	–	3
u-	4	10	22	1	–

A sequence <*high V* + *low V*> may indeed be phonetically pronounced with a glide sound: **ua-ku** 'my neck' is pronounced [u'aku] or ['waku]; yet there is never any contrast with such phonetic pairs, and both allophonic pronunciations are possible.[21] What is more, VV clusters normally behave as two separate syllables on phonotactic criteria. For example, while the stress-assignment rule (see §2.3.1) selects the penultimate syllable, a word ending with a -VV sequence will always

[21] From the historical point of view, Araki has generally lost POc glides (**waiR* > **ai** 'water'; **kayu* > **ha** 'tree'); conversely, what may be heard as a phonetic glide, and which we claim to be phonemically a cluster of two vowels, corresponds historically to sequences of different syllables, sometimes through loss of certain consonants: **ua** < **Ruqa* 'neck', **sui** < **suRi* 'bone', **leo** < **leqo* 'voice'.

place its stress on the first of these two vowels: hence **ruai** [ru'ai] 'before' has three syllables, and **avulai** [aβu'lai] 'glad' has four.[22]

2.2. Orthography

The orthography we are using aims at both simplicity and accuracy, since it has to be transparent to both linguists – including non-Oceanists – and non-linguists – including native speakers of Araki. The basic conventions of neighbouring Vanuatu languages have been followed, such as using |**g**| for the nasal velar /ŋ/; digraphs have been avoided.

Spelling conventions which need no comment concern the five vowels **a e i o u**, and the consonants **p t k v s m n l**. The three apicolabials are written either with the IPA double-dot above /p̈ v̈ m̈/ whenever this is possible; or instead with a small circle after them: *p*° *v*° *m*°. As mentioned above, **g** codes for the velar nasal /ŋ/.

Although the phoneme /h/ is transcribed, in the neighbouring (and predominant) language Tangoa, with a **c**, we have rejected this choice in Araki, for two reasons: first, **h** is a much better and simpler choice for everybody, including Tangoa-writers who know this use for Bislama or English; second, a letter like **c** fits better to code for the affricate alveolar /ts/, following widespread usage among linguists.

Finally, Araki makes it necessary to code for a distinction which does not exist in surrounding languages, between the alveolar trill /r/ and flap /ɾ/. Although speakers would spontaneously write them both with **r**, it has already been shown how essential it is to distinguish them. While /r/ may be indeed written **r** following common usage, the rarer flap will be spelt **d**, for two reasons: first, this letter is available through lack of voiced alveolar stop in the phonemic inventory; second, knowing that **l** is excluded, **d** is the letter closest to the flap sound.[23]

The alphabet for Araki language – regardless of loanwords – is as follows:

Table 2-14 The alphabet of Araki, with corresponding phonemes

a	***c***	***d***	***e***	***g***	***h***	***i***	***k***	***l***	***m***	***m̈***
a	ts	ɾ	e	ŋ	h	i	k	l	m	m̈
n	***o***	***p***	***p̈***	***r***	***s***	***t***	***u***	***v***	***v̈***	
n	o	p	p̈	r	s	t	u	β	v̈	

[22] On the other hand, some sequences of three vowels like **-aia-**, normally stressed on /i/, were sometimes heard as two syllables ['aja], with a stress apparently moving to preceding low vowel; this point needs checking.

[23] This convention recalls certain (American) dialects of English, e.g. *ladder* pronounced /'læɾəɹ/.

Other minor orthographic conventions include:

- use of a diacritic (acute accent) to mark irregularly stressed vowels, like **á** ≠ **a**; this will be discussed in §2.3.4.
- use of a hyphen to mark morpheme boundary.

From now on, this study will use these orthographic conventions.

2.3. Stress

2.3.1. General rule for stress assignment

Word stress in Araki normally strikes the *penultimate* syllable, at least when the last syllable of the word is of the form -(C)V. A secondary stress may be heard on every second syllable towards the left of the word.

Table 2-15 Stress on the penultimate syllable with words ending with V

haipiru	[ˌhaiˈpiru]	'seven'	**ruai**	[ruˈai]	'before'
paliha	[paˈlifia]	'in-law'	**paliha-ku**	[ˌpaliˈfiaku]	'my in-law'
ecene	[eˈtɕene]	'sell'	**ecen-i-a**	[etɕeˈnia]	'sell it'

As is clear in *Table 2-15*, stress is not assigned to a fixed syllable in the lexicon, but instead may change its position when a suffix is added. Another way to say this, is to consider that stress is assigned only after the lexeme has received all its affixes to form the whole phonological word.

This stress-mobility property is precisely what helps distinguish suffixes from clitics: though the latter have no proper stress either, they do not affect the way the preceding word is being accented. Thus in *Table 2-16*, **-ho** ('very') is a suffix, whereas **ro** ('Progressive aspect') is a clitic:

Table 2-16 Suffixes and clitics are defined by their effects upon word-stress

mo holo	[moˈfiolo]	'is good'	**mo holo-ho**	[ˌmofioˈlofio]	'is (very) good'
mo roho	[moˈrofio]	'stays/stayed'	**mo roho ro**	[moˈrofioro]	'is staying'

The two different statuses are typographically coded through use of hyphenation v. word boundary.

2.3.2. The case of final high vowels

A characteristic of Araki phonology, which seems to be shared with other Vanuatu languages such as Mota, is the weakness of (unstressed) final high vowels

/i/ and /u/. The majority of words (that is, root + affixes) ending with either of these two vowels may be heard with or without it: the consequence is a numerous set of lexical /-Ci/ or /-Cu/ roots having regularly a consonant-final variant:

Table 2-17 Optional deletion of final high vowels

rasi	~ **ras**	'sea'	**m̈apu**	~ **m̈ap**	'breathe'
hadivi	~ **hadiv**	'rat'	**rudu**	~ **rud**	'stand'
Daki	~ **Dak**	'Araki'	**p̈aheu**	~ **p̈ahe**	'shark'
lesi	~ **les**	'see'	**ugu**	~ **ug**	'(to) light'
ragis-i	~ **ragis**	'cry for' (TR)	**nunu-ku**	~ **nunu-k**	'my shadow'

Two important comments are needed here. First, evidence like **ragis-i** ~ **ragis** shows that this deletion rule does not only concern the final vowel of the lexeme, but may also affect a separate morpheme like the Transitiviser suffix **-i**; this point will cause difficulty for syntactic analysis, when trying to know whether a surface form without **-i** actually has it or not in its underlying structure.[24]

The second comment is that the final high vowel, though likely to disappear when it is in post-tonic position, will always appear again when an extra suffix is added, showing that it is still there:

Table 2-18 Deleted vowels reappear before a suffix

asi	~ **as**	'rope'	**asi-na**	[aˈsina]	'its ropes (canoe)'
cai	~ **ca**	'blood'	**cai-na**	[tʃaˈina]	'his/her blood'
dani	~ **dan**	'day'	**dani-na**	[ɾaˈnina]	'the date of it'
ragis-i	~ **ragis**	'cry for'	**ragis-i-da**	[raŋiˈsiɾa]	'cry for them'
m̈apu	~ **m̈ap**	'blow, breath'	**m̈apu-na**	[m̈aˈpuna]	'his breath'
p̈isu	~ **p̈is**	'finger'	**p̈isu-ku**	[p̈iˈsuku]	'my finger'

Although the optional deletion is very widespread in the lexicon of Araki, it seems that some roots are more affected than others. The reasons for such inconsistencies still need further research, but may be related to:

(a) the quality of the final vowel itself: /i/ seems to delete more easily than /u/, and both much more easily than other vowels (see §2.3.5);

(b) the quality of the preceding consonant: for example a word ending in /-mu/ will lose its final vowel more easily than one ending in /-ru/;

[24] The example chosen here is nevertheless non-ambiguous, since **ragis** is the allomorphic form of **ragi** ~ **rag** 'cry', appearing only when combined with the **-i** suffix to form a transitive form (see pp.131, 134). Other verbs may be less clear.

(c) the frequency of the word: high frequency of use seems to correlate with a higher probability of vowel deletion;

(d) the position of the word in the sentence, or in the prosodic phrase.

These hypotheses are only tentative, and need to be developed.[25] Until exact rules are determined, this vowel deletion process seems to be fairly arbitrary. Our lexicon of Araki (*Chapter 9*) will always mention, for a given root ending in /i/ or /u/, whether it is also attested without it.

As would be expected, our corpus shows three kinds of roots:

I. roots which are only attested with their final vowel, and are never reported to lose it: for example **hosu** 'this/here', **rolu** 'three', **vi-nini** 'palm-tree';

II. roots which are attested with both complete and incomplete forms (see samples in *Table 2-17*);

III. roots which are attested with only their incomplete form – that is, ending with a single consonant (-C) – but which are known to have, or to have had in the past, a final high vowel: for example **cam** 'yam' < **ⁿdamu*, **hanhan** 'food' < **kanikani*. The same applies for certain suffixes, which never surface with a final vowel: for example **-m** 'your (2SG possessive)' < **-mu*, as in **raṁa-m** 'your father'; opp. 1SG **raṁa-ku** ~ **-k** 'my father'.

The third category is more problematic, since there is no synchronic evidence, at least within our limited corpus, to pretend that these forms are indeed (variants of) vowel-final roots. As a consequence, they will be referred to using a consonant-final form in our lexicon of Araki: **cam**, **hanhan**, **-m**, and so on. Obviously, this leads to the definition of a set of consonant-ending lexical items, which is a phonotactic innovation[26] more or less shared throughout North and Central Vanuatu.

2.3.3. Stress-rules for consonant-ending words

As far as stress-rules are concerned, final-vowel deletion does not affect the position of the former stress, previously defined in *Table 2-15*. Therefore the word for 'rat' will be pronounced either [haˈriβi] or [haˈriβ], with no displacement of the stress to the preceding syllable *[ˈhariβ]. Another way to say this, is to consider that the rule (if any) for final-vowel deletion only applies *after* the stress has been assigned its position.

---

[25] For a similar explanation of final-vowel deletion in Paama, another language from Vanuatu, see Crowley (1982:19); but Araki facts are not necessarily the same as in Paama.

[26] Proto Oceanic also had final consonants, but these have subsequently been lost, in such a way that all lexemes ended in vowel, e.g. **kamaliR* 'men's house' > **kamali* (Ross 1998:17). The innovation we are mentioning here takes place after this stage, with a form like ARK **haṁal**.

Anyway, the latter statement may account for the set of items numbered II in the last paragraph, but has to be reformulated to fit group III, in which all items end with a consonant. The simplest way is to say that words ending with a consonant, contrary to vowel-final words, normally receive their primary stress on their *final* syllable.[27]

Table 2-19 Stress on the final syllable with words ending with C

nredan	[nreˈɾan]	'sometimes'	**m̈alum**	[m̈aˈlum]	'quiet'
coïncoï	[tʃoïˈtʃoï]	'think'; 'idea'	**ravur**	[raˈβur]	'get up'
naru-m	[naˈrum]	'your child'	**hosu-n**	[hoˈsun]	'this/here'

The last row of *Table 2-19* stands for all the words which receive a -C suffix, such as **-m** 'your' or **-ni** ~ **-n** – the latter being either a Construct suffix (see §4.7.1), or a Demonstrative particle compatible with all deictics (§4.4.3.2).

2.3.4. Exceptional vowel-final words, and emergence of a distinctive accent

The situation drawn so far is quite straightforward, contrasting vowel- and consonant-ending words. As a matter of fact, *Table 2-17* suggests there can be a special case of -V# words to be analysed, namely former /-Vi/ or /-Vu/ roots which have lost their final high vowel. In this case, the new final vowel /-V/ maintains its stress, following §2.3.3: for example 'shark' is **p̈aheu** [p̈aˈɦeu] ~ **p̈ahe** [p̈aˈɦe], with a stress on the final syllable. Another example is **sadai** [saˈɾai] ~ **sada** [saˈɾa] 'sit'.

An even more complex case occurs when the high vowel in former /-Vi/ or /-Vu/ sequences has totally disappeared in synchrony, in accordance with group III defined in §2.3.2. In this case, we are dealing with vowel-ending words which are stressed on their final syllable, in violation of the rule in *Table 2-15*. One instance of such exceptions is the noun for 'coconut crab', **cau**, stressed on the last syllable[28] [tʃaˈu] – opp. the word for 'blood' **cai** [ˈtʃai]. An exact orthographic convention would require that such exceptions to stress-rules be specified by means of a diacritic, following Italian or Spanish usage – for example **caú**

[27] From a typological point of view, the word-stress situation in Araki resembles pretty much the one in Spanish, both synchronically and diachronically: -V words are usually stressed on the penultimate syllable (Sp. *mẹsa* 'table'), while most -C words, which often originate in the loss of a former final vowel, bear stress on their final vowel (Sp. *sentịr* < Lat. *sentīre* 'feel').

[28] With the help of Mwotlap *na-diy* 'coconut crab', we can attempt to reconstruct a (POc-level) root ***^{n}daúRu* > (pre-Araki) **tsaˈuu* > */tsaˈu/*; indeed, Ross Clark (2000) proposes **daweRu* for PNCV. Of course, the final /u/ of **cau**, since it is stressed, is not concerned by final-vowel deletion.

'coconut crab', **puá** 'mother', **hiná** 'thing', **hotó** 'hermit crab'. However, since we remarked and noted this stress only when it was semantically relevant, we will use this diacritic exclusively in cases where this distinction is necessary. Further research will help correct our lexical items.

As a matter of fact, we have encountered only one such case of distinctive stress, but it is frequent and important enough to be recorded here. Amongst the paradigm of personal object suffixes,[29] the pre-Araki system most probably resembled nowadays Tangoa language (Ray 1926:359), in contrasting First singular object suffix */-au/* with Third singular */-a/*: thus we have TGO */mo tapa-i-au/* [motapai'au] 'he found me' v. */mo tapa-i-a/* [motapa'ia] 'he found her'.

Nowadays Araki language has somewhat modified this **-au/-a* contrast, since it has dropped the final /u/ in the First singular suffix. As a consequence, 1SG and 3SG object suffixes have homophonous forms **/-a/**, except that 1SG exceptionally bears stress on its final vowel: **-i-áu* > **/-i-á/**, while 3SG is more regularly stressed **/-í-a/**. The result of this is a general stress-contrast between 1SG-object and 3SG-object verb forms, as shown in *Table 2-20*. To make it clear, the 1SG suffix will always be written with a diacritic:

Table 2-20 Stress-marked contrast between 1SG and 3SG object suffixes

Mo tapa-i-á.	[mota$_{\downarrow}$pai'a]	'He found me.'
Mo tapa-i-a.	[mo$_{\downarrow}$tapa'ia]	'He found him/her.'
O sovi-á ro!	[o$_{\downarrow}$soβi'aro]	'Wait for me!'
O sovi-a ro!	[oso'βiaro]	'Wait for him/her!'

2.3.5. Other processes of final deletion

What we have stated about final high vowels, from §2.3.2 on, is also true of some other vowels, yet in much lower proportions. For instance, the root for 'die', normally **m̈are**, has also been recorded without its final vowel ['m̈are] ~ [m̈ar]. *Table 2-21* collects most of the items in which such a deletion has been found possible – though always optional – for non-high vowels.

Table 2-21 Optional deletion of some non-high final vowels

m̈are	**~ m̈ar**	'die'
m̈ana	**~ m̈an**	'laugh'
supea	**~ supe**	'chief, lord'

[29] This will be discussed later, in §4.1.3 p.45.

pona	**~ pon**	'smell'
raholo	**~ rahol**	'straight'
vavono	**~ vavon**	'other'

Finally, there is another pattern of deletion concerning a small number of words: instead of (or together with) losing their last vowel, they show a variant form in which the whole final unstressed syllable /-CV/ has totally disappeared. *Table 2-22* lists all the words – less than ten – which are concerned by this last deletion rule. Most of them are very common words, or highly grammaticised items, such as verbs of movement, some conjunctions, and so on.

Table 2-22 Deletion of the whole final syllable /-CV/ for a few exceptional roots

m̈audu		**~ m̈au**	'live, grow'
vadidi		**~ vadi**	'small; children'
sohe		**~ so**	'like, as'
rodo		**~ ro**	'do what'
raha		**~ ra**	'become, be'
roho		**~ ro**	'stay'
v̈ano		**~ v̈a**	'go, walk'
saha		**~ sa**	'(go) up'
sivo	**~ siv**	**~ si**	'(go) down'
povi	**~ pov**	**~ po**	'all, every'
voni	**~ von**	**~ vo**	'or'

As far as stress is concerned, there is no change of position along these processes: **vadidi** [βa'ɾiɾi] ~ **vadi** [βa'ɾi]. Anyway, the output is generally a monosyllabic word, which has only one possible position for the stress – unless it becomes a clitic, like **ro** 'Progressive marker' (< **roho** 'remain').

2.4. Phonotactics

The basic syllabic structure of Proto Oceanic/pre-Araki, which was dominantly |CV|, still prevails in modern Araki: **lo nahodani** 'in the morning', **radami-na** 'its meaning', **m̈alokoloko** 'exhausted', all follow the same basic |CV|CV| pattern. However, several vowel deletion processes have recently led to the constitution of closed |CVC| syllables. We have already discussed, through §2.3, the origin and properties of such syllables in word-final position: see *Table 2-17*, *Table 2-19*, *Table 2-21*. Our corpus shows virtually all consonants in word-final position, except for **h**, **p̈** and **v̈**.

Other |CVC| syllables may be encountered within the word, after an internal pretonic high vowel /i/ or /u/ has been lost. Thus **sovusoho** [soβu'sofio] 'grey' is

occasionally realised **sovsoho**, with an initial CVC syllable. Most of our examples are included in *Table 2-23*. The resulting internal /CC/ clusters which are found throughout our lexicon are: **gg**, **ll**, **ls**, **lt**, **ml**, **pd**, **rk**, **rn**, **sm**, **sr**, **vc**, **vs**, **vt**.

Table 2-23 Emergence of word-internal closed syllables

sovusoho	**~ sovsoho**	'grey'
mavusa-ku	**~ mavsa-ku**	'my entrails'
tavutavu	**~ tavtavu**	'rich'
–	**levsei**	'know'
–	**rarna-ku**	'my mother'
–	**vuggo-ku**	'my sister-in-law'
–	**Tasrihi**	'Tasiriki (place)'

The process above described is quite limited, since it involves words having at least four syllables, the second of which contains a high vowel, following a pattern |CV|C(i/u)|CV|CV|. More original is the case of words in which the unstressed high vowel was in their first syllable: the consequence of the deletion process has been to create syllables beginning with two consonants |CCV-|, thus violating former phonotactic rules. For example, **pula-ku** [pu'laku] 'my (Possessive classifier for valuables)', which may still be heard in Araki, is often replaced by **pla-ku**, with a consonant cluster beginning the syllable. The same process accounts for the word **nredan** 'sometimes', morphologically **ni-** (Preposition) + **re** (Partitive) + **dani** ('day'): a four-syllable form like *[nire'ɾani] lost its first and last high vowels, to become a two-syllable word **nredan** [nre'ɾan].

Similar /#CC-/ clusters appearing in our lexical data are **kl**, **lc**, **lp**, **ml**, **nd**, **nk**, **nr**, **pd**, **pl**, **rk**, **sl**, **sn**, **vc**, **vs**: for example **rkel** [rkɛl] 'reach', **lceg** [ltɕɛŋ] 'strike', **vcan** [βtɕan] 'hurt', **sna** [sna] 'come', (**nida** ~) **nda** [nɾa] 'they'. This set of native /#CC-/ words also receives loanwords from Bislama, with the same phonotactic structure: **smat** (< *smart*) 'handsome', **store** 'story; narrate', **skul** (< *school*) 'church; attend church'.

Although a cluster of more than two consonants is impossible within a word, linguistic sequences sometimes put together three C, in phrases like **Nam vcan-i-ko.** 'I am beating you'. No specific samdhi process is involved in this case, which anyway is rare.

2.5. Morphophonemic rules

After this detailed presentation of vowel deletion in Araki, this chapter will present other rules of its phonology and morphology.

2.5.1. Lexical vowel assimilation

While belonging to the phonological consequences of the stress, a process of vowel assimilation[30] has been observed in several lexical items of Araki, without being very productive. Instead of having their post-tonic (final) vowel simply drop –as was analysed in §2.3 – a few items *assimilate* it to the preceding stressed vowel: for example 'liar' is **kodekode** ~ **kodo̲kodo̲**. Besides the assimilated form, the basic non-assimilated form may be known in different ways:

- the original form is still in use, like in the case of **kodekode**;
- the original vowel appears in derived or suffixed forms of the same root: for example **vuruvuru** 'hill', but **vurivuria-ha** 'steep, high', suggesting the original form for 'hill' to be **vurivuri*;
- both of these two cases may concur: for example 'live; life' is often **m̈audu** [m̈aˈuru], but it is sometimes heard **m̈audi** (~ **m̈au**), and the possessed form is **m̈audi-da** 'their lives', with an /i/ (see *Table 2-18*);
- sometimes, the process of assimilation is only suggested by knowledge of neighbouring languages or etyma: for example **saha** 'go up' < **sake*; **rapala** 'Grouper fish' < **tab^{w}ale̲* (Mota *taqale*); **m̈ara̲sala** 'door' < **mate̲-sala* 'way'.

The latter case is a matter of historical changes, and does not represent on-going phonological changes in Araki.

2.5.2. Morphological vowel assimilation

2.5.2.1. Suffixes /-Ca/

A subcase of this kind of post-tonic vowel assimilation process is now a productive morphological rule. A number of suffixes of the form /-Ca/ change their vowel to /o/ when preceded by a stressed vowel /o/ on the radical:

e.g. **reo** 'nest' + **-na** '3SG poss.' → **reo-no̲** (not **reo-na*) 'its nest'

The suffixes concerned by this rule are

- personal possessive markers, suffixed to nouns and to possessive classifiers: **-na** 3SG, **-ca** 1PL:INC, **-da** 3PL;
- personal object markers, suffixed to verbs: **-ca** 1PL:INC, **-da** 3PL;
- an intensive suffix **-ha**, found on some adjectives.

[30] This is more accurate than to speak about *vowel harmony*, since what is being propagated is not just a phonological feature (rounding, etc.), but the vowel itself; and because it involves no more than one syllable each time, not the whole word.

Table 2-24 Morphological vowel assimilation from /a/ to /o/

leo	**-da**	**leo-do**	'their voices'
no	**-ca**	**no-co (ta)**	'our (dad)'
dogo	**-da**	**dogo-do**	'hear them'
holo	**-ha**	**holo-ho**	'[very] good'

Notice that contrary to lexical vowel assimilation (§2.5.1), the present rule only applies to the shift from /a/ to /o/, no other vowel being concerned. Thus **leo** + **-ku** → **leo-ku** 'my voice', never **leo-ko*; and **naivou** + **-na** → **naivou-na** 'his wife', with no change on the final vowel.

2.5.2.2. The case of third singular suffix /-a/

There is still one question regarding this assimilation, that is, what happens to the usual 3SG object suffix **-a**: does it behave like the other /-C**a**/ suffixes listed above, or is it an exception? To make the problem clearer, let us contrast three forms[31] of two different verbs, one stem ending in /o/, the other in /i/:

Table 2-25 Irregular morphology of /o/-ending verbs for 3SG object

object suffix	-i stem		-o stem	
2SG	**Mo lesi-ko**	'He saw you.'	**Mo dogo-ko**	'He heard you.'
1IN:PL	**Mo lesi-ca**	'He saw us.'	**Mo dogo-co**	'He heard us.'
3SG	**Mo lesi-a**	'He saw her.'	**Mo dogo**	'He heard her.'

Table 2-25 shows that **-a** suffix has a special behaviour with stems ending in /o/: first, it never surfaces as /a/, so that forms like **dogo-a* are impossible in Araki. Nor does it follow the same assimilating pattern as other /-C**a**/ suffixes (like in second row), since forms like **dogo-o* are impossible too. It seems that the latter form is automatically reduced to **dogo**, through haplology/shortening of the underlying double /o/. But if this hypothesis were true, then the surface form should bear a stress on its last vowel [ɾoˈŋo], which apparently is not the case.

Although the historical path might indeed have been the one we have just suggested (*[ɾoˈŋo-a] > *[ɾoˈŋo-o] > *[ɾoˈŋo]), the actual 3SG-transitive form of this verb seems to be [ˈɾoŋo], that is, exactly the same as the root, with no morpheme added. If this fact is confirmed by further research focused on stress, this would mean that verbs ending in /o/ do not vary when the object is third singular – or, in other terms, that the 3SG object suffix /**-a**/ has a *zero* allomorph for verbs ending in /o/. The verbal roots concerned with this issue are all the /o/-ending verbs in their transitive use, which are listed in *Table 2-26*.

[31] The complete paradigms will be presented in §5.4.2 p.132.

Table 2-26 Transitive /o/-ending verbs taking a *zero* allomorph for 3SG object

dogo	'hear, feel'	**polo**	'light (fire)'
hoco	'wash'	**sodo**	'blow in'; 'shoot at'
hodo	'stop up'	**tovo**	'read'
holo	'pilot (boat)'	**vodo**	'touch; make'
koso	'break'	**voko**	'do, make'

Notice that some /e/-ending roots do not take any suffix either: all these issues will be further dealt with in the morphosyntactic chapter §5.4.2.

2.5.3. Morphology of reduplication

Reduplication of the root is not so common in Araki as it is in other Oceanic languages, but it does occur. There are several ways to reduplicate a radical: they are shown in the following paragraphs, before we review the semantic aspects of this morphological process (§3.2).

2.5.3.1. Complete repetition of the root

This concerns mainly roots of two syllables. Monosyllabic roots are too rare in Araki to provide enough evidence.

Table 2-27 Reduplication through repetition of the whole root

1 SYLLABLE	**han**	**hanhan**	'eat'
2 SYLLABLES	**dev̈e**	**dev̈edev̈e**	'pull'
	kadu	**kadukadu**	'swim'
	doco	**docodoco**	'sick'
	sodo	**sodosodo**	'talk'
	alo	**aloalo**	'sun'
	avu	**avuavu**	'fly'
	iso	**isoiso**	'end'
	si ~ sivo	**sivosivo**	'go down'
	v̈a ~ v̈ano	**v̈anov̈ano**	'go, walk'

The output of this process can be subsequently reduced, following phonological rules for deletion of high vowels, both word-finally and word-internally. This is why we have **hovi** 'scabies' → *(*hovihovi*) > **hovhovi**; or **kesi** 'now' → **kesikesi** > **keskesi**; obviously, a form like **tavtavu** 'rich' must have followed the same path.

And even the form **hanhan**, which synchronically corresponds to a single-syllable root **han**, must in fact be explained by the loss of two /i/ in **hanihani*; consider also **coṁi** 'sad, thoughtful' → **coṁcoṁ** 'think'.

2.5.3.2. Repetition of the first syllable

This pattern is very frequent with three-syllable words, although two-syllable roots are also concerned:

Table 2-28 Reduplication through repetition of the first syllable

2 SYLLABLES	**naru-**	**nanaru-**	'son'
	hada	**hahada**	'red'
	runi	**rurunu**	'cook'
	sodo	**sosodo**	'spring (v)'
	sovi	**sosovi**	'wait'
3 SYLLABLES	**lokodu**	**lolokodu**	'angry'
	v̈aodo	**v̈av̈aodo**	'noisy'
4 SYLLABLES	**levosai**	**lelevosai**	'intelligent'

Two other roots must be added to this pattern, which involve the intermittent vowel /i/ again: **ra** ~ **rai** 'cut' → (**rarai*) > **rará**; and **v̈e** ~ **v̈ei** 'do, make' → (**v̈ev̈ei*) > **v̈ev̈é**.

Notice that the same root **sodo** 'blow, spring, shoot at, talk' has two different reduplicated forms, which are distinct semantically: **sodosodo** 'talk' v. **sosodo** 'blow, spring'.[32]

2.5.3.3. Repetition of the first two syllables

Table 2-29 Reduplication through repetition of the first two syllables

3 SYLLABLES	**ṁarahu**	**ṁaraṁarahu**	'fear, be afraid'
	ṁacihi	**ṁaciṁacihi**	'colour'
	veculu	**vecuveculu**	'whistle'
	hudara	**hudahudara**	'dirt'

In a way similar to **hanhan** above, the output of this latter process may undergo other transformations, for example ***rueni** 'help' → ***rue|rue|ni** > **rueruen**.

[32] There are also two different transitive forms for these two meanings of the verb **sodo** (see *Table 5-44* p.131); this suggests that they correspond to two homophonous verbs **sodo** 'blow, spring, shoot at' v. **sodo** 'talk'. The semantic metaphor which is perceptible between them is either a matter of diachrony, or just an optic illusion.

However, since even the simple form of this verb has lost its final /i/, what appears in synchrony (in our corpus) is a slightly different pattern: **ruen** → **rueruen**.

2.5.3.4. Other patterns

There are other patterns attested, especially when the root has a syllable consisting of just a vowel (for example V- instead of CV-). Thus we have **ele** 'search' → **elele**; and **ul** ~ **uli** 'write' → **uliuli** ~ **ululu.**[33]

[33] The last /u/ in **ululu**, just like in **rurunu** above, is due to vowel assimilation: see §2.5.1 p.28.

3. *Syntactic categories and their relations*

This short chapter addresses the most general issues of Araki morphosyntax, before each structure (for example NP, VP) is reviewed in detail. We will first present a list of the word classes – that is, 'parts of speech' – of this language, defining them mainly on distributional grounds. Secondly, we will present the morphology and semantics of root reduplication, since this kind of process has to do with several parts of speech at the same time, and is instructive of their mutual relations.

3.1. Word classes

The lexicon of Araki may be divided into different distributional categories, called word classes or parts of speech. A first line may be drawn between the open set of lexemes, on the one hand, and a closed set of morphemes, which are often monosyllabic clitics or affixes. This chapter will discuss the classes of lexemes, that is, nouns, adjectives, verbs, numerals, adjuncts, adverbs, demonstratives.

3.1.1. Nouns

Nouns cannot be distinguished from verbs using the sole criterion of being predicative, since both categories are – which is very common among Austronesian languages. However, only nouns are able to refer directly to entities of the world, and make them arguments entering into larger sentence structures. Syntactically speaking, a noun can be either the subject, the object of a transitive verb, or the object of a preposition, all syntactic slots which are forbidden to verbs or adjectives.

Sadi	**nene**	**m̈ara**	**sodo**	**m̈aci.**	'This spear is to shoot fish (with).'
spear	this	for	shoot	fish/bird	

The only other part of speech which may replace a noun, at least in topic or subject position, is the closed set of free independent pronouns. Proper nouns, that is,

place names and personal names, can be said to belong to the global category of nouns in Araki.

On the other hand, nouns can form predicates, without ceasing to be nouns. These nominal predicates generally consist of equational sentences:

Daki	**udeude.**	'Araki is an island.'
Araki	island	

Although nouns seem to share this predicativeness with verbs also, they actually behave a different way: while verbal predicates must always be preceded by a subject clitic, nouns and noun phrases are not, being instead 'directly' predicative.[34] In fact, few parts of speech are directly predicative in Araki: nouns, demonstratives, some locative words (see §6.1.3 p.155).

3.1.2. Adjectives

Contrary to many languages which lack a distinct category of adjectives, Araki does have a set of lexemes which can be named this way. These adjectives are words expressing a stative property, which can modify directly a noun, simply by following it:

Niko	**racu**	**tavtavu.**	'You are a rich man.'
2S	man	rich	

This direct-modifier position is forbidden to verbs, which would need a relative clause, and anyway would take a subject clitic. This is a sufficient argument to consider a set of adjectives, distinct from (intransitive) verbs.

Nevertheless, when these adjectives are in the predicate function, they behave syntactically like verbs, taking subject clitics:

Nia	**mo**	**tavtavu.**	'He is rich.'
3S	3:R	rich	

This makes it impossible to contrast verbs and adjectives when they are predicates. Moreover, what corresponds to an adjective in English is not necessarily an adjective in Araki, and may just be an intransitive (stative) verb:

Nia	**mo**	**coïmi.**	'He is sad.'
3S	3:R	sad	

***racu**	**coïmi**	'a sad man'
man	sad	

As a consequence, we have only tagged 'Adjectives' the words which were found, in our limited corpus, in noun-modifying contexts; but when our evidence only

[34] The conditions under which noun predicates may take subject clitics are discussed in §6.1.1 p.151.

showed a word in the predicative structure, we have always considered it to be 'at least' an Intransitive verb. This means that among what we call Intransitive verbs, there must be some words which are in fact adjectives; but this can only be checked through the direct noun-modifying test. More will be said about adjectives in §4.6.

3.1.3. Verbs

Verbs are predicative words which are always preceded by subject clitics. Unlike nouns, they cannot form a direct predicate (that is, without a clitic), and cannot refer to an entity, nor form the subject of a sentence; unlike adjectives, they cannot directly modify a noun by just following it. From the semantic point of view, verbs refer to actions, events or states.

Nia	**mo**	**comi.**	'He is sad.'
3S	3:R	sad	

More will be said on verbs later on, especially in §5.

3.1.4. Numerals

Numerals behave syntactically like (intransitive) verbs, and could be argued to form a subset of verbal lexemes. They must always be introduced by a subject clitic, which is sensitive to person and modality (Realis/ Irrealis).

Naru-ku	**mo**	**dua.**	'I have two children.'
child-1S	3:R	two	(lit. my child is/are two)

Yet numerals do fill some syntactic positions of their own, which are not open to verbs. For instance, the morpheme **rapudo**, a kind of numeral classifier for persons, can only be followed by numerals:

racu	**rapudo**	**rolu**	'three men'
man	NUM	three	

Moreover, the word **dua** 'two' can be found in vestigial forms of dual pronouns.[35]

3.1.5. Adjuncts

Adjuncts form quite a small category of lexical items, whose syntactic position is to follow immediately the verb radical, though still within the verb phrase. When the verb is transitive, adjuncts have the remarkable property of inserting

[35] Numerals will be reviewed in §4.5.4 p.80, including a discussion on dual forms.

between the verb radical and the transitiviser suffix and/or the object suffixes,[36] as though they were incorporated:

Na pa nak pilai -ko.
1S:I SEQ kill outright -2S
'I'm going to kill you outright!'

Less than ten words have been identified as adjuncts, including **cece** 'forever', **coco** 'all day long', **hodo** 'blocking', **otoṁe** 'well', **povi** 'completely', **pultan** 'together'.

3.1.6. Adverbs

Contrary to adjuncts which are always incorporated into the verb phrase, Adverbs never are. They can appear either at the beginning or at the end of a clause. The unmarked position of a (non-topical) adverb is after the Verb-Object bundle, where Prepositional phrases are too.

V̈apa di mo roho ro saha-ni kaura.
cave ANA 3:R stay PRG up-DX2 above
'The cave is located up there, above.'

This category includes all words which form directly – that is, without a preposition – an oblique complement. They will be presented in §6.2.1.

3.1.7. Demonstratives

Although they syntactically behave partly like locational adverbs, Demonstrative words form a specific paradigm, which is easily identified morphologically. All demonstratives can take a **-ni** ~ **-n** suffix, whose linguistic function will be discussed in §4.4.3.2: thus **kesi** 'here', **nene** 'here', **hosu** 'there' – among other forms – are demonstratives, allowing for the derived forms **kesi-n**, **nene-n**, **hosu-n**. Basically, demonstratives are either associated to nouns for reference-tracking:

Vere hosu-n mo holo-ho.
song DX3-ASS 3:R good-INT
'That song is very nice.'

or have the whole clause as their scope:

[36] Similar facts were reported for other Oceanic languages, like Port-Sandwich in Vanuatu (Charpentier 1979:180), Hoava in the Solomons (Ross 1998:26) or Saliba in PNG (Margetts 1999). See our discussion in fn.137 p.149.

Sodosodo di mo hilu hosu.
story the 3:R end DX3
'And the story ends here.'

They can also be the predicate of the clause:

Nia hosu-n.
3S DX3-ASS
'That's it.'

Demonstratives will be detailed in §4.4 p.69.

3.2. Reduplication and derivation

The process of reduplication can be seen as a semantic strategy, in which the speaker presents a notion as intense, multiple, plural in one way or another;[37] this is a clear case of *iconicity* between form and function. Most often, the semantics of reduplication are more subtle than just plural reference: for example applied to a verb, this derivation will put the focus on the generic notion of an action rather than on a single event. That is why verbal reduplication triggers such semantic features as non-referentiality/genericity of the object – or even its complete absence, in the case of detransitivisation – and thus is naturally associated with noun incorporation.

Reduplication is also the main device, if not the only one, which allows a word to change its syntactic category, for example from noun to verb or from verb to noun; this is why it is being discussed here, in the general chapter on parts of speech. Considering that the main categories concerned by this derivation technique are nouns and verbs, there are four possible input/output combinations, which are detailed below.

3.2.1. From noun to noun

Duplicating a noun into another noun occurs seldom in Araki. The effect can be that of a plural, in the case of the noun **naru-** 'son' → **nanaru-** 'sons, children':

Na vä voli re värali ha-n nanaru-ku.
1S:R go buy some banana FOOD-CST children-1S
'I am going to buy some bananas (as food) for my children.'

In some cases, the plural sense ('many Ns') induces a secondary meaning of diminutive ('small Ns'). For example, **hudara** refers to 'dirt, filth' – as well as to

[37] Pacific languages generally show similar semantic values for reduplication (Lynch 1998).

'the bush'; the reduplicated form **hudahudara**, somewhat iconically, designates many small particles of dirt:

Hudahudara-n	**cam**	**di**	**mo**	**roho**	**ro**	**lo**	**hoco-no.**
dirt:DUP-CST	yam	ANA	3:R	stay	PRG	LOC	teeth-3S

'Some small particles of the yam had got caught in (the Rat's) teeth.'

3.2.2. From noun to verb or adjective

A handful of nouns in our corpus appear capable of deriving into an intransitive verb (or adjective?) by reduplication: for example **m̈acihi-** 'colour' → **m̈aciḧacihi(-ha)** '(very) colourful, multicoloured'.[38] The semantic iconicity – intensive, plural value of reduplication – is obvious here. Notice also **hovi** 'scabies' → **hovhovi** 'scabious, covered with scabies'.

Another example is **alo** 'sun' → **aloalo** 'be sunny, be daylight'. The effect of reduplication is to refer, not to an object of the world, but to the process/state which is normally caused by it; this process, in turn, can combine with mood and aspect morphemes, and so on.

3.2.3. From verb to verb

Among the different values of reduplication, derived verbs show an *intensive* meaning:

N-re-dan	**co**	**pa**	**v̈anov̈ano ...**
OBL-some-day	1IN:I	SEQ	walk:DUP

'One day, we shall race (lit. walk-walk) together ...'

– *plural*:

Kesi	**no-m**	**dan**	**mo**	**isoiso**	**kesi!**
now	POSS-2S	day	3:R	end:DUP	now

'(lit. Now, your day(s) finish-finish now!) This is the last of your *days*!'

– *plural* or *reflexivity*:

Nam	**m̈ara**	**ni-á**	**ro.**	→	**Cam**	**m̈aram̈ara**	**ni-ca**	**ro.**
1S:R	look	OBL-1S	PRG		1IN:R	look:DUP	OBL-1IN	PRG

'I am watching myself → We are watching ourselves/each other.'

---

[38] In fact, it is possible that the first step of the noun-adjective derivation does not involve reduplication, cf. **sui** 'bone' → **sui-ha** 'strong' (fn.83 p.92); then the adjective ***m̈acihi(-ha)** 'coloured (?)' duplicates for an intensive meaning: **m̈aciḧacihi(-ha)** '(very) colourful'.

– *distributive*:

Mada Naura-laṗa mo sivosivo mo velu ro kia.
PERS Mainland 3:R go.down:DUP 3:R dance PRG there
'The people from Santo would go there (in small groups) to dance.'

– *imperfective*:

Nam po-i-a na sodosodo isa-m.
1S:R like-TR-3S 1S:I talk:DUP with-2S
'I would like to have a chat with you.'

– *detransitivising*: [39]

Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.
1IN:I say 2S:I weep 3S:I finish 2S:I SEQ eat:DUP
'If you stop crying, you will have your dinner.'

Generally speaking, reduplication is usual when reference is not made to a single event in time, but to the generic notion of the verb. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

P̈aivuho, na ul re leta co sivo sa-n puá.
tomorrow 1S:I write some letter 3S:I go.down to-CST Mum
'Tomorrow, I shall write a letter to my mother.' SPECIFIC

No-ku pen mo te, mo ce le ululu.
POSS-1S pen 3:R bad 3:R NEG again write:DUP
'My pen does not work, it cannot write any more.' GENERIC

Hadiv mo kadu.
rat 3:R swim
'So the Rat started to swim.' SPECIFIC

Nam ce dogo na kadukadu lo rasi, m̈ara p̈ahe.
1S:R NEG feel 1S:I swim:DUP LOC sea because shark
'I don't want to swim in the sea, because of the sharks.' GENERIC

Hence the use of this derivation process in the case of object incorporation, with a non-referential object: for example **v̈ev̈e-hina** 'work' (lit. do-do things). Other examples of this include:

Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau.
man NUM two 3:R go.down R. 3:R say 3P:I seek:DUP (crab)
'Two men went to Rahuna, intending to look for coconut crabs.'

[39] See Crowley (1982:153) for discussion.

Nam sivo nam de <u>dev̈edev̈e</u> m̈aci.
1S:R go.down 1S:R say pull:DUP fish
'I went fishing (lit. to pull fish).'

Conversely, the simple root is normally used whenever the speaker refers to a single, referential event:

Mo ce m̈aci ne nam <u>dev̈e</u>, nia v̈ahasu.
3:R NEG fish here 1S:R pull 3S DX3:far
'It is not this fish which I caught, it is that one.'

3.2.4. From verb to noun

Finally, reduplication is the usual way to derive a noun from a verb. The noun thus derived generally refers to the very notion of the verb, in general terms:[40]

lo ima <u>rurunu</u>
LOC house cook:DUP
'in the kitchen (lit. house for cooking)'

Other examples include: **sodo** 'talk' → **sodosodo** 'speech, message, language'; **ruen** 'help (V)' → **rueruen** 'help (N)'. Remarkably, these verbal nouns can be possessed, by means of the general classifier **no-** (§4.7.3); the possessor is the actor of the corresponding action:

Om mece m̈ara no-m <u>rueruen</u>.
2S:R (thanked) because POSS-2S help:DUP
'Thank you for your help.'

Finally, a reduplicated verb can keep its incorporated object even when it has become a noun. For example, the verb **v̈ev̈e-hina** 'work' (already reduplicated, see above) is also a noun with the same meaning: (lit.) 'my do-do-things → my work'.

Om mece lap̈a m̈ara <u>no-m v̈ev̈e-hina</u> lo sodosodo-ni Daki.
2S:R (thanked) big because POSS-2S do:DUP-thing LOC talk:DUP-CST Araki
'Thank you so much for your work on Araki language.' (lit. 'your do-do-things')

[40] Such abstract nouns referring to verbal notions are often used as noun-modifiers, like in the 'cooking-house' example. Other examples of this structure are given in §4.2.2 p.48.

4. *Nouns and noun phrases*

Nouns have already been acknowledged to exist as a lexical category in Araki (§3.1.1); this chapter will focus on the syntactic properties of noun phrases (NP) as a whole, and their internal structures. Noun phrases have the semantic property of referring to entities of the world, and include them into larger sentence structures. Syntactically speaking, a NP usually codes for an argument in a predicate structure, being either the subject, the object of a transitive verb, or the object of a preposition; NPs can also form the predicate in an equational sentence.

In the case of emphatic subjects, some pronouns (independent pronouns) may take the place of a NP; in other cases, it is somewhat misleading to compare NPs and pronouns, since they hardly ever commute in the same syntactic positions. However, we will first mention pronouns and other personal markers in this chapter, before describing the internal structures of NPs.

4.1. Pronouns and personal markers

Instead of talking about 'personal pronouns', we will more generally speak about *personal markers*. In Araki, like in most Oceanic languages, such markers are categorised into seven morphosyntactic 'persons': persons 1, 2, 3 refer respectively to the speaker, the addressee and anybody else, without gender distinction; but non-singular forms contrast what is commonly called *First exclusive* – a 'we' excluding the addressee from the reference– and a *First inclusive* – a 'we' including the addressee.

As far as number is concerned, Araki has considerably lost the general four-number system of Oceanic languages, which usually distinguish Singular, Dual, Trial/Paucal, and Plural. Apart from a few vestigial forms which will be discussed later (§4.5.4.4), the modern system only opposes singular to plural forms. As a result, each paradigm of personal markers in Araki normally consist of seven forms.

4.1.1. Independent pronouns

4.1.1.1. Morphology of independent pronouns

Table 4-30 lists the forms of the free independent pronouns.

Table 4-30 Independent pronouns

	Singular	*Plural*
1 INC		**nica**
1 EXC	**na**	**kaṁam**
2	**niko ~ nko**	**kaṁim**
3	**nia**	**nida ~ nda**

The short allomorphs of 2SG and 3PL are explained by the rules for internal vowel deletion (§2.4). The second singular form is sometimes heard **inko** and even **ninko** [niŋgo], with perhaps a stronger stress effect.

4.1.1.2. Syntax of free pronouns: object, subject, topic, predicate

These independent pronouns are never used as OBJECTS for a verb, except for the two forms in **ka-**, which are employed instead of the lacking correspondent suffix (§4.1.3):

Mo	**sovi-da**	**ro.**	'He is waiting for them.'
3:R	wait-3P	PRG	***mo sovi nida ro**

Mo	**sovi**	**kaṁim**	**ro.**	'He is waiting for you (pl).'
3:R	wait	1EX	PRG	

The normal use of free pronouns is in the SUBJECT position, essentially in two cases:

- *Obligatory NP subject of nominal predicates*, that is, equational sentences:

Nia	**racu**	**laṗa.**	'He is a chief. [a 'big man']'
3S	man	big	

- *Optional NP subject of verbal predicates*, with the function of underlining the obligatory subject clitic which follows immediately. Here, 'underline' generally means marking it as a new or contrastive topic – not really a focus – in the sentence:

Nia	**mo**	**roho**	**ro**	**lo**	**v̈apa.**	'*He* lives in caves. (contrary to others)'
3S	3:R	stay	PRG	LOC	cave	

The latter case is somewhat uneasy to distinguish from other cases of TOPICALISATION, either semantically contrastive or not, which resort to the same

free pronouns:

Pani inko eṗe-m mo holo.
but 2S body-2S 3:R good

lit. 'But *you*, your body is healthy.'

Finally, there is another use to which free pronouns fit, though quite seldom: the PREDICATIVE function (for example 'It is me'). In affirmative sentences, the independent pronoun begins the sentence, and is often[41] followed by a relative clause:

Inko hosu nanov om lito-vi-á?
2S REL yesterday 2S:R spit-TR-1S

'Is it you, (the one) who scolded me yesterday?'

In fact, the latter example is not really different from an equational sentence: in this case, **inko** would be the subject, and the predicate would be the whole relative clause. However, a negative sentence like the next example definitely shows a free pronoun in the position of a predicate; it is preceded by the negation **ce**, and also by 3SG subject clitic (**mo**), as though it were a verb:

Mo ce na hosun nam nak-i-a racu ro.
3:R NEG 1S REL 1S:R kill-TR-3S man PRG

'It is not me who killed the man.'

In a way, this negative sentence is rather strange, if we realise that the affirmative equivalent, with the same subject clitic before a pronoun predicate, would be absolutely ungrammatical: ***Mo na** ... ('It is me ...').

4.1.1.3. The comitative suffix ***-ni***

Independent pronouns, and apparently no other part of speech, have the property of being compatible with a comitative suffix[42] **-ni** ~ **-n** 'with, and'. This morpheme suffixes to a pronoun, in order to add a new referent to it; for example it translates English *and* in a phrase like *You and Mum*:

niko-ni Graham 'you and Graham'
2S-COM G.

kaṁam-ni Ela 'we plus Ela'
1EX-COM E.

---

[41] Our corpus shows no simple sentence of the type 'This is me.', with a free pronoun filling in the predicate slot. This suggests such identifications use other strategies than equational pattern.

[42] It is a suffix and not a clitic because it affects the stress of the preceding word: **'niko** → **ni'ko-ni** (see §2.3.1 p.21).

Notice that the second element is necessarily a NP – either a proper noun or not – and cannot be a pronoun itself. For example, *me and you* could never be translated ***na-ni niko**, because the system already provides a pronoun for this kind of 'inclusive We', that is, **nica** or **nica dua** 'the two of us'.

Pronouns have another way to link to a NP in a comitative pattern, that is using the word **rolu** 'three' in what used to be trial forms. This rather strange structure will be discussed in §4.5.4.7 p.87.

4.1.2. Subject clitic personal markers

Contrary to equational sentences, which must take free pronouns as their subject, the ordinary marking of subjects in verbal sentences uses a special set of obligatory clitics. We call them clitics rather than prefixes, because they do not normally receive (primary or secondary) stress.

In fact, subject clitics are all portmanteau morphemes: they are divided into two series, according to the modality associated to the verb phrase. One series codes for REALIS mood, the other for IRREALIS.[43]

Table 4-31 Subject clitic markers for REALIS mood

	Singular	*Plural*
1 INC		**cam**
1 EXC	**nam**	**kam**
2	**om**	**ham**
3	**mo**	**mo**

Table 4-32 Subject clitic markers for IRREALIS mood

	Singular	*Plural*
1 INC		**co**
1 EXC	**na**	**kaṁa**
2	**o**	**ha**
3	**co**	**ha**

As far as morphology is concerned, *Table 4-31* and *Table 4-32* suggest that REALIS forms were once more or less derived from IRREALIS forms, by adjunction of some */m/ morpheme;[44] but synchronically, they appear to be two separate paradigms of portmanteau morphemes.

[43] The syntax and semantics attached to these two categories will be discussed in §5.2 p.105.

[44] Most interestingly, this kind of alternation between vowel-ending clitics for Irrealis (e.g. **na**, **o**, **ha**) and their Realis counterpart taking a nasal consonant (resp. **nam**, **om**, **ham**) certainly

In our word-to-word translations, a marker such as **ham** will be glossed '2P:R' meaning 'Second plural + Realis mood'; **o** is '2S:I' for 'Second singular + Irrealis mood'. A form like **na** will either be glossed '1S:I' if it is a clitic, or just '1S' if it is syntactically a free pronoun (see §4.1.1.1). On the other hand, since number-marking on Third person Realis clitic is irrelevant, **mo** will always be glossed '3:R', that is, 'Third person Realis' ('he, she, it, they').

The syntax and semantics of subject clitics will be explored in §5.1 p.103.

4.1.3. Object suffix markers

Another paradigm of personal markers is formed by object suffixes. These are usually associated with transitive verbs and verb-like prepositions. Like in Tangoa (Ray 1926:359), two persons in the plural lack a suffix; in this case, the object is exceptionally[45] marked by a free pronoun – respectively **kam̈am** '1EXC:PL (us)' and **kam̈im** '2PL (you)'.

Table 4-33 Object suffix markers

	Singular	*Plural*
1 INC		**-ca**
1 EXC	**-á**	–
2	**-ko**	–
3	**-a**	**-da**

The origin and stress properties of First singular **-á** have been discussed in §2.3.4. Morphophonemic rules governing the shift from **-ca** and **-da** to **-co** and **-do** are stated in §2.5.2.1, and the case of Third singular *zero* allomorph is dealt with in §2.5.2.2.

All transitive verbs are supposed to take these object suffixes, except in special cases of noun incorporation or when objects have human reference, as will be

---

accounts for a major morphological phenomenon occurring in the neighbouring languages of Central Vanuatu – e.g. Ngunese-North Efate (Lynch 1998), Paama (Crowley 1982:118), Lewo (Early 1994:90): this is the alternation of initial consonants for verbs, according to their mood/tense. For example, Paama contrasts at least two forms for the verb *kati* 'bite': Realis */lu-ᵑgati/* 'They two bit it' v. Irrealis */lu-ati/* 'You two bite it!': the opposition between a prenasalised voiced stop (*ᵑg-*) and loss of consonant (Ø-) matches precisely the Araki contrast between *m*-suffixed subjects – e.g. ***Om* hari-a** 'You bit it.' – and absence of this suffix – e.g. ***O* hari-a** 'Bite it!'. In our hypothesis, a former linguistic stage had a Realis morpheme containing *-m-*, which was once autonomous (?); then it attached to the preceding subject clitic in some languages – e.g. Araki – and to the following verb in others – e.g. Central Vanuatu – involving a phonological process of assimilation. For further discussion on these issues, see Tryon (1986) and Crowley (1991).

[45] See §4.1.1.2 p.42.

shown later (see §5.4.3). These object suffixes immediately follow the transitiviser suffix **-i** when there is one: hence most transitive forms – but not all of them – end with complex transitivity marking **-i-á**, **-i-ko**, **-i-a**, **-i-ca**, **-i-da**.

O	**ruen-i-á!**	'Help me!'
2S:I	help-TR-1S	

The same suffixes appear on several prepositions, which may be called 'verb-like prepositions'; these are **hini-**, **ini-**, **ni-** which all roughly mean 'at, to', **pedesi** ~ **p̈edesi** 'with'.[46]

Several issues concerning object suffixes, both morphological and syntactic, will be dealt with in §5.4 p.130.

4.1.4. Possessive suffix markers

The last paradigm of personal markers is the list of possessive suffixes. These are associated with inalienable nouns, possessive classifiers and noun-like prepositions.

4.1.4.1. Morphology of possessive markers

Table 4-34 Possessive suffix markers

	Singular	*Plural*
1 INC		**-ca**
1 EXC	**-ku ~ -k**	**-m̈am**
2	**-m**	**-m̈im**
3	**-na**	**-da**

These suffixes all begin with a consonant, and usually follow a stressed vowel: for example **p̈isu** [ˈp̈isu] ~ **p̈is** [ˈp̈is] 'finger' → **p̈isu-ku** [p̈iˈsuku] 'my finger(s)'. No particular morphological alternations are involved, except the /o/ assimilation described in §2.5.2.1: for example **podo** 'ear' → **podo-no** 'his ears' (***podo-na**).

4.1.4.2. Possessive markers and parts of speech

Our corpus shows up to 160 inalienable nouns in Araki, that is, nouns which are compatible with these possessive suffixes (see §4.2.1). The five possessive classifiers are **no-** 'general possession', **m̈a-** 'drink', **ha-** 'food', **cuga-** 'portion', **pula-** ~ **pla-** 'economical possession'; possession issues will be discussed in §4.7. Our corpus also has a handful of noun-like prepositions, including **m̈ara-** 'after,

[46] These prepositions will be presented in §6.2.1 p.156.

because of', **isa-** ~ **sa-** 'with, to (Dative)', **nida-** 'with':

Nam	**roho**	**ro**	**isa-m.**	'I'm staying with you.'
1S:R	stay	PRG	with-2S	

There is no evidence, at least synchronically, to say that these noun-like prepositions were originally (inalienable) nouns – except for **m̈ara**, which is homophonous with the noun **m̈ara** 'eye'.[47]

Finally, three other words must be mentioned, which always take these personal suffixes; they are not nouns, but behave syntactically as adjectives. These so-called 'possessible adjectives' include **tilavo** 'deprived of', **sohe** '(be) like', **hase** 'alone, (by) oneself'. They will be discussed in §4.6.4 p.94.

4.2. Nouns

4.2.1. Inalienable v. *alienable nouns*

The syntactic criteria defining the category of nouns were defined in §3.1.1. Nouns basically divide into two categories: inalienable v. alienable nouns. The former – 171 nouns in our corpus – are compatible with personal suffixes, while the latter – 302 nouns – are not. Inalienable nouns could further be divided into nouns which are *always* suffixed, such as **raṁa-** 'father', v. nouns which can also stand on their own, such as **aka** 'canoe'. The consequence of this are three nominal categories, which are summarised in *Table 4-35*:

Table 4-35 The three lexical categories of nouns, according to suffixation

	ALIENABLE	INALIENABLE	
		optional suffix	obligatory suffix
unsuffixed	+	+	–
suffixed	–	+	+
example	'axe'	'canoe'	'father'
unsuffixed ('a N')	**diṗa**	**aka**	***raṁa***
suffixed ('my N')	***diṗa-ku***	**aka-ku**	**raṁa-ku**

The first category (*alienable nouns*) is supposedly the largest in Araki: it includes all plant and animal names, and many words which are normally not named in relation to anything else; loanwords are generally treated as alienable. At the other end of the table, the set of *obligatorily suffixed nouns* is quite reduced, and concerns mainly kin terms. Conversely, it is remarkable that a fair amount of common (non-technical) nouns belong in the class of *optionally suffixed nouns*.

[47] More will be said about prepositions in §6.2.1 p.156.

This class could be described intuitively as the hybrid union of two fuzzy-edged sets of lexemes:

- nouns which *typically take a possessive suffix*, but exceptionally lose it when the possessor is either non-human, or non-specific. This is the case of most body part terms – for example **hoco** 'tooth': **hoco-m̈im** 'your teeth', but **hoco po** 'a pig's tusk' – or other part terms – for example **para** 'trunk (of a tree)' → **para levu** 'trunk of a breadfruit', **para-na** 'its trunk'.
- nouns which *are typically unsuffixed*, but can be exceptionally possessed, when one of their meanings is unambiguously relational: for example **dani** 'day' is normally never possessed, except with the sense 'the date of it (event)', **dani-na**; the same for **lagi** 'wind', which is found once in our corpus with a Construct suffix **lagi-n Tahuna** 'the South wind'; **asi** 'rope, liana' is never possessed directly, except when referring to the cords used in tying an outrigger to the canoe, **asi-na** 'its rope (of the canoe)', and so on.

Obviously, since the boundaries between these two categories are not coded by morphological constraints, many words are uneasy to be assigned a predominant use. For instance, nouns like **ima** 'house', **aka** 'canoe', **e̊pa** 'mat', **koko** 'hole', **cai** 'blood', **p̈aka** 'bow', cannot be said to be 'typically' suffixed or typically unsuffixed: they can be used as a reference either to an object by itself ('a house', 'the canoe'), or to an object in relation to its possessor, in such a way that the nature of the relationship is unambiguous (**ima-ku** 'my house' is normally the house I live in).

In summary, the contrast between alienable v. inalienable nouns in Araki is not clearly marked: only few common nouns can be said to belong definitely to either of these categories. Conversely, most nouns can almost freely shift from one pattern to the other, following what seems to be a flexible process of (semi-) productive suffixation. This situation can be contrasted with other Oceanic languages like Mwotlap (Banks Is, personal data), in which each noun either must be or cannot be suffixed, in such a way that the system doesn't allow any flexibility between these two distinct categories. Diachronically speaking, it seems that this flexibility of Araki suffixation was already a characteristic of the Proto Oceanic noun system; whereas it is probably an innovation of Mwotlap to have rendered so rigid the opposition of alienability. Once again, Araki is conservative of former linguistic stages.

4.2.2. Noun-modifying nouns and composition

Distinct from possession structures, some patterns allow nouns to modify another noun, in a way similar to adjectives. This is the case when the NP-head (N_1) has its referential value narrowed down by a modifier (N_2). In this situation,

the order is always <head N_1 + modifier N_2>, in a direct construction:

mara	**ras**	'sea-snake'	**ciliv**	**leṗa**	'clay pot'
snake	sea		pot	earth	
ṗilahe	**hudara**	'bush Rail (bird)'	**ṗis**	**livuha**	'middle finger'
Rail	bush		finger	middle	
hadiv	**Tasale**	'cat'	**pera**	**Tasale**	'Fijian taro'
rat	Europeans		taro	Europeans	

The second part of the compound can also be a (short) NP, consisting of more than one noun:

aco	**cigo-hese**	'swordfish'
(cetacean)	snout-one	
vi-pue	**da-pera**	'taro-leaf (that is, soft) bamboo'
PLANT-bamboo	leaf-taro	
vasohi	**udeece** **ṿerali**	'Golden Whistler (k.o. yellow bird)'
Whistler	pudding banana	

The second noun can also be a 'verbal noun', referring to an action (§3.2.4 p.40). In general, these nouns are derived through reduplication of the verb root, for example **runu** 'cook' → **rurunu** 'cooking, cuisine':

ima	**rurunu**	'kitchen'
house	cook:DUP	
m̈aci	**avuavu**	'bird'
fish/bird	fly:DUP	
cada	**ruvaruva**	'waist'
place	girdle:DUP	

V̈eral	**ne**	**mo**	**ce**	**ṿeral**	**hanhan.**	'This banana is not for eating.'
banana	DX1	3:R	NEG	banana	eat:DUP	

In fact, these qualifying structures are sometimes difficult to distinguish from possessive structures involving two nouns, for example **daca po** 'pig's rib'. The difference between both patterns is twofold:

- syntactically, <N_1-N_2> is a possessive structure if N_1 belongs to the set of inalienable nouns, that is, if the noun N_2 can be replaced by a possessor suffix. For example, **daca po** → **daca-na** 'its rib' is a possessive structure, but **mara ras** 'sea-snake' → ***mara-na** 'its snake' is only a noun-modifying structure.
- semantically, <N_1-N_2> is a possessive structure if the possessor noun N_2 can

be specific: for example **daca po** can mean either 'a pig's rib' (non-specific) or 'the rib of the/this pig', and hence is possessive; but **mara ras** 'sea-snake' does not refer to any sea in particular, that is, the second element is never specific.

The syntax of possessive constructions will be detailed in §4.7 p.96.

4.2.3. Derivation patterns

There are a few productive patterns of lexical derivation to form nouns; they use prefixes rather than suffixes.

4.2.3.1. Prefixes da- and vi-

Both are compatible with several, if not all, plant names:

- <**da-**+ plant name> forms names of leaves (cf. **dau** 'leaf'): for example **da-holo** 'coconut palm', **da-pera** 'taro leaf'
- <**vi-**+ plant name> designates the plant as a whole, and has become automatic – although still removable – in the citation forms of most plants: **vi-adu** 'Casuarina', **vi-ca** 'Pometia pinnata', **vi-cogo** 'mangrove', **vi-mele** 'Cycas'. More than 30 plant names take **vi-**, except the most common edible plants like **cam** 'yam', **holo** 'coconut', **pera** 'taro', **v̈erali** 'banana'.

  Both prefixes are compatible with a generic radical for plants, **ha** (< POc **kayu*); thus **vi-ha** 'tree', **da-ha** 'leaf'.

4.2.3.2. Prefix ve-

It forms female kin terms out of male kin terms, all being inalienable nouns. This is better presented in a table:

Table 4-36 Female kin terms using **ve-** derivative prefix

Male term		*Female derived term*	
rasi	'younger brother'	**ve-rasi**	'younger sister'
roha	'elder brother'	**ve-roha**	'elder sister'
paliha	'father-in-law'	**ve-paliha**	'mother-in-law'
rahu	'brother-in-law'	**ve-rahu**	'sister-in-law'
naru	'child; son'	**ve-naru**	'daughter'
tu	'child; son'	**ve-tu**	'daughter'
elua	'uncle; nephew'	**v-elua**	'niece'
m̈ara	'uncle; nephew'	**ve-m̈ara**	'niece'
rahura	'uncle'; 'nephew'	**ve-rahura**	'niece'

The exact meanings of each form have been a bit simplified here, and will be detailed in our dictionary of Araki (*Chapter 9*); see also our Kinship tables pp.231–233.

4.3. Articles and reference-tracking devices

Contrary to many languages of Vanuatu, Araki did not retain the noun article **na* of Proto Oceanic, nor any other obligatory noun determiner. As a consequence, a noun root on its own can perfectly form a valid NP in a sentence. Semantically speaking, a noun without an article can be specific as well as non-specific, and definite as well as indefinite. Moreover, not only is there no gender distinction, but even number is most of the time under-specified; only the context, and partly the personal marker on the verb, help distinguish between singular v. plural reference.

Hotou mo hani-a.
Hermit.crab 3:R eat-3S

'It was eaten by the/some hermit-crab(s).'

Vinano nida mo poe mo de ha vëlesi-a mäudi-da.
stranger 3P 3:R like 3:R say 3P:I try-3S life-3P

'The stranger(s), they want to test their destiny.' [in an oracle]

Mo vari-a ai, mo vari-a as ...
3:R hold-3S water 3:R hold-3S rope

'They had taken water, they had taken rope(s).'

However, several devices are available – though always optional – in Araki to help track the reference of a particular NP. These are the clitics **va**, **di**, **mada**, **dai**, **re**, **mo hese**, which are detailed below.

4.3.1. The pro-clitic va 'the'

Placed immediately before a noun, this clitic **va** codes for discourse-internal anaphora, that is, reference to a term which has been already introduced in the earlier context.

Po! Va racu Supe mo re ceu-ca mo iso!
hey the man Supe 3:R PFT surpass-1IN 3:R finish

'Hey! That man Supe has already overtaken us!'

Supemala mo sure va ai ẅadug mo siv lo paru-da.
Sup. 3:R pour the water hot 3:R go.down LOC head-3P
'Then Supemala poured the boiling water over their heads.'

Mo ẅa; va m̈aci mo le vavere mo de ...
3:R go the bird 3:R again sing 3:R say
'As he was going away, the bird(s) [already mentioned] went on singing.'

This **va** clitic is compatible with demonstratives:

Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi mo si mo colo.
3:R hit outright the woman DX2 3:R go.down 3:R sink
'Then he killed outright that woman (I was mentioning), and she sank down.'

This anaphoric marker **va** is optional, and occurs only 15 times in our whole corpus. It is semantically very close to the post-clitic **di**, discussed hereafter.

4.3.2. The anaphoric post-clitic di

Araki has another way to mark a NP as being anaphoric, namely the post-clitic **di** – glossed 'ANA (Anaphora)'. This morpheme, which follows immediately the noun, is as optional as **va**, and only occurs 19 times in our corpus. Its linguistic function is very difficult to distinguish from **va**; we have **di** whenever the reference of the noun has just been established in the close context.

Ẅapa mo hese, ravui lo ima-ku. Ẅapa di mo roho sahan kaura.
cave 3:R one close LOC house-1S cave ANA 3:R stay up above
'There is a cave, near my house. This cave is located up there.'

Mo hani-a pani cam di cam hahada.
3:R eat-3S but yam ANA yam red
'(The rat saw a piece of yam and) ate it. The trouble is, this yam was red yam.'

Rasi mo saha lo lolo-no. Aka di mo colo, aka-n hadiv.
sea 3:R go.up LOC inside-3S canoe ANA 3:R sink canoe-CST rat
'Water began to seep inside. The boat was sinking, the rat's boat!'

A hypothesis on the difference between **va** and **di**, would be to say that **di** refers to the immediate context, as suggested by the examples above, in a way similar to English 'the latter', or to the anaphoric (not demonstrative) use of English 'this'; whereas **va** would just mark the noun as being definite in a broader context (English 'the'). This hypothesis is confirmed by another kind of immediacy which is associated with **di**: every time the narrator of a story refers to his own discourse, he uses **di** rather than **va**.

Sodosodo di mo hilu hosu.
talk:DUP ANA 3:R finish DX3
'The story (I am telling) ends here.'

Our corpus shows no example of **va** and **di** occurring together <**va** N **di**>, which confirms that they must be different. Deictics are also compatible with **di**:

Store di hosun mo hil hosun.
story ANA DX3 3:R finish DX3
'This story (I am telling) ends here.'

4.3.3. The personal nominaliser mada

Another particle can be found at the beginning of NPs, **mada**. This word never occurs alone, but is always followed by an adjective or a place name. Its role is to refer to a set of human individuals defined by the next word, in a way similar to English 'one' in *the small one(s)*; **mada** can be described as a personal nominaliser. It does not involve definiteness or number.

Our corpus shows two basic uses of **mada**. One is combined with a place name, to refer to the people from that place: for example **mada Naura-Lapa** 'the ones (from) the Mainland, that is, the people from Espiritu Santo I.'.

Mada Tanna hase-da nida mo levse hani-a vidi.
PERS Tanna alone-3P 3P 3:R know eat-3S dog
'Only Tanna people eat dogs.'

The other use is for nominalising an adjective. In reality, the only two adjectives encountered with **mada** are **hetehete** 'small' and **vadidi** 'small (and numerous)', which form a rather strange pair of suppletive phrases, coding respectively for singular and plural of 'child':[48]

mada hetehete
PERS small
'a/the child'

mada vadidi
PERS small:numerous
'(the) children'

[48] The key to this use lies in the etymology of **mada**, which is no doubt PNCV **mwera* 'child, person of (a place)'; Ross Clark (2000) reports a similar use in Malo. As the word **mada** grammaticised into an empty nominaliser (cf. **mada Tanna**), the adjective 'small' became obligatory in the phrases for 'child'. Although it has not been reported for other adjectives, **mada** cannot be used alone in modern Araki, and is therefore no longer a noun.

4.3.4. The plural marker dai

Optional again, the plural marker **dai** makes explicit the plurality of the NP, which is otherwise never coded for, but often left implicit (see §4.5).

E ! <u>Dai</u> m̈aci mo hani-a ha-ku hina!
hey PL bird 3:R eat-3S FOOD-1S thing
'Hey! The birds ate my dinner!'

Mo v̈ei povi-a <u>dai</u> hina hosun.
3:R do all-3S PL thing DX3
'He did exactly all these things.'

Sometimes the plurality is already suggested in the NP (see **vadidi** in §4.3.3), but is underlined by **dai**; notice the combination of **dai** and **mada**:

Nida povi <u>dai mada vadidi</u> mo m̈are povi.
3P all PL PERS small:PL 3:R die all
'All of the children were dead.'

Finally, it is interesting to notice the possibility of using **dai** to pluralise the relative marker **(no)hosu(n)** – which is actually a Demonstrative (see §7.2.1):

<u>Dai nohosu</u> mo roho ro Naura-lap̈a mo dogo leo-do ro.
PL REL 3:R stay PRG Mainland 3:R hear voice-3P PRG
'<u>Those who</u> were on the mainland (Santo) could hear their voices.'

4.3.5. The specific indefinite mo hese

As we said before, most NPs consist just of a noun, whether it has a definite or indefinite reference:

Mo sohan-i-a sodo isa-na.
3:R send-TR-3S talk to-3S
'He sent her a message.'

However, when the referent is introduced for the first time, it is very common, if not compulsory, to use **mo hese**, a numeral quantifier meaning 'one'. Being a numeral, **mo hese** may be used as a predicate, contrasting with other numbers:

Naru-ku mo hese. / mo dua.
child-1S 3:R one 3:R two
'I have one child/two children.' lit. My child is one/are two.

But this numeral word is most frequently used as a kind of article following a NP, in order to mark it as being indefinite, that is, newly introduced in the discourse.

Nam lesi-a raṗala-ku mo hese.
1S:R see-3S friend-1S 3:R one
'I saw a friend of mine (lit. I saw my friend he is one).'

Though it is well-formed to make a whole clause, this phrase **mo hese** apparently behaves like a quantifier within the limits of the NP. As a consequence, it would make sense to write it in one word **mohese** 'a, one', as if a phrase had frozen into an indefinite article. But at the same time, what we have here could also be described as a case of clause chaining or relative structure – though without a relativiser – which is very common in Araki. In this perspective, it looks acceptable to keep spelling it in two separate words **mo hese**, considering this to be no more than a common example of clause chaining in Araki. This point is being discussed below.

4.3.5.1. Indefiniteness and modality

The presence of the subject clitic **mo** (Third singular Realis) in **mo hese** suggests there could be variations in this point. In fact, no other person than Third singular is compatible with the word **hese** '(be) one', which is not so surprising. With regard to the modality contrast between Realis and Irrealis, we only have one instance of **hese** combined with a subject other than Realis **mo**, that is Third singular Irrealis **co**. In this case, the numeral value of **hese** is clearly present:

Nam de na pa vavere lo vere mo hese.
1S:R say 1S:I SEQ sing LOC song 3:R one
'I would like to sing a song (lit. a song which is one).'

Nam de na pa vavere lo vere co hese.
1S:R say 1S:I SEQ sing LOC song 3S:I one
'I would like to sing one song (lit. a song which would be one).'

The Irrealis marker **co** puts the predicate 'be one' under the control of the main verb, which is desiderative; as a consequence, it is a part of the subject's will that the song should be one and no more. Conversely, with Realis marker **mo**, the fact that there is 'one song' does not depend on anybody's will, but is presented as already true/objective (Realis value); **mo hese** does not fall under the scope of the main verb, but refers to some properties of the song (that is, existence and unicity) which are simply stated by the speaker.

This is the meaning of **mo hese** when it is used as an indefinite article: the existence and unicity of the noun are presented not as a wish in the future, but as objective properties of the world. Moreover, although with **mo hese** it is being referred to one individual, this does not exclude the possibility of a greater number of referents being involved in the same process: hence the translation with English *a*, which means logically *one at least*. This is why most cases of indefinite **mo**

hese (lit. 'one X') would be better glossed 'There is an X, which ...', as is suggested by Realis modality (**mo**) – for example 'There is a song which I would like to sing'.

4.3.5.2. New topics, existential predicates, and discourse structure

As was already shown in our examples, **mo hese** always follows the noun it modifies, whatever the syntactic function of this noun. The commonest slots for indefinite NPs are in the object and the adverbial (prepositional) positions:

Mo dogo haŭe mo hese mo vari-a mo plan vahuden-i-a.
3:R feel crab 3:R one 3:R hold-3S 3:R throw take.off-TR-3S

'He felt (there was) a crab, grabbed it and threw it away.'

Nam roho lo cada mo hese mo rovi-a mo de Sope.
1S:R stay LOC place 3:R one 3:R call-3S 3:R say Sope

'I live in a place called Sope.' (lit. in one place, they call it S.)

Lo dan mo hese, mo vei-a hanhan mo hese Daki.
LOC day 3:R one, 3:R do-3S meal 3:R one Araki

'One day, they were giving a party in Araki.'

In all these examples, the Araki phrase obviously has lost its numeral value ('one'), and now behaves exactly like an indefinite marker ('a'), in a way similar to French *un*; this is why **mo hese** is so frequent in Araki speech.

Almost any new referent is being introduced by **mo hese**; then, as would be expected, anaphoric markers are used (for example object suffix **-a**) when the same referent is mentioned again. Sometimes, **mo hese** seems to be used only for the purpose of introducing a new element, in a kind of topical sentence; then the 'true' – comment – sentence follows on, with an anaphoric marker (here **co** 'he'):

Nam levse racu mo hese, co pa ruen-i-ko.
1S:R know man 3:R one 3S:I SEQ help-TR-2S

'I know a man who (lit. he) will help you.'

This example recalls the strategy which is often used in English, to avoid indefinite NPs on the subject position: instead of ? *A woman is living up there*, we would say *There is a woman living there*, or *I know a woman, she is living there*, and so on.[49] Our point is that, in many languages, an indefinite NP must first be introduced in a first clause, which can be described as existential ('there is X'); then it becomes possible to resume this NP with definite markers.

[49] French is even more drastic on these restrictions, since it systematically forbids sentences like **Une femme habite là-haut*; instead it will use two-clause strategies, like *Il y a une femme qui habite là-haut*, or *Je connais une femme, elle habite là-haut* 'I know a woman, she lives up there'.

It is remarkable that Araki does allow for indefinite NPs on subject position, which is typologically paradoxical:

Pïra mo hese mo roho raväl cigo mle vä.
woman 3:R one 3:R stay beyond cape go.away go
'A woman was living beyond the cape, over there.'

Cau mo hese mo re sihevi mo sa kaura.
coconut.crab 3:R one 3:R PFT climb 3:R go.up above
'A coconut crab has climbed up there!'

This unnatural English translation reveals that the Araki pattern is somewhat strange too. A possible explanation of these indefinite subjects, would be to say that **mo hese** must not be seen as an 'article' in these sentences, but remains a full predicate, forming a first clause in a clause-chaining sequence. In this idea, **mo hese** would be well formed to introduce a new topic, asserting first the existence of the subject, before inserting it into a new clause.

Our hypothesis is confirmed by several sentences in our corpus, showing **mo hese** as the predicative head. The function of this Realis predicate is not only to indicate a numeral quantity, but also to assert the existence of a new referent. In these sentences, **mo hese** is best translated as an existential operator 'There is an X':

Pïra hetehete mo HESE nida-n veroha-na.
woman small 3:R one with-CST elder.sister-3S
'(There was) a girl and her elder sister.'

Vapa mo HESE, kesi-ni ravui lo ima-ku.
cave 3:R one here-ASS nearby LOC house-1S
'(There is) a cave, around here near my house.'

Racu mo HESE lo ima rurunu.
man 3:R one LOC house cook:DUP
'There is a man in the kitchen.'[50]

4.3.5.3. Clause-chaining structures and specificity of the referent

According to this evidence, it becomes possible to re-analyse a few sentences above. For example, the first analysis which would have come to mind for the next sentence, was to consider **mo hese** a part of the subject NP:

[50] An alternate syntactic analysis of this sentence would consider the adverbial (locative) phrase **lo ima rurunu** as being the predicate, thus leaving **<racu mo hese>** as the subject: see §6.1.2.4 p.154.

<P̈ira mo hese> mo ROHO raẅal cigo mle ẅa.
'A woman was living beyond the cape ...'

Now, an alternate syntactic description of the same sentence would be that **mo hese** is in fact a full predicate with an existential value, as it is when it stands alone. Then the so-called 'predicate head' **mo roho** would be no more than a second predicate in a clause-chaining structure:

<P̈ira> mo HESE | mo ROHO raẅal cigo mle ẅa.
'There was a woman, she was living beyond the cape ...'

Not only would this latter analysis be more satisfying from a typological perspective, but it would be more respectful of the syntactic structures of Araki. Although it is being used as a kind of 'indefinite article' in NPs, the phrase **mo hese** is first and foremost a PREDICATE.[51] The indefinite meaning is thus combined with the faculty to assert the existence of the subject. In other words, **mo hese** does not only quantify the NP as referring to 'one' X, but it also implies that this particular X exists.

To illustrate this latter point, let us contrast English 'a/one', which does not imply existence of the referent, with Araki **mo hese**, which does. If the referent is specific, that is, if it exists already outside the discourse, then **mo hese** can be used:

Nam	**re**	**hani-a**	**ẅerali**	**mo**	**hese.**
1S:R	PFT	eat-3S	banana	3:R	one

'I have eaten a banana.' (a specific banana)

But it is impossible if the referent is non-specific, that is, if it does not yet exist except as a mental representation:

***Nam**	**dogo**	**na**	**hani-a**	**ẅerali**	**mo**	**hese.**
1S:R	feel	1S:I	eat-3S	banana	3:R	one

*'I feel like eating a banana.' (any banana, not a specific one)

In the case of non-specific reference, **mo hese** must be replaced by an Irrealis form **co hese**, if the number ('one') is relevant.[52] But the essential modification is the replacement of transitivity suffix (**-i-a**) by the Partitive clitic **re**:

Nam	**dogo**	**na**	**han**	**re**	**ẅerali**	**(co**	**hese).**
1S:R	feel	1S:I	eat	some	banana	3S:I	one

'I feel like eating a (/ one) banana.'

---

[51] This is perfectly consistent with the high development of clause-chaining strategies in Araki (see §7.3 p.189).

[52] Exceptionally, the Irrealis subject clitic **co** is optional with **hese**, though obligatory with other numerals: ... **na han re ẅerali hese/co hese** – but ... **na han re ẅerali *dua/co dua** ('... two bananas').

The case of partitive clitic **re**, expressing non-specific reference, is discussed in the next paragraph.

- To sum up, the phrase **mo hese** has always a triple function:
  - quantifying the preceding noun ('one');
  - presenting the referent of this noun as new in the discourse, not given in the context (Indefinite value);
  - asserting the existence of this referent, that is, providing it with a specific referential value.[53]

4.3.6. The partitive-indefinite re

We already know that indefinite noun phrases in English correspond sometimes to bare nouns in Araki, and often to NPs followed by the indefinite marker **mo hese** (see last paragraph). However, we have just mentioned the possibility of a third syntactic structure, requiring a partitive pro-clitic **re**; this is when the NP refers to a new, non-specific instance of a notion.

To understand this, it is essential to remember the contrast between specific v. non-specific indefinites in general semantics: for example English/*I ate a banana.*/, besides being indefinite, is specific, because it refers to a specific banana; whereas /*I want to eat a banana.*/ is non-specific, because it can refer to any banana, not one in particular. Although this semantic difference is not grammaticised in English, it is in Araki, and **re** can be described as a marker for *non-specific indefinite* reference.

4.3.6.1. Extracting a non-specific quantity of an object

The prototypical use of **re** is at the beginning of an object NP, in association with a transitive verb. It may correspond either to our partitive, that is, a quantifier operating upon an uncountable notion (for example 'some water'), or to our indefinite, if the notion is countable (for example 'a bow'):

Nam	**dogo**	**na**	**inu**	**re**	**hae.**
1S:R	feel	1S:I	drink	some	kava

'I feel like drinking some kava.'

O	**polo**	**re**	**hap**	**laṗa!**
2S:I	light	some	fire	big

[53] And from a typological point of view: 'Perhaps the most common way of marking indefinites explicitly is by the use of the numeral 'one' to mark *referential-indefinites*' (Givón 1984:432).

'Please light a big fire!'

No-ku ta, o vodo re päka-ku, re vina-ku.
POSS-1S dad 2S:I make some bow-1S, some arrow-1S

'Dad, could you make me a bow, make me some arrows?'

Nica co pa han re sa?
1IN 1IN:I SEQ eat some what

'What are we going to eat?' lit. We shall eat some what?

In these examples, the NP introduced by **re** does not refer to any object already existing, but has a virtual reference, which is construed by the action of the verb. With **re**, the linguistic instruction given to the hearer is just to take a sample of the abstract notion of the noun ('some fire', 'some arrows'), without trying to relate it to any already existing object.[54]

It is instructive to notice that **re** is compatible with another quantifier, as long as the non-specificity of the referent is maintained. As would be expected, the numeral predicate takes the Irrealis modality, since the speaker is referring to some virtual quantity of the object, not an actual one:

Nam de na in re lasa ai co dua.
1S:R say 1S:I drink some cup water 3S:I two

'I'd like to drink two glasses of water.'
(lit. drink some glasses of water which should be two)

This helps distinguish between two different semantic features of the object NP, that is, whether it already exists or not (specific v. non-specific); and whether it is associated to some quantifying marker or not. As long as the reference remains virtual/ non-specific, Araki uses **re**.

*4.3.6.2. Partitive **re** and transitivity issues*

As all sentences above illustrate, it is interesting to notice that non-specific reference, like the one coded by **re**, almost systematically correlates with Irrealis modality, or negative-interrogative Realis. Similar to English 'any', the word **re** never shows in Realis affirmative sentences.

The chapter on transitivity in Araki[55] will reveal that verbs *never* take a transitivity marker **-i**, nor any object suffix, when the object is being introduced by **re**: cf. **inu** (***inum-i-a**) and **han** (***hani-a**) in the sentences above. This is very instructive to understand the specific status which is given to indefinite

[54] The operation coded by **re** is different from *definite non-specific* (i.e., *generic*) reference, which globally points to the abstract notion, without taking a sample (e.g. 'a spear to shoot *fish* with'). We would never have **re** in this case.

[55] See §5.4.3.3 p.138.

non-specific objects in Araki: they do not behave like real external arguments of the verb, but rather as incorporated objects. This must be contrasted with apparently similar cases, in which the object is already construed and quantified; the latter case necessarily implies that transitivity be marked on the verb (suffixes **-i-a**):

Nam dogo na inu re hae.
1S:R feel 1S:I drink some kava
'I feel like drinking some kava.'

Nam dogo na inum-i-a mn̈a-m hae.
1S:R feel 1S:I drink-TR-3S DRINK-2S kava
'I feel like drinking your (already quantified) cup of kava.'

In the standard transitive structure, the verb and its object are referentially 'autonomous' from one another, but a different analysis is required in the case of object incorporation. In the partitive construction, what has to be quantified is not only the object itself, but arguably the Verb-Object bundle as a whole. Semantically, this means that **inu re hae** is not so much 'carry out the action of drinking upon a certain amount of kava', but would be more accurately glossed as 'do a certain amount of kava-drinking'.

4.3.6.3. Grammaticisation of **re** *into Perfective marker*

Besides fitting closer to the object-incorporation structure of Araki, the latter translation helps understand another use of **re**, which has grammaticised as an aspectual pro-clitic with a Perfective meaning:

Nam re inum-i-a hae.
1S:R PFT drink-TR-3S kava
'I have drunk the/some kava.'

Though we will analyse this use later,[56] we would just like to point out its similarity with the (incorporated-) object pattern involving **re**, as far as cognitive operations are concerned. In both cases, what is being 'extracted' is a certain amount of a verbal process, out of the generic notion signified by this verb. If the action is still virtual/Irrealis, then the object itself may be non-specific (for example 'I want to drink some kava'), and we will find **re** in its typical partitive use, between the verb and its incorporated object (**na inu re hae**).

Conversely, if the action is already performed/Realis, then the object is necessarily specific (for example 'I have drunk some kava'), and cannot be introduced by **re**; yet it is still possible to extract the action itself, and this is how **re** has grammaticised on the left of the verb, where aspectual particles are: **Nam re**

[56] See §5.3.6 p.122.

inum-i-a hae. The latter sentence can be glossed 'There is a certain amount of my drinking, involving a specific quantity of kava'; and this is how the Perfective meaning emerges: 'there is a certain amount of such an action' → 'such an action has been done'.[57]

4.3.6.4. Non-object uses of **re**

So far, we have been examining the most typical use of the non-specific quantifier **re**, that is, marking the (incorporated) object of a transitive verb. In other Vanuatu languages such as Mwotlap (pers. data), quantifying the direct object is the only use attested, and it is likely that former linguistic stages began with this typical position for their partitive morpheme. Nevertheless, (pre-) Araki has increased the variety of syntactic positions where the morpheme **re** can be used with a partitive meaning.

- We can find the partitive **re** on a SUBJECT NP, provided the reference is still semantically non-specific, like in the following conditional clause:

  ... co de re huira co roho ro raholo lo cada di ...
  1IN:I say some octopus 3S:I stay PRG straight LOC place ANA
  '... (if you go to the sea) suppose that some octopus is right in that place ...'

- The partitive is sometimes found at the beginning of a PREDICATE NP:

  Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu.
  1S:R hear voice-2S 1S:R say maybe some man handsome
  'When I heard your voice, I thought (this was) some nice man.'

  What is remarkable in the latter example, is that the non-specificity of the referent is only suggested by some markers of epistemic modality, that is, **pana** 'maybe', and the subjective sense associated with **de**. Without these words, it would become ungrammatical to use the non-specific quantifier **re** in an (affirmative) equational sentence:

  ***Nia re racu cu.**
  3S some man handsome
  '*He is some nice man.'

  In this case, Araki **re** follows similar rules as English *some* or Fr. *quelque*: these indefinite articles are normally forbidden in affirmative Realis sentences, except

[57] From the typological point of view, the very same semantic process occurs in Mandarin Chinese, with the predicate *yǒu* 'there is/have' also being a perfect marker. In fact, English *have* (e.g. *I have a car – I have slept*) shows a similar cognitive path.

when the predicate is semantically hypothetic, and the subject of the sentence is unknown to the speaker.

- Some OBLIQUE NPs can have **re**:

Ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na.
3P:I SEQ kill-TR-3S LOC battle or some thing like-3S
'He will be killed (lit. they will kill him) during a battle, or something of the kind.'

We even find combinations in which **re** immediately follows a verb-like preposition **ni-**, marking a NP as oblique. The result is a PrepP introduced by a form **ni-re**, which is often reduced[58] to **nre**:

Nam dogo na sile-ko n-re presin.
1S:R feel 1S:I give-2S OBL-some present
'I feel like giving you a present.'

Another example of this combination **ni- + re** is with the noun **dani** 'day', to form the adverbial phrase **n-re dan** 'sometimes, from time to time' (lit. 'on some days'); it may be spelt in one word **nredan**:

N-re-dan co pa vänovano ...
OBL-some-day 1IN:I SEQ walk:DUP
'One day, we shall race together ...'

Mo ce usa n-re-dan.
3:R NEG rain OBL-some-day
'It never rains.'

Once again, it is important to see the boundary between specific and non-specific reference. Since it includes **re**, the phrase **n-re-dan** 'some time' is normally compatible with Irrealis/future events, or negated predicates, but it cannot go with a Realis and specific meaning, like referring to a date in the past. In this latter case, 'one day' cannot be translated **n-re-dan**, but **lo dan mo hese** – using the specific-reference quantifier **mo hese**:

Lo dan mo hese, mo vei-a hanhan mo hese Daki.
LOC day 3:R one, 3:R do-3S meal 3:R one Araki
'One day, (the people) were giving a party in Araki.'

4.3.6.5. Pronominal uses of re

The large majority of examples involving the partitive **re**, as we have seen up to now, is at the beginning of a noun phrase, that is, **re** being immediately followed by a noun. For this reason, it makes sense to consider it as a partitive article – if it

[58] This phonological process was described in §2.4 p.26.

is useful to give it such a tag. However, our corpus gives some evidence of the same word being used as a pronoun, that is, as the head of a nounless NP. This pronominal use of **re** is somewhat original among other languages which have a similar partitive. We thus find **re** alone, on the object position:

Lo mäudi-ku, nam ce mïsi han re.
LOC life-1S 1S:R NEG yet eat some

'(Today, I ate some octopus;) during my whole life, I had never eaten any.'

In the next example, **re** is followed by an adjective, and still appears to be the head of the NP:

O sile re vavon co hani-a!
2S:I give some other 3S:I eat-3S

'Give (it) to someone else (so that) he can eat it!'

Finally, it is worth underlining the pronominal use of **re** on subject position, with the meaning 'someone'. Once again, this is incompatible with specific reference, and thus with Realis sentences like 'Someone came today'; but it fits well into an Irrealis sentence pointing just to 'anyone':

Re co pele sna co holo aka!
some 3S:I alternatively come 3S:I pilot canoe

'Let someone come and (take my place to) man the boat!'

Although these examples are not numerous in our corpus, they show how productive this partitive morpheme has become in a language like Araki.

*4.3.6.6. Partitive **re** in negative contexts*

The same partitive-indefinite article often shows in negative sentences, to mark an object which does not exist, and therefore is non-specific:[59]

Mo ce les re cau lo leëpa.
3:R NEG see some coconut.crab LOC ground

'They didn't see any coconut-crab on the ground.'

If the noun has a generic meaning like **hina** 'thing', then the same pattern is used to translate our indefinite pronoun 'nothing'. The structure of Araki is parallel to English *not any-thing*:

Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina.
3S 3:R blind 3:R NEG know see some thing

'He is blind, he cannot see anything.'

[59] This correlation between negation and non-specificity of the referent is strongly supported by typological evidence (Givón 1984:331, 391).

Similarly, a sentence already mentioned shows how Araki translates our word 'never', by combining the negation with the time adverb **n-re-dan** derived from **re**:

Mo ce usa n-re-dan.
3:R NEG rain OBL-some-day
'It never rains.'

4.3.6.7. Existential uses of ***re***

❖ Negative existential

It is remarkable that Araki, like other languages, has somewhat grammaticised the negative pattern **<ce... re>**, in developing the predicate **ce re** 'do not exist (lit. not any)'. This predicate always takes a 3SG subject clitic, generally **mo** (Realis), and is always followed by its semantic subject, as is common with Existential structures.

Mo ce re diṗa.
3:R NEG some axe
'There is no axe.'

It is difficult to say whether the predicative head of such a sentence is the negation **ce**, the partitive **re**, or maybe the NP (?) **re diṗa**. It seems the starting point was a NP predicate, preceded by a negation:

Mo ce <re diṗa>.
'Not <some axe>'

Then this structure, for functional reasons easy to understand, was reanalysed as having a predicate-head of the form **ce-re** 'do not exist', followed by its only argument[60] (that is, the noun which is said not to exist):

<Mo ce re> diṗa.
'<There is not any> axe'

The latter pattern is evidenced by the usual shortcut which appears when the noun is obvious from the context:

Mo ce re.
3:R NEG some
'There is not any' – *also used to mean* 'No!'

[60] The existence of a single predicate of the form **ce-re** is illustrated in §6.3.3 p.164.

❖ Affirmative existential: problem

Since the combination **<ce + re>** has generalised to form a negative existential predicate, one could expect that, in a second stage of evolution, affirmative existential sentences (that is, 'there is N') would simply use the same particle **re**, without a negation. In fact, this is normally impossible:

***Re**	**dïpa. / *Mo**	**re**	**dïpa.**
some	axe	3:R	some axe

'There is an axe.'

Affirmative existential sentences never use **re**, but have to employ other strategies.[61] Nevertheless, the morpheme **re** may indeed receive an existential function in sentences other than negative. First, we find this word in some affirmative sentences, which however are marked in modality, as being semantically counterfactual ('CF') or optative:

Aru	**mo usa,**	**mo**	**pa**	**re**	**ai.**
if:CF	3:R rain	3:R	SEQ	some/exist	water

'If it had rained, we would have (lit. there would be) some water.'

This sentence is syntactically very close to the negative pattern **Mo ce re ai** 'There is no water': the word **re** behaves as a predicate, being introduced by a subject clitic, and preceded by some mood-aspect particle (resp. **pa** 'Sequential/ Future' and **ce** 'Negation'). This would suggest the emergence of an existential **re**, which would be predicative ('there is'), and definitely distinct from the partitive ('some').

❖ Interrogative existential

In interrogative sentences, when the question precisely focuses on the presence v. absence of an object X, then **re** is used, without any subject clitic:

Lo	**cada-m,**	**re**	**ramare**	**vo**	***mo***	***ce***	***re*?**	**–**	**Ramare**	**kia.**
LOC	place-2S	some/exist	devil	or	3:R	NEG	some		devil	there

'In your country, are there devils or not? – Yes, there are.'

Nevertheless, if the word **re** were to be re-analysed as an existential marker meaning 'there is', then it would become difficult to explain why it cannot appear in affirmative Realis statements. This appears to be a strong argument for not losing the connection between these existential uses of **re**, and the core function of this word as a non-specific Indefinite marker.

In fact, some parallel may be drawn, as we have already suggested, between this **re** and English non-specific quantifier *any*. The latter can be said to hold existential functions, in a sentence like *Any problem?*, which we claim to be

---

[61] In these strategies, the predicate can be **mo hese** 'one' (§4.3.5.2 p.56), or a locative phrase (§6.1.2.4 p.154): e.g. **Dïpa mo hese (lo ima-m).** 'There is an axe (in your house)'.

parallel to Araki **Re raṁare?** Such a comparison becomes instructive, once we realise that English allows so-called 'existential' use of *any* in questions, but never in affirmative sentences: we don't have **Any problem? – Yes, any problem.* That is because a Realis affirmative statement about existence necessarily implies, by definition, that the object referred to already *exists*, and consequently cannot be non-specific.

This is why **re** normally shows up exclusively in interrogative, negative, or counterfactual sentences, in which the existence of the object is not presupposed, but is precisely what is being challenged – cf. *Do you want any cake?*; *I don't want any cake*; *I could eat any cake!* On the other hand, affirmative existentials are incompatible with non-referentiality of the object – **There is any cake.* – and this is when alternate strategies must be used, in Araki as well as in English.

4.3.6.8. Synopsis of different uses of **re**

Because the particle **re** in Araki has a very complex behaviour, it may be useful to sum up the many different cases we have been going through, in one single synthetic table. We basically consider this morpheme has three different values:

- a Partitive use, either as an article or as a pronoun, filling in the same slots as NPs;
- an Existential use, where **re** more or less behaves as a predicate itself;
- a Perfective use, where **re** works as an aspectual clitic.

Table 4-37 recalls sample sentences of each syntactic pattern; these are simple enough to enable comparison. In each sentence, the predicative head has uppercase letters, in order to clarify the syntactic position of **re** within the sentence.

Table 4-37 Syntactic uses of morpheme **re**: summary

Partitive use	indefinite non-specific reference, normally Irrealis	
(incorporated) object	*Nam de na INU re hae.*	'I want to drink some kava.'
[*specific object	**Nam INU re hae.*	*I drank some kava.]
object pronoun	*Nam de na INU re.*	'I want to drink some.'
negated object	*Nam ce INU re (hae).*	'I didn't drink any (kava).'
subject	*Re vidi co INUMIA!*	'Let a dog drink it!'
subject pronoun	*Re co INUMIA!*	'Let someone drink it!'
oblique complement	*Na pa SLE-ko n-re hae.*	'I will give you some kava.'
hypothetical predicate	*Nam de pana RE RAMARE.*	'I thought it was some devil.'
Existential use	non-specific only. *Re* partly behaves like a predicative head	
interrogative	*RE hae?*	'(Is there) any kava?'
negative	*Mo ce RE (hae).*	'There is not any (kava).'
→ negative phrase	*Mo ce RE!*	'No!'
counterfactual	*Mo pa RE hae.*	'There would be some kava.'
[*affirmative	**Re hae./*Mo re hae.*	*There is some kava.]
Perfective use	aspectual marker, compatible with Realis	
(affirmative Realis)...	*Nam re INUMIA hae.*	'I have drunk (the) kava.'

4.3.7. Reference-tracking devices: summary

After going through many of the syntactic structures related to nominal modifiers in NPs, it has become possible to draw the main semantic boundaries which are relevant in Araki.

As in many languages, one criterion which is often – but not systematically – coded for, is whether the referent of the NP is DEFINITE v. INDEFINITE. A NP is definite if it gives the hearer an instruction to track back an element already present in the context. It is indefinite if it presents the referent as being new in the discourse, without connecting it to any existing representation.

A characteristic of Araki's syntax, which is more original typologically, is the drastic importance given to the SPECIFIC v. NON-SPECIFIC contrast. A specific – that is, referential – NP points at a particular object, existing independently from the discourse: for example English *The cake is ready* (definite) or *I ate a cake* (indefinite) are both specific, since they presuppose the existence of their referent into the real world. Conversely, a non-specific NP does not refer to any particular object, but rather to an abstract notion represented by the noun. If it is 'definite', then the whole notion is involved, in what is called a generic NP – for example *I like cakes*; if it is 'indefinite', then only a certain quantity of this notion has to be taken as a

sample, whether with precision or not – for example *I want to eat some cake/a cake/three cakes.*

These two main semantic categories correspond to four distinct cases, each involving different structures in Araki. They are summarised in *Table 4-38*, with an English illustrative sentence to help the reader. Most of the so-called 'articles' – that is, nominal modifiers – which we have been analysing in this chapter, are represented in this table: **va**, **di**, **mo hese**, **re**. No further detail will be given here.

Table 4-38 Definiteness and specificity in the noun phrase: summary

	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE
SPECIFIC	**N ‖ va N ‖ N di** 'The cake is ready.'	**N ‖ N mo hese** 'I ate a cake.'
NON-SPECIFIC	**N** 'I like cakes.'	**N ‖ re N** 'I want to eat a cake.'

4.4. Demonstratives

The system of Demonstrative markers in Araki is complex, and also remarkably different from that of neighbouring Tangoa (Ray 1926:360). Not only is there a high number of morphological forms, but the precise syntactic behaviour of several affixes is still unclear to us.

4.4.1. Paradigm of Demonstrative markers

As was briefly mentioned in §3.1.7, all Demonstrative markers – or 'deictics' – share the property of being compatible with a suffix of the form **-ni** ~ **-n**, which is homonymous with the Construct suffix (§4.7.1), and whose semantic value will be discussed later (§4.4.3.2). This compatibility with the suffix **-n(i)** helps rule out other particles from the set of demonstratives, such as the anaphoric markers **va** and **di**,[62] since ***va-n** and ***di-n** are impossible.

Our corpus shows no less than fourteen deictic markers, which means that demonstratives may have twenty-eight forms in all – if we include **-n(i)**-derived forms. Some of the relevant semantic criteria to distinguish between all these forms include:

- absolute distance and spatial direction from the starting point/from the speaker: **su** 'there', **ẅa-su** 'over there', **sivo-su** 'down there', **saha-su** 'up there';

[62] See §4.3.1 p.51 and §4.3.2 p.52 respectively.

- spatial/abstract relationship with a particular person in the situation: either the speaker (**kesi**; **ne/nene**), the addressee (forms in **ni**: **honi**, **vahani**) or nobody in particular (forms in **su**: **hosu**, **vahasu**, **sivosu...**);[63]
- the syntactic function of the deictic: forms without **nV-** (for example **ne**, **honi**, **hosu**) either modify a noun or a whole clause; forms with **nV-** (for example **ne-ne**, **no-honi**, **no-hosu**) are more likely to be NP heads, like pronouns (but see discussion under §4.4.3.1);
- pragmatic value of the phrase: an assertion or affirmation would normally take the **-n(i)** suffix, while questions or topic NPs usually do not (but see discussion under §4.4.3.2).

Table 4-39 shows all the deictic markers[64] we have in our corpus, and endeavours to classify them according to the criteria above. Thus we have two columns, one for deictics in their basic forms, and one for certain forms using a **nV-** prefix. On the other hand, markers are horizontally organised into three main groups, whether they are semantically oriented towards the speaker, towards the addressee (**ni** deictics),[65] or not oriented to anyone in particular, but designate a spot in space (**su** deictics). Finally, each of these groups is tentatively divided into several degrees of distance from the speaker.

Each marker has a subscript suffix **[-n]**, in order to recall that it is always possible to add it: thus **ho-su**$_{[-n]}$ points to both forms **hosu** and **hosu-n**. We indicate in uppercase letters the two markers which are by far most frequent in our data, **ne** and **hosu**.

---

[63] According to us, it would be erroneous to describe this three-fold contrast in terms of physical distance as is traditionally done – e.g. *proximate*, *intermediate*, *distant* (Lynch 1998). All the Vanuatu languages we know of organise their system rather with relation to the person, in a way similar to Latin *hic*, *iste*, *ille*. The evidence which rules out the 'physical distance' interpretation, at least in Araki, is that the third-level demonstrative can be used in a very close location (e.g. on the speaker's body): this strategy is used when the speaker points at a spatial spot – wherever it is – instead of referring to somebody's abstract 'sphere'.

[64] Our corpus actually shows an extra form **nio-su-n**, which we suspect to be a variant of some form in *Table 4-39*.

[65] The two elements **ni** 'DX2' and **-n(i)** 'Assertive' must be carefully distinguished from each other.

Table 4-39 Paradigm of deictic forms: a possible classification

	Basic form	*nV-* prefixed	Gloss	Translation
speaker-oriented	**kesi**$_{[-n]}$	–	DX1	'right here/right now'
	NE$_{[-n]}$	NE-NE$_{[-n]}$	DX1	'this/here'
addressee-oriented: -NI	**ho-ni**$_{[-n]}$	**no-ho-ni**$_{[-n]}$	DX2	'that/there/your'
	ẅaha-ni$_{[-n]}$	–	DX2:far	'over there (near you)'
not oriented: Spatial designation -SU	**su**$_{[-n]}$	**no-su**$_{[-n]}$	DX3	'that/there (designated)'
	HO-SU$_{[-n]}$	NO-HO-SU$_{[-n]}$	DX3	'that/there (designated)'
	ẅaha-su$_{[-n]}$	–	DX3:far	'over there (in front)'
	ẅa-su$_{[-n]}$	–	DX3:far	'over there (in front)'
	sivo-su$_{[-n]}$	–	DX3:down	'down there'
	saha-su$_{[-n]}$	–	DX3:up	'up there'

More needs to be found out about this paradigm, in order to have a better idea of its organisation. For instance, it might well be that the form **ẅahasu** should be better segmented **ẅa-hasu**: following the pair **su/ẅa-su**, we would have a parallel pair **hosu/ẅa-hasu**, with a sort of vowel copy which is not new in Araki.[66] If this hypothesis were true, then a third pair would be **honi/ẅa-hani**, with a prefix **ẅa-** (< **ẅa** 'go') bearing a meaning of remoteness, like *over* in English *over there.*

What is less problematic is the origin of both forms **sivo-su** and **saha-su**: they are derived from the two directional verbs/adverbs[67] **sivo** 'down' and **saha** 'up'. Both these forms have shorter variants: **so-su(n)** 'down there' and **sa-su(n)** 'up there'. If the system were symmetrical, we should have the same prefixes combined with the deictic nucleus **-ni**, with forms like ***sivo-ni(n)** and ***saha-ni(n)**: but our corpus shows neither of these forms, nor does it for ***ẅa-ni(n)** nor ***ni(n)** – forms suggested by the parallelism with the **su** deictics.

4.4.2. Semantics of each Demonstrative

The last paragraph already contains much of the information we have about the semantics of each Demonstrative; they will now be illustrated with sentences from our literary corpus, which are typical of their main use.

[66] See §2.5.1 p.28. Notice that a similar kind of vowel assimilation is suggested by the parallel between **hosu/no-hosu** and **ne/ne-ne**.

[67] For directional verbs and adverbs, see fn.196 p.193.

- **Kesi** 'here', is also the usual term for 'now' (17 occ.):

V̈apa mo hese, kesi-ni ravui lo ima-ku.
cave 3:R one DX1-ASS nearby LOC house-1S
'There is a cave, here near my house.'

Kesi nam po-i-a vada na pa store store-ni cau.
DX1 1S:R like-TR-3S when 1S:I SEQ tell story-CST coconut.crab
'Right now, I would like to tell the story of the coconut crab.'

Kesi no-m dan mo isoiso kesi!
DX1 POSS-2S day 3:R end:DUP DX1
'*This* is your very last day today!'

Kesi mo usa viru mo rolu.
DX1 3:R rain month 3:R three
'It has been raining for three months now.'

Notice the reduplicated form **kesikesi ~ keskesi** 'right now':

Nam pa lesi rasi-m kesikesi.
1S:R SEQ see brother-2S right.now
'I am just meeting your brother for the first time [**pa**] right now.'

- **Ne** (10 occ.) and **nene** (9); both are used to refer to the place where the speaker is, with or without the addressee – that is, 'here';

Pasta mo sna ne Daki.
Pastor 3:R come DX1 Araki
'The Pastor came here, to Araki.'

No-m ta mo roho ro ne.
POSS-2S dad 3:R stay PRG DX1
'Your dad is here.'

P̈ira hosun co pa m̈alue nene.
woman DX3 3S:I SEQ go.out DX1
'That woman will eventually leave this place.' (oracle)

They are also used as modifiers at the end of a NP ('this'), especially when the NP is the topic of the sentence:

V̈eral ne mo ce v̈eral hanhan.
banana DX1 3:R NEG banana eat:DUP
'This banana is not for eating.'

Sadi **nene** **m̈ara** **sodo** **m̈aci.**
spear DX1 for shoot fish/bird
'This spear is to shoot fish (with).'

Nanovi **nam** **goro** **lo** **eṗa** **nene.**
yesterday 1S:R sleep LOC mat DX1
'Yesterday, I slept on this mat here.'

Notice that only **nene** may be used as a pronoun:

Nene **m̈ara** **vahuden-i-a** **colog** **botel.**
DX1 for take.out-TR-3S cork bottle
'This is for taking out bottle corks.'

Mo **vavere** **sohe** **nene ...**
3:R sing like DX1
'He began to sing like this ...'

- **Honi** (5 occ.) and **nohoni** (8): both are used to refer to an object or a place in relation with the addressee – that is, 'that/your/there':

M̈a-ku **honi!**
DRINK-1S DX2
'That is my drink (not yours)!'

O **sle-i-á** **lo** **hina** **nohoni!**
2S:I give-TR-1S LOC thing DX2
'Give that thing to me!' (which you are holding)

Nanov **nam** **dogo** **racu** **mo** **hese** **mo** **vari-a** **vere** **nohoni.**
yesterday 1S:R hear man 3:R one 3:R hold-3S song DX2
'Yesterday, I heard someone else sing the same song (as you).'

Sometimes, the orientation towards the addressee is somewhat abstract. For example, in a story, a deictic of the **honi** series may point to a referent which the audience has heard about earlier in the same tale. In the next example, notice also the definite marker **va** (§4.3.1):

Mo **nak** **pilai** **va** **p̈ira** **honi** **mo** **si** **mo** **colo.**
3:R hit outright the woman DX2 3:R go.down 3:R sink
'Then he killed outright that woman (whom you know), and she sank down.'

The noun-modifying use of **honi** ~ **nohoni** is usual, especially in topic phrases:

Bonbon **honi,** **ha-n** **se?**
sweet DX2 FOOD-CST who
'(lit.) That sweet there, whose is it?'

But **honi** may also be predicative, as in first sentence above, or in the next one:

Va racu honi.
the man DX2
'There comes the man.'

- **Hosu** (15 occ.) ~ **hosu-n** (30) and **nohosu** (11) are the most frequent deictics. Instead of referring to an object in relation to a person (speaker v. addressee), it points directly to it, either spatially or more abstractly.

Vere hosu-n mo holo-ho.
song DX3-ASS 3:R good-INT
'That song is very nice!' (sung by someone who is remote)

Na lpo lesi-a racu mo hese hosu-n.
1S:I try see-3S man 3:R one DX3-ASS
'I want to go and have a look at that man over there.'

Sodosodo di mo hilu hosu.
story the 3:R end DX3
'And the story ends here.'

A very common use of **(no)hosu** is a discourse-internal demonstrative, such as English *I saw a woman; this woman was ...* It is very usual in narrative speech, much more than the post-clitic **di** which has the same function:[68]

M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da.
from period DX3 3:R see bad OBL-3P
'Since that moment, they have hated each other.'

M̈ara p̈ira hosu-n mo re v̈ei-a mo re lokodu mo iso.
because woman DX3-ASS 3:R PFT do-3S 3:R PFT angry 3:R finish
'Because the/that woman had already made him so angry.'

Mo v̈ei povi-a dai hina hosu-n.
3:R do all-3S PL thing DX3-ASS
'He did exactly all these things.'

This deictic can have the function of a predicate:

Nia hosu-n.
3S DX3-ASS
'That's it.'

[68] See §4.3.2 p.52. Notice that **di**, like **va**, is compatible with Demonstratives (**honi/hosu**).

Ima nohosu om vodo hini-a.
house DX3 2S:R be.born OBL-3S
'There is the house where you were born.' (lit. The house is there, in which ...)[69]

Finally, notice the grammaticalisation of **hosu/nohosu** into a relativiser:[70]

Niko hosu-n om nak-i-a racu ro!
2S DX3-ASS 2S:R kill-TR-3S man PRG
'*You* are the one who was killing the people!'

Dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-laṗa mo dogo leo-do ro.
PL REL 3:R stay PRG Mainland 3:R hear voice-3P PRG
'Those who were on the mainland (Santo) could hear their voices.'

4.4.3. Syntactic issues

We have been alluding to the two most common affixes which Demonstratives can receive, that is, prefix **nV-** and suffix **-n(i)**. More need be said about them, although our interpretations are still incomplete.

4.4.3.1. Syntactic positions and prefix nV-

As was suggested above, there are four basic functions that Demonstratives can take in Araki:

- noun modifier, at the end of a NP:[71]

Sadi nene m̈ara sodo m̈aci.
spear DX1 for shoot fish/bird
'This spear is to shoot fish (with).'

- head of a NP, or pronoun:

Nohosu co oloṁa, nene co oloṁa!
DX3 3S:I bow.head DX1 3S:I bow.head
'Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head ...'

---

[69] An alternate analysis would consider the whole NP to be the predicate: **ima nohosu** 'it is this house (in which ...)'. Such sentences are quite difficult to interpret correctly.

[70] More will be said about relative clauses in §7.2.1 p.173.

[71] See discussion in §4.7 p.96.

- adverbial phrase modifying a whole clause:

Sodosodo di mo hilu <u>hosu</u>.
story the 3:R end DX3
'And the story ends here.'

- predicate of a clause:

Mo ce mäci ne nam deve, nia <u>vahasu</u>.
3:R NEG fish here 1S:R pull 3S DX3:far
'It is not this fish which I caught, it is that one.'

Nevertheless, not all deictic forms are attested with these functions. In particular, it would seem that deictics prefixed with **nV-** appear more easily in the NP-head position, even if they are also attested in other positions. On the other hand, a fifth function is possible for at least some deictics, that is, a relativiser.

Table 4-40 shows which syntactic slots are allowed for the three main pairs of deictics, that is, respectively of the first (**ne/ne-ne**), second (**honi/no-honi**), and third grade (**hosu/no-hosu**). Each column is split into two: the left one refers to the behaviour of the unsuffixed form, for example **honi**; the second one to the form suffixed with **-n(i)**, for example **honi-n**. Notice a few conventions:

A '+' sign means that in such and such syntactic position, the form is attested;

'++' means that this marker is met particularly often in this position, for example 24 out of 30 instances of **hosu-n** are NP-modifiers;

'(+)' means our examples are ambiguous, and should be checked;

'–' means the marker is supposedly ungrammatical in that position;

'?' means the marker is not attested in this position, though this may be due to insufficient data; more research is needed in these cases.

Table 4-40 Syntactic functions attested for Demonstratives: according to prefixation and/or suffixation

marker	NP-modif.		NP-head		adverbial		predicate		relativiser	
ne [-n]	++	+	–	+	+	+	?	?	–	–
honi [-n]	+	+	?	+	+	?	+	?	?	?
hosu [-n]	+	++	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nene [-n]	+	+	++	+	+	?	?	?	–	–
nohoni [-n]	++	?	+	+	?	?	+	?	(+)	?
nohosu [-n]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	++	+

It is difficult to draw any conclusion from this chart, especially concerning the **nV-** prefix. It is likely that the semantic difference between forms like **hosu** and

nohosu involves other criteria than the syntactic ones we have been suggesting: some investigation must be made, with a possible focus on the information hierarchy, on pragmatic saliency or so-called 'expressiveness'. Perhaps the **ne/nene** contrast is a matter of expressive 'weight', similar to the contrast between light bound pronouns (for example **mo** 'he') and heavy independent pronouns (for example **nia** 'him'). No further discussion will be held about this issue here.

4.4.3.2. The assertive suffix -n(i)

Table 4-40 above gives very little information about the syntactic influence of the suffix **-ni** ~ **-n**, which is specific to Demonstratives (see §3.1.7). In fact, we have only little evidence of a syntactic or semantic contrast between unsuffixed and suffixed forms, and this point, again, requires further investigation.

One of our informants suggested a context which would be prototypically associated to basic forms, normally excluding the suffix **-n(i)**, that is the TOPIC phrase. At least, interrogative or imperative (that is, non-affirmative) sentences require no suffix on their topic NP:

Bonbon	**hosu(*-n),**	**ha-n**	**se?**
sweet	DX3	FOOD-CST	who

'(lit.) That sweet there, whose is it?'

Ver̈al	**kesi(*-n),**	**o**	**vari-a**	**o**	**hani-a!**
banana	DX1	2S:I	hold-3S	2S:I	eat-3S

'(lit.) This banana, just take it and eat it!'

Similarly, we would typically find unsuffixed forms when a whole clause is pragmatically topical, while suffixed demonstratives would fit better into the comment part of the sentence, that is, generally its last part:

O	**kan**	**vari-a**	**sule**	**v̈ahasu (?-n),**	**o**	**vari-a**	**nene-n!**
2S:I	PROH	hold-3S	stone	DX3:far	2S:I	hold-3S	DX1-ASS

'Don't take that stone over there, (you'd better) take this one!'

Indeed, suffixed demonstratives seem to be heard more often in affirmative clauses, which are personally asserted by the speaker (?); this is why we chose to gloss **-n(i)** 'ASS', that is, 'assertive suffix'. If this hypothesis were true, it would strongly remind us of the behaviour of demonstratives in Mwotlap, another language of Vanuatu (François f.c.), where two series are used according to the pragmatic status of the deictic phrase (that is, assertive v. non-assertive). As for Araki, more research is needed, since what we have been underlining here is far from being regular, and is no more than a rough tendency for the moment. To our view, hypotheses on presupposed v. new information should also be tested.

4.5. Number-marking and numerals in the Noun Phrase

4.5.1. Under-specified number and the context

At the beginning of §4.3 p.51, we already underlined the ambiguity of most Araki NPs regarding the number of the referent: a single noun, without any article or number mark, can either refer to one or several objects. The difference is often made by the context, that is, either the wide/situational context, or the narrow one, within the same sentence.

For example, plural meaning on an ambiguous NP is suggested if an adjective or a verb associated with it is duplicated (§3.2.3):

Kesi	NO-M	DAN	**mo**	**iso-iso**	**kesi!**
now	POSS-2S	day	3:R	end:DUP	now

'(lit.) Now, your day(s) finish-finish now! → This is the last of your *days*!'

Although reduplication is not so frequent in Araki, and does not always involve plurality, this is sometimes a clue for assigning the right number to a noun phrase which is under-specified.

A particular case was mentioned in §4.3.3 above, of an adjective giving a clue as to whether the referent is singular or plural. This lexicalised contrast in number concerns exclusively the words for 'small' (sg. **hetehete**, pl. **vadidi**) and for 'big' (sg. **laṗa**, pl. **v̈alalaṗa**):

man	**hetehete**
vein	small:single

'a small vein'

man	**vadidi**
vein	small:many

'small veins'

A more common clue will be the behaviour of a personal marker which is supposed to agree with this NP. For example, in the two following sentences, the object **pada** is unmarked for number, but the latter can be deduced from the object marker on the verb (sg. **-a**/pl. **-da**):

Nam	**ce**	**opo-i-a**	**PADA.**
1S:R	NEG	like-TR-3S	spider

'I don't like the spider.'

Nam	**ce**	**opo-i-da**	**PADA.**
1S:R	NEG	like-TR-3P	spider

'I don't like spiders.'

The same applies for other personal markers: in next sentence, the topic NP (**vinano** 'foreigner[s]') is under-specified for number; but plural is marked

elsewhere in the sentence – first on the independent pronoun **nida**, on the subject clitic **ha**, and on the possessive suffix **-da**:

VINANO, nida mo poe mo de ha vëlesi-a mäudi-da.							
foreigner	3P	3:R	like	3:R	say	3P:I	try-3S	life-3P

'The foreigner(s) [they] want to test their destiny.'

4.5.2. Ambiguities and inconsistencies in number-assigning

In some sentences, however, clues diverge as for assigning a number to a NP. This is the case in a sentence like the following, where a bare noun (**racu** 'man/people') has a global and generic reference. Somewhat unexpectedly, this triggers a singular object suffix of the verb (**-a**), but a plural possessive suffix on the following noun (**-da**):

Hina salahese mo vse-i-a RACU ro lo mäudi-da.							
thing	several	3:R	show-TR-3S	man	PRG	LOC	life-3P

'Several signs inform people of their destiny.'

Such contradictory number-markings are not rare in Araki.

Notice that the Third person subject clitic for Realis modality (**mo**) is always ambiguous with regard to number:

Mo levsei-a mo de RAMÄRE mo hani-a.						
3:R	know-3S	3:R	say	devil	3:R	eat-3S

'He understood that the devil(s) had devoured (his fellow).'

In fact, the difficulty for the linguist to assign a number to each referent, suggests that it is not always relevant for the speakers themselves. In many contexts, ambiguity is not a problem, in a way which is similar to many Oceanic languages – or to Chinese, Japanese, and so on. For example, in the last sentence, it is seldom precise whether the word **ramäre** 'devil(s)' refers to one or several individuals, precisely because these creatures are not highly individualised.

Number-marking in the next sentence is typologically less surprising, since the object coded as singular refers to an inanimate, generic object ('pineapples' in general), which is apparently coded as a massive noun:

Nam ecen-i-a PANIAVU ro.			
1S:R	sell-TR-3S	pineapple	PRG

'I sell pineapple(s).'

4.5.3. Overt number-marking on NPs

Even if most NPs are under-specified with regard to number, speakers do have several devices in order to mark overtly the number of a NP referent.

One of these devices seems obvious, that is the plural article **dai**. But despite its simplicity, it would be artificial to present it as the standard plural marker, since it is always optional, and shows seldom in our corpus: only one out of ten or twenty semantically plural NPs uses **dai** as its number marker. This clitic was discussed already under §4.3.4; we will just recall here one sentence:

Mo vëi povi-a dai hina hosun.
3:R do all-3S PL thing that
'He did exactly all these things.'

Once again, notice here the inconsistency of number marking, between the singular object clitic **-a** and the plural marker **dai**. According to us, this has to do with the [-animate] trait of the object NP: although it refers to several objects, it is not as individualised cognitively as animate creatures or persons would be; hence the frequent – but not systematic – use of singular **-a**, instead of **-da**, before inanimate NPs.

Finally, there are other few words which indicate lexically that the reference is plural rather than singular. One example is **salahese** 'several', which has also an indefinite meaning, like in English:

Nam lesi-da raṗala-ku salahese.
1S:R see-3P friend-1S several
'I saw some friends of mine.'

As far as predicates are concerned, the word **vutiana** 'plenty, numerous' points necessarily to a plural reference, even though the subject is unmarked with regard to number:

Mohi mo vutiana!
mosquito 3:R plenty
'There are so many mosquitoes!' (lit. The mosquito is numerous.)

4.5.4. Numerals

Another device for coding number is to use numerals. As was alluded to in §3.1.4, all numerals in Araki are fundamentally predicates, which are sensitive to modality (Realis v. Irrealis) and person-marking in the same way as verbs are. As a consequence of their predicativeness, numbers are almost systematically preceded by the subject clitic **mo** '3SG:REALIS', including in their citation form.

4.5.4.1. Paradigm of numerals

Numerals are listed in *Table 4-41* below; their morphology and expression rules can easily be inferred from this chart.[72]

[72] Araki has retained the decimal system of Proto Oceanic, contrary to several other Vanuatu

Table 4-41 Numerals

mo hese	'one'	**mo haion(o)**	'six'
mo dua	'two'	**mo haiṗiru**	'seven'
mo rolu	'three'	**mo haualu**	'eight'
mo v̈ari	'four'	**mo haisua**	'nine'
mo liṁa	'five'	**mo sagavul(u)**	'ten'
mo sagavul comana mo hese		'eleven'	
mo sagavul comana mo dua		'twelve'	
mo gavul dua		'twenty'	
mo gavul dua mo hese		'twenty one'	
mo gavul rolu		'thirty'	
mo gavul haiṗiru		'seventy'	
mo gavul sagavulu		'one hundred'	
mo gavul sagavulu mo sagavulu		'one hundred and ten'	
mo gavul sagavulu dua		'two hundred'	
mo gavul sagavulu sagavulu		'one thousand'	

4.5.4.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numbers are formed with the prefix **ha-**, at least for numbers from 2 to 5: **ha-dua** 'second', **ha-rolu** 'third', **ha-v̈ari** 'fourth', **ha-liṁa** 'fifth'. Greater numbers have already integrated this – or a similar – prefix **ha-** to their radical; as for number 'one', it uses a suppletive form **mudu** 'first'. These ordinal forms are used especially with the word **dan(i)**, to form the names of the days of the week.

Table 4-42 Ordinal numerals, and days of the week

dan mudu	'Monday'
ha-dua dan	'Tuesday'
ha-rolu dan	'Wednesday'
ha-v̈ari dan	'Thursday'
ha-liṁa dan	'Friday'
haiono dan	'Saturday'
haiṗiru dan	'Sunday'

Incidentally, notice the difference between the following sentences:[73]

languages which have turned to a quinary organisation – e.g. Mota in the north (Codrington 1885:302), Port-Sandwich (Charpentier 1979:119) in the centre, Lenakel in the south (Lynch 1998).

[73] Compare them also to the second sentence in the next paragraph: **Dan co rolu co iso** ...

Na pa lahi lo ha-rolu dan. 'I will marry on Wednesday.'
1S:I SEQ marry LOC third day (lit. in the third day)

Na pa lahi pog rolu. 'I will marry in three days' time.'
1S:I SEQ marry day three

Lo dan mo hese ... 'One day ...'
LOC jour 3:R un

There are two other domains where the equivalent of English ordinals are involved: counting children and counting wives. In the first case, numeral radicals are suffixed to the verb **vodo** 'touch, reach; touch (ground) > be born': thus we have **vodo-mudu** 'first-born', **vodo-dua** 'second-born', **vodo-rolu** 'third-born', and so on; notice a synonym for 'second-born': **vodo-rahu** 'born after (?)'.

As far as wives are concerned, a second set of ordinals is used, which is distinct from the paradigm for days. These ordinals are formed with a prefix **ẅaha** 'time(s)'. Thus we have: **naivou-ku mudu** 'my first wife', **n. ẅaha-dua** 'my second wife' = **n. parahu** (< **parahu** 'after'), **n. ẅaha-rolu** 'my third wife' – literally 'my wife for the third time'. Notice also **tapu-ku ẅaha-dua** '(lit.) my grandfather twice', that is, 'my great-grandfather'. This is to be compared with the adverbial use of **ẅaha**, for example

Nanov, mo usa ẅaha-dua. 'Yesterday, it rained twice.'
yesterday 3:R rain time-two

4.5.4.3. Syntax of numerals

We have already mentioned the predicative use of all numerals:

Naru-m mo visa? – Naru-ku mo hese. / mo dua.
child-2S 3:R how.many child-1S 3:R one 3:R two

'(lit.) How many are your children? – My child is one/My children are two.'

Being a sort of verb, numerals are sensitive to modality. That is, a number associated with a Realis subject necessarily refers to a group of objects which already exist in reality; conversely, it must take an Irrealis marker if the group of objects is still virtual, that is, has no real existence yet.

Dan co rolu co iso na pa lahi.
day 3S:IRR three 3S:IRR finish 1S:I SEQ marry

'In three days' time, I will marry.' (lit. Let days be three and finish, I shall marry.)

Though more seldom, numeral predicates can be found with a person other than the Third:

Co dua!
1INC:IRR two

'Join me!' (lit. Let us be two!)

On the other hand, our detailed study of **mo hese** 'a/one' (§4.3.5) showed that the same predicative pattern is used when numerals modify a NP. In this case, it is somewhat ambiguous whether the numeral phrase < **mo** + Numeral > really belongs to the NP – as we would intuitively think – or is an autonomous clause by itself, chained to the main clause as is common in Araki:

Nam vari-a DOV̈A **mo v̈ari.**
1S:R hold-3S plate 3:R four

'I am holding four plates.' (lit. I'm holding plates they are four)

A significant argument to claim that these are still synchronically autonomous clauses, is that these numeral phrases are still sensitive to modality, just like numeral predicates presented above. Whenever the referent of the NP is not real but virtual/non-specific (cf. **re** in next sentence), then Irrealis subject clitics will be preferred:

Nam de na inu RE LASA HAE **co dua.**
1S:R say 1S:I drink some cup kava 3S:I two

'I would like to drink two cups of kava.' (lit. drink cup of kava it-shall-be-two)

Numbers different from 'one' are compatible with the plural marker **dai**:

O huden-i-a paniavu lo m̈asap̈a-n dai CEA **nohosu mo dua.**
2S:I put-TR-3S pineapple LOC space-CST PL chair that 3:R two

'Put the pineapple down between these two seats.' (lit. the seats here they-are-two)

4.5.4.4. Vestigial dual forms

In our presentation of pronouns (§4.1.1), we stated that the basic numbers which are morphologically relevant in Araki are singular and plural: the two extra categories of dual and trial, which are largely widespread among Oceanic languages – especially in Vanuatu – have considerably lost their productivity in Araki. The main argument for this claim, is that almost all phrases referring to two or three objects will be coded with a plural marker, if any, and no other number specification:

Nica p̈aivuho!
1INC:PL:IR tomorrow

'See you tomorrow!' (lit. We tomorrow)

Nida-n verasi-na nida mo colo mo m̈are.
with-CST sister-3S 3PL 3:R sink 3:R die

'(She) and her younger sister, they sank and died.'

However, it still happens that some vestigial forms of dual – and more rarely of trial – are used in Araki. These forms are always transparent, since they do no more than add the radicals **dua** 'two' and **rolu** 'three' to personal pronouns. What allows us to speak about dual and trial – instead of just number-specification by means of a numeral – is that **dua** and **rolu** are the only words that can insert between subject clitics and aspectual particles/predicate nucleus.

Ha dua sivo goro!
2P:I two go.down sleep
'You two go to sleep!'

***Ha vari sivo goro!**
2P:I four go.down sleep
'*You four go to sleep!'

Mo dua medesai.
3:R two enemy
'They two are enemies.'

So-called 'dual' subject clitics attested in our corpus include **co dua**, **ha dua**, **mo dua**. However, we only have one or two instances of each, and it must be underlined that if a number is expressed – which is rare anyway – clause-chaining structures are preferred:

Nida mo dua | mo sovi-á ro.
3P 3:R two 3:R wait-1S PRG
'They (are) two (they) are waiting for me.'

Dual forms – see below for trial – are more frequent with independent pronouns. While a plural pronoun (for example **nida** 'they') refers to any group of more than one person, it can optionally receive an extra specification with the number 'two' (usually not 'three', and never more). Thus the forms attested are **nica dua** 'the two of us (Inc)', **kamam dua** 'the two of us (Exc)', **kamim dua** 'the two of you'. Following the syntax of independent pronouns (§4.1.1.2), these so-called 'dual pronouns' can be the subject of an equational predicate:

Nica dua racu.
1IN:P two man
'You and me are men.'

or can be the topic/emphatic subject of a verbal predicate, introducing a simple (plural) subject clitic:

Kamim dua ham de ha han re hina?
2P two 2P:R say 2P:I eat some thing
'The two of you, do you want to eat something?'

The same form of independent pronoun is accepted in the object position, at least for the two persons – First exclusive and Second non-singular – which accept independent pronouns as objects;[74] notice that object suffixes are apparently incompatible with numerals:

Nam sov kaⁿim dua ro.
1S:R wait 2P two PRG
'I was waiting for you two.'

Nam sovi-da (*dua) ro.
1S:R wait-3P (*two) PRG
'I was waiting for them (two).'

The latter evidence confirms that dual markers are not productive any more, and cannot be formed by just adding the numeral to any personal pronoun. This also confirms the morphological evidence, that 1INC:PL/2PL objects do not behave like ordinary suffixes.

The last context in which the word for 'two' sometimes forms dual personal markers, is with possessive suffixes. In fact, the situation is complex again, since dual marking is not so natural in Araki. For instance, with the possessive classifier for food **ha-**, the numeral 'two' is sometimes met immediately after the personal suffix (example 1 below), and sometimes after the following noun (example 2):

1. **Nene, ha-ⁿim dua cam.**
this FOOD-2P two yam
'This is yam for the two of you.'

2. **Nene, ha-ⁿim cam dua.**
this FOOD-2P yam two
'This is yam for the two of you.'

A third way to combine dual and possessive suffixes, is to add a pronominal phrase <Independent pronoun + **dua**> after the whole possessive NP:

3. **Nene, ha-ⁿam cam kaⁿam dua.**
this FOOD-1EX:P yam 1EX:P two
'This is yam for the two of us.'

There is a last possible combination, resorting to the word **rapudo**; the latter will be developed in the next paragraph.

[74] See §4.1.1.2 p.42.

4.5.4.5. Human classifier ***rapudo***

It is clear from the last paragraph, that so-called dual personal markers in Araki are not only optional, but also purely vestigial and conserved only randomly. There is a more productive way to integrate numerals to personal markers, that is using a human numeraliser **rapudo**. This morpheme, which classifies the referent as human, inserts between the personal marker and the numeral **dua** 'two':

kaṁam	**rapudo**	**dua** =	**kaṁam**	**dua**
1EX:P	NUM	two	1EX:P	two

'the two of us'

The same classifier is found in NPs to indicate the number of the referent, for any numeral from 'two' to 'ten' and over. In this case, notice that **rapudo** commutes with the subject clitic (**mo**), which in Araki is exceptional:

Dai	**p̈ira**	**rapudo dua**	**mo**	**vari-a**	**sule**	**mo**	**hese.**
PL	woman	NUM two	3:R	hold-3S	stone	3:R	one

'Two women were carrying a stone.'

A similar structure can be found without a noun, to designate a group of two persons. In this case, the head of the NP is **rapudo** itself:

Nene,	**cam**	**ha-n**	**dai**	**rapudo dua**	**nohoni.**
this	yam	FOOD-CST	PL	NUM two	that

'This is yam for those two (people) there.'

4.5.4.6. Trial forms

What is remarkable with the classifier **rapudo**, is that it is almost obligatory with the number 'three', to form the equivalent of trial pronouns:

Nene,	**ha-m̈am**	**cam**	**kaṁam rapudo rolu.**	**(*kaṁam rolu)**
this	FOOD-1EX:P	yam	1EX:P NUM three	

'This is yam for the three of us.'

Using **rapudo** is the normal way to combine **rolu** 'three' with independent pronouns in topic position:

Kaṁam rapudo rolu	**kaṁa**	**sivo**	**goro.**
1EX:P NUM three	1EX:P:I	go.down	sleep

'The three of us, we are going to sleep.'

Notice the ungrammaticality of ***Kaṁa rolu sivo**, as opposed to the dual **Kaṁa dua sivo**. In general, the dual structures we have presented with **dua** are not allowed with **rolu** to build trial forms, unless **rapudo** is used. This shows that if dual is not productive any more in the system, trial is even less so; and there would be no sense in positing such a category in Araki.

4.5.4.7. The globalising use of ***rolu*** *'three'*

In fact, the word **rolu** 'three' may be combined with some pronouns, but this takes a particular meaning of globalisation: for example **kaṅam rolu** does not mean 'the three of us' – in which case **rapudo** is required – but 'all of us, we together', and refers to a group of people normally more than three, and up to several dozen.

Co	**rolu**	**sivo**	**goro!**
1IN:I	GLOB	go.down	sleep

'Let us all go to sleep!'

Of course, this particular use recalls the evolution from Trial to Paucal, which is attested in Fijian and in Polynesian languages. However, the sense which is taken by this word 'three' in Araki is distinct from a Paucal, since it is oriented towards a greater number, with a focus on the achievement of a limit – that is, 'all, everybody' – and on the association of several elements – that is, 'together'.

Other examples illustrate the globalising use of **rolu**, with a meaning which is neither that of a trial nor of a paucal morpheme:

Mo	**coṁi**	**naivou-da**	**ṁara**	**nida**	**mo**	**ṽa**	**mo**	**rolu**	**mo**	**velu**	**ro.**
3:R	regret	wife-3P	because	3P	3:R	go	3:R	GLOB	3:R	dance	PRG

'They regretted their wives because they had left to dance together (with other men).'

In this sentence taken from the famous myth of Araki, the whole female population of Hog Harbour (Santo island) has left the mainland, and crossed the sea in order to take part in a party on Araki.[75] The focus is here on the great number of women, and on their association with the group of men in Araki; hence the translation 'together'.

The next example of clause chaining with **rolu** has Irrealis modality. In this tale (the Rat and the Octopus),[76] there are already a dozen people aboard the boat, when some new fellow asks to come in; the answer of the captain rat uses **rolu**, though not with the meaning of 'three':

O	**vici**	**co**	**rolu!**
2S:I	embark	1IN:I	GLOB

'Come aboard, let's be together!'

Finally, the same tale provides us with an interesting instance of **rolu**, or more exactly two in the same sentence. When the boat has sunk and the rat is swimming, several animals come to rescue him, and begin with this question:

---

[75] This myth is reproduced in §8.1.1 p.202.

[76] This tale can be found in §8.1.1 p.212.

Ham	**rolu**	**vëvë**	**hina,**	**kamim**	**rolu**	**se?**
2P:R	GLOB	do:DUP	thing	2P	GLOB	who

'Who have you been with?' (lit. You 'three' were doing something, you three who?)

The first phrase **ham rolu** behaves syntactically like a trial personal pronoun – since **rolu** is inserted between the subject clitic and the verb – but exclusively with a globalising meaning. This confirms that the former set of trial pronouns has not only ceased to be productive, but has also lost the sense of 'three' (now requiring **rapudo**); although the numeral lexeme **rolu** still refers to this number, it has taken a globalising sense 'together, all' whenever it is combined with a personal marker.

The second instance of **rolu** in the last sentence is even more instructive, since its associative meaning 'together' makes it eventually behave like (or grammaticise into?) the equivalent of a preposition 'with': in the phrase meaning literally 'you three who?', the result is that **rolu** has a linking function. Here is another example of this use:

niko	**kamim**	**rolu**	**nanaru-m**
2S	2P:R	GLOB	child:DUP-2S

'you and your children' (lit. thou you 'three' thy kids)

Once again, notice that this phrase does not necessarily refer to three people, but would also fit perfectly for six children: **rolu** is only used here as a linker meaning '(together) with'. This evidence interestingly shows that a former trial can evolve not only into a paucal, like in other Oceanic languages, but also in other functions cognitively derived from the original meaning of 'three': hence the globalising and comitative effects.

4.5.4.8. Syntax of numerals: summary

Here is a summary of the syntactic behaviour of numerals.

- all numerals are basically predicates, sensitive to person and modality;
- even when they only modify a noun, numerals must be preceded by a subject clitic, in a kind of clause-chaining pattern;
- all numbers [>1] can be preceded by a human numeraliser **rapudo**. The phrase <**rapudo** + Numeral> can follow either a noun in a NP (replacing the subject clitic), or an independent pronoun;
- the word **hese** 'one' has grammaticised as a referential indefinite marker (English 'a'), which does not necessary focus on the number of the referent;[77]

[77] This marker (**mo**) **hese** was studied in §4.3.5 p.54.

- the word **dua** 'two' is found in some vestigial and optional forms of dual, following immediately personal markers (independent pronouns, subject clitics, possessive suffixes);
- the word **rolu** 'three' can be associated with independent pronouns and subject clitics, in what used to be trial forms; but the meaning 'three' is then dropped, and replaced by a globalising effect ('all, together'); this in turn may grammaticise as a comitative linker ('with').

4.5.5. Other quantifiers

*4.5.5.1. The quantifier **povi** 'all'*

Apart from the very particular use of **rolu** 'three' as a personal quantifier meaning 'everybody' (see §4.5.4.7), the commonest way to refer to a whole set of elements, is to use a quantifier morpheme **povi ~ pov ~ po** 'all'. One of its uses is as a noun-modifier, inside the NP; in this case, it follows immediately the noun:

Haṁali, ima-na da racu povi.
nakamal house-3S PL man all
'The *nakamal* is the house for all men.'

This quantifier is often associated with independent pronouns:

Ale, kaṁim po ha gigisa!
come.on 2P all 2P:I smile
'Come on, all of you, smile!'

M̈aci mo avuavu nda povi.
bird 3:R fly 3P all
'The birds flew away, all of them.'

Another syntactic position where **povi** often appears, is that of Adjunct[78] within a predicate phrase. If the preceding verb is intransitive, then the universal quantifier **povi** refers to the subject of the clause:

Nida povi dai mada vadidi mo ṁare povi.
3P all PL PERS small 3:R dead all
'(lit.) All the children were *all* dead.'

If the preceding verb is transitive, then the scope of **povi** normally corresponds to the object of the sentence. What is remarkable with adjuncts, is that they, and not the verb, bear the transitivity suffix **-i-**,[79] together with the personal object suffixes:

---

[78] Adjuncts were defined in §3.1.5 p.35.

[79] It is possible that the form **povia** contains the suffix **-i-**; however, since the radical already ends in /i/ and this cannot be checked, we decided not to represent it in the gloss (see §5.4.2 p.132).

Mo vari va racu mo han povi-a visiho-no.
3:R hold the man 3:R eat all-3S flesh-3S
'(The devil) grabbed the man and devoured all his flesh.'

Mo vëi povi-a dai hina hosun.
3:R do all-3S PL thing that
'He did exactly all these things.'

*4.5.5.2. The quantifier **tade** 'every', and the use of generic nouns*

The quantifier **tade** 'every' is distinct from **povi** 'all', in that the universality of its reference is virtual, not specific.[80] This word comes immediately after the noun; in the next examples, notice that its combination with certain generic nouns corresponds to our universal indefinite markers ('everybody', 'everything'):

- for human referents: generic noun **racu** 'man'.

Racu tade mo sivo ro kia.
man every 3:R go.down PRG there
'Everybody still goes there.'

- for non-human referents: generic noun **hina** 'thing'.

Hina tade mo holo-ho.
thing every 3:R good-INT
'Everything is fine.'

- spatial reference: generic noun **cada** 'place'.

Ne, ne, ne, lo cada tade!
here here here LOC place every
'... here, here, here: everywhere!'

- temporal reference: generic noun **dan** 'day'.

Dan tade nam po-i-a nam de na in re hae.
day every 1S:R like-TR-3S 1S:R say 1S:I drink some kava
'Every day, I want to drink some kava.'

Incidentally, the same word **tade** can be used as an adverb, meaning 'always':

[80] The specificity feature also proves to be crucial in other points of Araki grammar: see §4.3.7 p.68, §5.4.3.3 p.139.

Mo usa tade.
3:R rain every
'It is always raining!'

– and even as a subordinator, with the meaning 'every time' (see §7.2.3).

4.6. Adjectives

4.6.1. Syntax of adjectives

We have defined (§3.1.2 p.34) the lexical category of adjectives on distributional terms, by two basic properties:

- adjectives can be predicates, and in this case must be preceded by a subject clitic, like numerals or verbs;
- adjectives can modify directly a noun in a NP, without a subject clitic (opp. numerals) or a relative structure (opp. verbs) .

Adjectives always follow the noun they modify, and come before numerals:

p̈ira hetehete mo hese
woman small 3:R one
'a young woman'

They can do without a noun head, using the personal nominaliser **mada** (§4.3.3):

mada hetehete mo hese
PERS small 3:R one
'a child' (lit. a small one)

Typical adjectives include words for colour, size, value, that is, notions which are aspectually quite stable. Conversely, many words which are adjectives in English, but refer to temporary states are intransitive verbs in Araki: for example **comï** 'sad', **avulai** 'happy', **lumi-ha** 'dirty', **ede** 'open'; this means that they cannot modify directly a noun, but need a relative structure in order to do so.

Adjectival comparative is done using a clause-chaining strategy, with the verb **ceu** 'overtake, surpass':

Nam suiha | nam ceu-ko.
1S:R strong 1S:R surpass-2S
'I am stronger than you.' lit. I am strong I beat you.

4.6.2. The intensive suffix -ha

A small set of adjectives take a suffix **-ha**[81] when they are in an assertive/ affirmative sentence, but usually lose it in questions or negative clauses.[82] This suffix can be described as 'Intensive' (INT):

Om	**holo**	**(*-ho)**	**ro?**	–	**Nam**	**holo-ho**	**ro.**
2S:R	good		PRG		1S:R	good-INT	PRG

'Are you all right? – Yes, I'm fine.'

In our corpus, the adjective lexemes which take the suffix **-ha** include: **holo** 'good', **vsovso** 'filthy', **m̈aciṁacihi** 'multicoloured'; we strongly suspect its presence in the forms **lumi-ha** 'dirty', **vurivuria-ha** 'steep', **sui-ha** 'strong' (cf. **sui** 'bone');[83] and in a few colour names **vidi-ha** 'black', **codi-ha** 'yellow', **sovuso-ho** 'grey'.

The suffix **-ha** apparently involves a personal evaluation of the speaker, together with a pragmatic commitment to his words: this is why it is typically associated with affirmative statements (opp. questions, negations), and with semantically gradable adjectives. It is remarkable that some affirmative sentences do not show this suffix, when precisely the adjectival predicate refers to an objective/pragmatically neutral property of the subject, as opposed to a property which is personally ascribed by the speaker:

Inko	**kesin**	**ep̈e-m**	**mo**	**holo.**
2S	here	body-2S	3:R	good

'Your body is in good health.'

Inko	**kesin**	**ep̈e-m**	**mo**	**holo-ho.**
2S	here	body-2S	3:R	good-INT

'Your body is good-looking!'

Despite its label 'Intensive', it must be kept in mind that **-ha** is not a productive suffix, and only goes with a handful of lexemes. For other adjectives, including those compatible with **-ha**, the expression of high degree ('very') is mainly done through intonation, and repetition of the whole clause (rather than reduplication of the root):

---

[81] It changes to **-ho** after a radical vowel /o/: see §2.5.2.1 p.28.

[82] Its syntactic behaviour is very similar to the adverb *hěn* in Mandarin Chinese, traditionally glossed as 'very', which is required in assertive sentences, but generally ungrammatical in others.

[83] This pair also exists in Tangoa, suggesting to Ray (1926:362) a suffix **-ha**, spelt *ca*, which would 'add an abstract meaning' to the root. Obviously this definition is not sufficient.

Mo holo-ho mo holo-ho!
3:R good-INT 3:R good-INT
'It is very good/excellent.'

In fact, there are three adjuncts/adverbs equivalent to English *very*, that is, **hacavua** 'a lot, too much', **laṗa** 'big', **vutiana** 'plenty, numerous':

Nam comi hacavua.
1S:R sad too.much
'I am so sorry!'

Om mece laṗa.
2S:R (thanked) big
'Thank you very much.'

Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko.
1S:R glad plenty 1S:R find-2S
'I am really happy to have met you.'

4.6.3. The resultative clitic ra ~ raha

A few adjectives appear sometimes in our texts preceded by a clitic of the form **ra**, whose meaning and function still needs discussion. Distributionally speaking, **ra** comes just before the adjective root, which has the same functions as a bare adjective; that is, the group < **ra** + Adj. > can modify directly a noun:

Mo vari-a vivada ra kodu.
3:R hold-3S cane ? dry
'He is holding a dry cane.'

or it may take a subject clitic, and be the predicate:

Mo v̈a, mo dogo leo-do, mo v̈a mo v̈a, mo ra hetehete.
3:R go 3:R hear voice-3P 3:R go 3:R go 3:R ? small
'At first, their voices could be heard, but as time went on, it began to diminish.'

From the semantic point of view, the last example suggests that **ra** changes a stative adjective ('it is small') into a temporal predicate ('it becomes small, it diminishes'). Indeed, all its instances are associated with the physical transformation of an object, for example **kodu** '[plant+] become dry', **hetehete** 'diminish, shrink', **laṗa** 'become big, grow'.[84]

[84] Another case is suggested by the double pair **holo** 'straight, good'/**raholo** 'straight, rigid', whose origin is **takolo*. The Tangoa form TGO *tataholo*, which corresponds to the reduplicated (?) form **raraholo** in Araki is reported by Ray to bear a prefix *ta* whose presence 'is not definitely made out' (1926:362).

Via **v̈alalap̈a,** **dau-na** **ra** **v̈alalap̈a.**
Alocasia big:many leaf-3S ? big:many

'Big taros, the leaves of which are (=have become) big too.'

If this semantic description is true, this clitic **ra** should be compared to a longer form **raha**, which appears in the same syntactic contexts, with the same resultative meaning. Indeed, the latter clitic involves the completion of some process in time, in such a way that the bundle < **raha** + Adj. > can take aspectual markers in the same way as do verbs:

Om **lap̈a.**
2S:R big

'You are an important person.' (lit. you are big)

Om **raha** **lap̈a.**
2S:R RES big

'You are an adult.' (lit. you have become big)

Om **re** **raha** **lap̈a.**
2S:R PFT RES big

'You have already become an adult now.'

Finally, the same form **raha** is attested in a nuclear-layer serialisation, showing it has a resultative meaning:

Na **pa** **nak** **raha** **m̈are-ko!**
1S:I SEQ hit RES dead-2S

'I am going to kill you!'

4.6.4. Suffixable adjectives

A few adjectives behave like inalienable nouns, in that they must be followed by a so-called 'possessor'. Following the rules for possession (§4.7), this possessor is either a personal suffix, a non-human noun following directly the adjective, or a human noun introduced by the construct suffix **-ni** ~ **-n**.

One adjective is **tilavo** 'deprived of, lacking'. If the object (calling it 'possessor' would be paradoxical in this case!) is specified, it follows the bare stem of the adjective:

Mo **v̈ei-a** **m̈ada** **m̈ara** **mo** **tilavo** **cam.**
3:R do-3S biscuit because 3:R deprived yam

'They made breadfruit-biscuit because they were lacking yam.'

If the object is simply alluded to, it takes the form of a third person suffix: for example **tilavo-no** 'deprived of it'. Remarkably, the latter suffix can have a

generic/absolute reference ('deprived of anything'), in such a way that the form **tilavono** is the usual adjective for 'poor':

Nko pa racu tilavono, co ce re no-m hina.
2S SEQ man poor 3S:I NEG some POSS-2S thing
'You will become a poor man, you will not have anything.'

A more common adjective is **sohe** '(be) like/similar to'. Like inalienable nouns, it may appear unprefixed if it is followed by a non-human 'object', but otherwise must take a possessive marker:

Om sohe huira.
2S:R like octopus
'You are (fitful) like an octopus.'

Vulu-ñam co sohe-m!
hair-1EX:P 3S:I like-2S
'Let our hair be (red) like yours!'

Mada hetehete mo sohe-n rarna-na.
PERS small 3:R like-CST mother-3S
'The child looks like his mother.'

Mo sohan-i-a sodo sohe-na mo sa Sakpei, Okava, Potlore.
3:R send-TR-3S talk like-3S 3:R go.up (place-names)
'He sent the same message up to Shark-Bay, Hog-Harbour, Port-Olry.'

Knowing that the form **sohe-na** may refer not only to persons ('like him/her'), but also to abstract ideas or situations, it is often used as an adverb meaning 'thus, this way':

Vada mo colo lo rasi, niko o pa colo lo rasi sohe-na.
if 3:R sink LOC sea, 2S 2S:I SEQ sink LOC sea like-3S
'If (the cane flies and) eventually sinks in the sea,
(this is a sign that) you will get drowned in the sea *the same way*.'

The last suffixable adjective is **hase-**, which means 'alone, on one's own', as well as '(by) oneself'. It is always followed by a personal suffix, referring to the thing/person being alone; the latter is also generally the subject of the sentence.

Mada Tanna hase-da nida mo levse hani-a vidi.
PERS Tanna alone-3P 3P 3:R know eat-3S dog
'Only Tanna people (know how to) eat dogs.'

Daga viha mo lare hase-na.
branch tree 3:R break alone-3S
'The tree branch broke by itself.'

Nam ele no-m sodo na <u>hase-ku</u>.
1S:R seek POSS-2S talk 1S alone-1S
'I have learnt your language all by myself.'

4.7. Possession

Araki follows other Oceanic languages in having a quite complex system with regard to possession: not only does it contrast alienable v. inalienable nouns, but also several classifiers are used in order to express different sorts of possession.

4.7.1. Syntax of inalienable possession

We already presented the lexical contrast between alienable and inalienable nouns in §4.2.1; we also showed that the boundaries between such categories are fuzzy in Araki. By definition, inalienable nouns can – or must – be followed by their possessor; the latter can be coded either by a personal suffix,[85] or by a simple noun, if it refers to a non-human object:

hoco-m̈im	**hoco po**
tooth-2P	tooth pig
'your (pl.) teeth'	'a/the pig's tusk'
dau-na	**dau holo**
leaf-3S	leaf coconut
'its leaves'	'coconut palm'
m̈arasala-ku	**m̈arasala ima**
door-1S	door house
'my door'	'the house door'

No significant difference appears to be made between specific and non-specific possessor, be it human or not.

If the possessor is a person, either a proper noun or a NP, then the construct suffix **-ni** ~ **-n** is required on the possessed noun:[86]

naru-<u>n</u> moli	**ima-<u>ni</u> Joj**
child-CST chief	house-CST George

[85] Their paradigm was presented in §4.1.4 p.46.

[86] Our corpus shows a couple of dubious forms, where a human possessor is preceded by the third person suffix **-na** instead of **-n(i)**; yet these two suffixes must be distinguished, since they did not merge in Araki, contrary to many other languages of Vanuatu.

'the chief's son' 'George's house'

Rua-ni tetei-m, nia elua-m.
husband-CST aunt-2S 3S uncle-2S
'Your aunt's husband is (called) your uncle.'

Animals are treated as humans only in tales, when they are personified:[87]

sodo-n Siho nida-ni Hotou
talk-CST Kingfisher with-CST Hermit.crab
'the story of Kingfisher and Hermit-crab'

All place names behave in the same way as human proper nouns, in that they require the construct suffix:

lagi-n Tahuna
wind-CST South
'the South wind'

sodosodo-ni Daki
talk:DUP-CST Araki
'the language of Araki'

hotou-n Kanal
hermit.crab-CST Luganville
'the hermit crabs of Luganville'

Sule mo lulu lo cuhu-n Daki.
stone 3:R white LOC back-CST Araki
'There is a white rock behind (lit. in the back of) Araki.'

4.7.2. Syntax of possessive classifiers inside NPs

An alienable noun, by definition, cannot take personal suffixes, nor be followed directly by a possessor: for example **diɸa** 'axe' → ***diɸa-ku*** 'my axe', ***diɸa moli*** 'the chief's axe'. In order to take a possessor, such a noun needs a possessive classifier (PC), which will be followed by the possessor in the same conditions as inalienable nouns. The most common PC is the General classifier **no-**; for example 'my axe' would be:

[87] The marking of transitivity follows exactly the same categories as the suffix **-ni**: human NPs and proper nouns + personified animals + place names. See §5.4.3.4 p.141.

no-ku **dïpa**
POSS-1S axe
'my axe'

The order of constituents depends on the length of the possessor constituent, which systematically follows the PC. If the possessor is only a personal suffix, then it is short enough to allow for the possessed noun to follow; in this case, the order of constituents is

<CLASSIF-suffix$_{posR}$ noun$_{posD}$>

no **-no** **paua**
POSS -3S power
'his power'

But if the possessor is expressed by means of an overt NP, then the possessed noun comes before the PC; the order is then

< noun$_{posD}$ CLASSIF-CST noun$_{posR}$>

paua **no** **-n** **Setan**
power POSS -CST Devil
'the Devil's power'

4.7.3. Semantics of possessive classifiers

Araki has five possessive classifiers, contrasted semantically according to the kind of possessive relationship involved. The General classifier **no-** expresses a vague, general relationship between two elements X and Y; it covers those relations that are not expressed by other more specific classifiers. Apart from **no-**, Araki has **ha-** 'food', **mä-** 'drink', **pula-** ~ **pla-** 'economical possession', **cuga-** 'portion'; they are detailed below.

- **Ha-** presents X (the possessed object) as food for Y (the possessor). In general, it refers to an X~Y relationship that has already been established beforehand, and which the speaker just recalls:

Hadiv mo lesi cam ha-ni Mäla mo hani-a.
Rat 3:R see yam FOOD-CST Hawk 3:R eat-3S
'The Rat saw a piece of yam (which was reserved) for the Hawk, and ate it.'

Nene, ha-ca paniavu.
this FOOD-1INC pineapple
'This is pineapple for the two of us (to eat).'

No other semantic use of **ha-** appears in our corpus, such as the 'passive' use of similar classifiers in Northern Vanuatu or Fiji.

- **M̈a-** presents X as a drink for Y:

Lasa nohoni, m̈a-n se?
cup that DRINK-CST who
'This cup here, who is it for (to drink)?'

Nam ce inum-i-a m̈a-ku ai v̈adug.
1S:R NEG drink-TR-3S DRINK-1S water hot
'I haven't drunk my tea (already served and assigned to me).'

- **Pula-** presents X as a valuable possession, of economical interest for Y. It is generally associated with plants and possessed animals – including cats and dogs, which are not bred for food:

Nam v̈a-hani-a pla-ku to.
1S:R CAUS-eat-3S ECON-1S fowl
'I am feeding my fowls.'

Pla-m pera co ce levse m̈au.
ECON-2S taro 3S:I NEG know live
'Your taro (that you planted) will not be able to grow properly.'

- **Cuga-**: when a set of objects has several possessors, **cuga-** presents X as the one which goes with Y, its 'portion'; this classifier generally refers to temporary possessions, such as objects transported by several persons at the same time:

cuga-ku viha
PORTION-1S wood
'my piece of firewood (I am carrying)'

Cuga-ku udeece mo re meco mo iso.
PORTION-1S pudding 3:R PFT done 3:R finish
'My piece of pudding (opp. yours) is already cooked.'

The same classifier fits to indicate a catch of fish or game:

cuga-ku m̈aci
PORTION-1S fish/bird
'my catch of fish/the bird I shot'

- **No-** refers to any other relationship between X and Y, which is neither expressed by other classifiers, nor by direct (inalienable) suffixation:

no-ku **dudu**
POSS-1S clothes
'my clothes'

no-m **vatu**
POSS-2S money
'your money'

no-no **lahi**
POSS-3S marry
'his wedding'

no-co **sodo**
POSS-1IN talk
'our language'

no-no **p̈ira** = **naivou-na**
POSS-3S woman wife-3S
'his wife'

no-ku **ta** = **raṁa-ku**
POSS-1S dad father-1S
'my dad, my father'

Notice that the same noun may be associated with different PCs, according to the possessive relationship between X and Y:

ha-ku **po**
FOOD-1S pig
'my piece of pork (to eat)'

pula-ku **po**
ECON-1S pig
'my pig (I breed)'

cuga-ku **po**
PORTION-1S pig
'my pig (I am carrying for s.b. else)'

no-ku **po**
POSS-1S pig
'my pig' (I am selling, or offering s.b. for a ceremony)

4.7.4. Syntactic functions of possessive classifiers

The bundle consisting of a <noun (alienable) + classifier + possessor> behaves globally as a complex noun; that is, it takes the position of a simple noun inside the NP, and behaves externally like a noun. For instance, this possessive bundle can be the subject or object of a verb (see examples above), or the object of a preposition:

Na **pa** **sodosodo** **lo** **no-m maikrofon.**
1S:I SEQ talk:DUP LOC POSS-2S microphone
'I am going to talk into your microphone.'

The possessive bundle can also be the predicate of the clause:

Lasa nohoni, mä-n se?
cup that DRINK-CST who
'This cup here, whose is it?'

Incidentally, notice a rare pattern in which the possessor suffix is being echoed by an independent pronoun. In the present case, this strategy is used to indicate a dual reference (§4.5.4.4):

Nene, ha-mäm cam kamäm dua.
this FOOD-1EX:P yam 1EX:P two
'This is yam for the two of us.'

It is also remarkable that possessive classifiers can be elliptic of the possessed noun – never the possessor – in the same way as English pronouns *mine/yours*. Hence classifiers are sometimes met 'alone' in a subject position:

Mä-ku ai kesi, nia vë mä-m?
DRINK-1S water here 3S where DRINK-2S
'This is my water, but where is yours?'

– or as an object:

Verasi-ku mo ragi-si ha-na.
sister-1S 3:R cry-TR FOOD-3S
'My younger sister is crying for her food.'

Finally, notice that a PC may combine with the partitive article **re** 'some', to indicate the future possessor of a (non-specific) object:

Na vë voli re vërali ha-n nanaru-ku.
1S:R go buy some banana FOOD-CST children-1S
'I am going to buy some bananas (as food) for my children.'

4.8. Basic NP structure

In this chapter, we have been examining the many elements which can enter into a NP: articles, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives and possessive structures. We often alluded to their relative ordering within the NP, but a summary would be necessary now.

A noun phrase needs a head: this can be a noun, an independent pronoun, certain demonstratives; an adjective cannot be a NP-head, but needs the support **mada**. All other elements are optional. A maximal noun phrase should follow the following order of constituents,[88] most of which are optional:

[88] Independent pronouns do not appear here, because instead of being a part of a NP, they usually

(1) an article: plural **dai**, partitive **re**, definite **va**;

(2) a noun or the empty head **mada**, or a 'possessive bundle', formed by <possessed noun + (a possessive classifier +) a possessor>;[89]

(3) an adjective;

(4) the anaphoric marker **di**;

(5) a demonstrative word;

(6) a numeral preceded by a subject clitic (usually **mo**), similar to a clause;

(7) a relative clause;

(8) a prepositional phrase, for example 'with (+NP_2)'.

Here are a few examples of NPs which contain several of these elements; but notice that it is rare to meet more than three or four elements in one NP, and putting them all together would be of course artificial:

dai	CEA	**nohosu**	**mo**	**dua**
PL	chair	that	3:R	two
1	**2**	5	< 6 >	

'these two chairs here'

PIRA	**hetehete**	**mo**	**hese**	**nida-n**	**veroha-na**
woman	small	3:R	one	with-CST	sister-3S
2	3	< 6 >		< 8 >	

'a young woman with her elder sister'

Notice that the order between 5 (demonstratives) and 6 (numerals) is not strict, at least for **mo hese** 'one':

RACU	**mo**	**hese**	**hosun**
man	3:R	one	that
2	< 6 >		5

'this one man'

---

behave as global NPs themselves.

[89] The nature and ordering of such possessive bundles was presented in §4.7.2 p.97.

5. *Verbs and verb phrases*

Nouns and verbs are definitely distinct in Araki, as was shown in §3.1.3. Now we have discussed the syntactic structures of noun phrases, we will present the behaviour of verbs and verb phrases.

First, verb phrases include indications on the actors of the action: subjects are coded by subject clitics, which always begin the verb phrase (see §4.1.2); on the other hand, objects of transitive verbs are normally coded by object suffixes (§4.1.3), which follow the verb or its adjunct. In the following sentence, **na** 'I' is the subject clitic, while **-ko** 'you' is the object; **pa** 'Sequential/Future' is an aspect marker, and **pilai** is an adjunct to the verb **nak**. Notice here that the whole sentence consists only of a VP, with nothing before or after it:

[Na	**pa**	**nak**	**pilai**	**-ko]!**	'I'm going to kill you outright!'
1S:I	SEQ	kill	outright	-2S	

The basic syntax of subject clitics will be explained in §5.1, but their modal value will be developed throughout §5.2; as far as object suffixes are concerned, the transitivity issues they raise will be dealt with in §5.4.

Therefore, the mainlines of this chapter will be the following. First, after a short overview on the syntax of subject clitics, we will explore modality contrasts and their semantic effects on time interpretation; secondly, aspect markers will be reviewed; thirdly, syntactic issues on valency, transitivity and object-marking will be detailed.

5.1. Basic syntax of subject clitics

5.1.1. Subject clitics and parts of speech

Subject clitics typically associate with VERBS:

O	**sile**	**Viki**	**co**	**hani-a.**	'Give it to Viki (so that) he eats it.'
2S:I	give	Viki	3S:I	eat-3S	

and most ADJECTIVES (§3.1.2):

Vulu-na	**mo**	**hahada.**	'His hair is red (that is, blond).'
hair-3S	3:R	red	

They also form the subject for NUMERALS (§3.1.4) and a few other predicative words, like **sohe** '(be) like', **ce re** 'not exist, not be there':

Om sohe huira.
2S:R like octopus
'You are (fitful) like an octopus.'

Mo ce re ai.
3:R NEG EXIST water
'There is no water.'

Conversely, there are some 'directly predicative' words which do not normally take a subject clitic, like nouns, demonstratives, and some adjectives.[90]

5.1.2. Syntax of subject clitics

At the sentence-level, subject markers may be preceded by a topic – whatever it is: adverb, NP, free pronoun – and/or by a NP subject, at least for the Third person. Subject clitics always open the verb phrase,[91] and may be separated from the verb radical by only a few aspect clitics. Here are a few illustrative sentences for these points:

1. **[Cam ce levse lesi-a], pani nia [mo roho ro].**
1IN:R NEG know see-3S but 3S 3:R stay PRG
'We are not able to see him [ghost], yet *he* is around.'

The first **cam** is being separated from the verb **levse** by another clitic, namely the negation **ce**; then **mo** is preceded by an optional free pronoun **nia**, which agrees with the obligatory subject clitic **mo**.

2. **[Co lesi-a] se [co pa vanovano] vila.**
1IN:I see-3S who 3S:I SEQ walk:DUP fast
'(Let us race) we shall see who will go faster.'

Notice the aspect clitic **pa** (Sequential/Future), which inserts between the subject clitic and the verb radical. This sentence also illustrates the ambiguity of some homophonous morphemes, like **co** which is either First inclusive Irrealis ('we shall') or Third Irrealis ('he will').

---

[90] They will all be reviewed in §6.1 p.151; see also a summary in *Table 6-48* p.155.

[91] We speak about *verb phrases* because subject clitics most often associate with verbs; but it should be kept in mind that other parts of speech may take the position of a verb: see §5.1.1 p.103.

3. **Na, ta [co mule], [na pa vadai-a] ni-a.**
   1S dad 3S:I be.back 1S:I SEQ tell-3S OBL-3S
   '(As for) me, Dad will come back, and I will tell him about it.'

The first **na** is not a subject clitic, but a free pronoun, since it serves as a topic to the whole sentence; contrary to the second **na**, it is not sensitive to Realis/Irrealis mood contrast (v. **nam**). Notice also the NP subject **ta** 'dad', coming immediately before the 3SG subject clitic which agrees with it; ***ta mule** is impossible.

Subject clitics only occur once within a verb phrase, so that verb serialisation is normally defined as a sequence of two (or more) verb radicals in one single verb phrase, that is, after one subject clitic:

Ha sivo goro!
2P:I go.down sleep
'You (all) go to sleep!'

But what looks like an ordinary Oceanic pattern of serialisation is in fact very rare in Araki, and apparently concerns more generally V_1-V_2 sequences where V_1 is a movement verb, like **sivo** here. What is overwhelmingly common in Araki, is to link several verb phrases to build so-called 'clause chains', which will be detailed later.[92]

5.2. Modality and time

When we presented the paradigm of subject clitics in §4.1.2 (p.44), it appeared that two series of clitics were distinguished morphologically, according to the modality associated to them, or more precisely to the whole VP. We alluded to this contrast by using the terms Realis v. Irrealis mood; we are now going to explain these words, and examine what they involve in the domain of modality and time.

5.2.1. Modality in main clauses

Contrary to many other languages of the world, including languages from Vanuatu, Araki is quite original in having such a straightforward mood-and-tense system:[93] any verbal predicate is basically coded as being Realis or Irrealis, in such a way that all sentences seem to be defined by this twofold opposition.

---

[92] See §7.3 p.189. Verb serialisations are exposed in §5.5 p.147.

[93] For a general presentation of this semantic opposition on a typological perspective, see Givón (1984:284).

5.2.1.1. Semantics of Realis

As is apparent from *Table 4-31* p.44, Realis clitics in Araki all contain the phoneme *m*, certainly reflecting a former Realis morpheme. A Realis verb form indicates that the action referred to is 'real', that is, already belongs to the world. Speaking in terms of modality, this corresponds roughly to indicative mood in European languages; speaking in terms of tense, Realis forms point either to an event in the past, or to a process which is ongoing at the moment of speaking (that is, present):

Racu mo hese hosun mo vavere, nam dogo leo-no.
man 3:R one that 3:R sing 1S:R hear voice-3S

'That man who is singing, I can hear his voice.'

Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni.
yesterday 1S:R hear man 3:R one 3:R hold-3S song that

'Yesterday I heard a man, he was singing the same song as you.'

Notice that none of these two sentences has any other time or aspect morpheme on the verbs, to indicate that the process is still going on or is already over. Of course, **nanov** 'yesterday' is a strong clue towards a past tense interpretation, but such time adverbs are far from being systematically present, and in most sentences, only the context can be relied upon to determine the time reference of the verb (past v. present). Notice also that the aspect post-clitic **ro** 'Progressive', for example, would not give any indication on this issue, since **Nam dogo ro** could mean either 'I am hearing' or 'I was hearing': in other terms, aspect markers say nothing about absolute time.

Questions about the past or present also take Realis mood, despite the obvious uncertainty of the speaker:[94]

Om re han re visiho sip mo iso?
2S:R PFT eat some meat sheep 3:R finish

'Have you ever tasted mutton?'

The same applies for negative assertions:

Nam ce levsei dogo-ko.
1S:R NEG know hear-2S

'I cannot hear you.'

[94] Givón, somehow misleadingly, considers yes/no questions to be 'obligatorily irrealis in their modality' (1984:286); Araki proves this statement to be incomplete.

5.2.1.2. Semantics of Irrealis

Table 4-32 p.44 shows that Irrealis clitics were originally simpler – that is, formally 'unmarked' – than Realis clitics, at least morphologically speaking, since they lack the (now opaque) *m* element. Irrealis is complementary to Realis, that is, any form which is not Realis must be Irrealis, and vice-versa. From the semantic point of view, Irrealis refers to events which do not belong in the real world, but are only conceived as possible facts in the imagination.

When Irrealis clitics are used with the main verb, the meaning can correspond to our FUTURE tense:

Co ce levse vëi-a.
1IN:I NEG know do-3S

'We won't be able to do it.'

Co lesi-a se co pa vänovano vila.
1IN:I see-3S who 3S:I SEQ walk:DUP fast

'(Let us race) we shall see who will go faster.'

However, notice that the majority of sentences predicting an event in the future make use of a combination < Irrealis subject + aspect **pa** >; this combination will be exposed in detail in §5.3.5.3 p.121.

The majority of Irrealis sentences (without **pa** aspect marker) correspond to an IMPERATIVE predication. This is especially clear when the subject is a second person:

Ale, kamim po ha gigisa!
come.on 2P all 2P:I smile

'Come on, all of you, smile!'

No-ku ta, o vodo re pëaka-ku, re vina-ku.
POSS-1S dad 2S:I make some bow-1S, some arrow-1S

'Dad, please make me a bow, make me some arrows.'

This can happen with a third person too:

Re co pele sna co holo aka!
some 3S:I alternatively come 3S:I pilot canoe

'Let someone come and (take my place to) man the boat!'

Close to an imperative meaning, many Irrealis sentences can be described as DESIDERATIVE/OPTATIVE:

Vulu-mam co sohe-m!
hair-1EX:P 3S:I like-2S

'Let our hair be (red) like yours!'

And notice that imperative and desiderative meanings combine naturally into clause-chaining patterns. Both Irrealis clauses are perfectly parallel, except with regard to the person of the subject:

O vici co rolu!
2S:I embark 1IN:I three
'Come aboard, let's be together!'

Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho!
2P:I cook some water 3S:I boil 3S:I good-INT
'(You all) cook some water (so that) it shall be really boiling!'

With a First person, the Irrealis expresses a wish, an intent, or a request for permission (that is, 'let me do'):

Na na sa na hanhan.
1S 1S:I go.up 1S:I eat
'I am going to have dinner.'

Ta! Na le sivo lesi-a racu mo hese hosun!
dad 1S:I again go.down see-3S man 3:R one that
'Dad! I'd like to (= Let me) go and have a look again at that man over there!'

Other instances of the Realis/Irrealis contrast in main clauses, such as the use in hypothetical contexts, will be detailed later.

Cognitively speaking, it is obvious that Irrealis verbs cannot just be described as 'real' events which would be transferred to a future time scale. In fact, they bear some specific semantic properties which make them contrast drastically with Realis clauses, such as:

- incompatibility with a truth-value statement;
- high degree of pragmatic involvement either from the speaker's part, or somebody else; hence such modal values as obligation, intent, order, wish, and so on.
- affinity with non-specificity of the referent, whether in NPs[95] or VPs.[96]

---

[95] We showed that Irrealis forms are almost systematic with the non-specific/partitive quantifier **re** 'some', which does not point to any object in particular, but has a virtual reference. Therefore this quantifier is compatible with an Irrealis sentence like English *I want to write a letter*, but it is not with Realis *I wrote a letter* (see §4.3.6.2 p.60).

[96] For an *event* to be semantically non-specific, as for an object, implies that reference is not made to any actual event already existing (e.g. *I went there last week* → Realis), but to a still virtual action in the future or in someone's imagination (e.g. *I wish I could go there* → Irrealis). The semantic and pragmatic properties of such non-specific events are totally different from Realis events, though we shall not insist on this point here.

We won't detail these properties here, but they must be kept in mind in order to understand the specific syntactic and semantic behaviour of Irrealis, as opposed to Realis, clauses.

5.2.2. Modality and interclausal relationships

The presentation we have just given provides a first notion of the semantic contrast between Realis and Irrealis mood; however, this description focused on the case of main clauses, that is, when the modality affects the sentence as a whole. We are now going to examine the effects of the same contrast in clause chaining, subordinate clauses, sentential objects, and other sentences where the verbs alternate between Realis and Irrealis.

5.2.2.1. Clause chaining and mood agreement

In the examination of clause-chaining structures of Araki, it is essential to observe whether or not the two adjacent clauses have the same mood. Standard patterns of clause chaining, in which events are aligned in chronological order, normally share the same Realis modality – but notice that each verb must take a subject clitic:

Mo ran-i-á nam covi.
3:R push-TR-1S 1S:R fall
'He pushed me (and) I fell down.'

Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo.
man 3:R hold-3S stone 3:R throw-TR-3S 3:R go.up 3:R fall 3:R go.down
'A man takes a stone and throws it (so that it goes) up and then falls down (again).'

It is also possible, though less frequent, to have a chronological succession in an Irrealis context:

Na na sa na hanhan.
1S 1S:I go.up 1S:I eat
'I am going to have dinner.'

Ha pa nak-i-a co m̈are.
3P:I SEQ hit-TR-3S 3S:I die
'They will strike him to death.' (lit. They will hit him he will die.)

Generally speaking, two chained clauses which share the same truth values and pragmatic properties, should also share the same modality. What we have just shown about time succession, also applies for other kinds of clause-chaining sentences, in which both clauses are on the same level:

Nam suiha | nam ceu-ko.
1S:R strong 1S:R surpass-2S

'I am stronger than you.' lit. I am strong I beat you.

(Ha ku re ai) co val co holo-ho!
2P:I cook some water 3S:I boil 3S:I good-INT

'(Cook some water) it must be really boiling!' (lit. It must boil it must be good)

In a way, these examples of clause chaining could be said to 'agree' in modality. Another case of such an agreement is between a so-called 'implicative' verb[97] and its clausal object, when both truth-values are inseparable from each other:

Vida haviha nam levsei-a mo hada.
flower Syzygium 1S:R know-3S 3:R red

'The flower of the Malay apple-tree, I know it is red.'

5.2.2.2. Clause chaining and switching mood

In some cases, however, clauses which are chained together show different moods; this generally indicates that both clauses belong to distinct levels, for example that one is subordinate to the other.

❖ Irrealis → Realis

The case of an Irrealis main clause having a Realis subordinate clause is not so frequent, except in the case of numerals. In the next sentence, the main VP is Irrealis (**na le sivo...**) because it expresses a will, which is an event still virtual; but the numeral phrase (**mo hese**) is Realis, because it refers to an actual, specific person, whose existence is already established:

Ta! Na le sivo lesi-a racu <mo hese> hosun!
dad 1S:I again go.down see-3S man 3:R one that

'Dad! I'd like to go and have a look again at that one man (lit. who IS one) over there!'

The latter sentence must be contrasted with the following, in which the numeral phrase 'agrees' in modality with the main verb. This is because the number of the object does not exist independently of the main verb (as it does with **mo hese**), but falls under the will of the speaker:[98]

---

[97] 'If the main clause is true, then the complement clause must also be true' (Givón 1984:124; 1990:520).

[98] This sentence was mentioned, together with its Realis counterpart, in our study of **mo hese** 'one': see §4.3.5.1 p.55 '*Indefiniteness and modality*'.

Na pa vavere lo vere <co hese>.
1S:I SEQ sing LOC song 3S:I one
'I shall sing just one song (lit. a song which SHALL BE one).'

❖ Realis → Irrealis

More frequent is the reverse order, that is, a Realis main verb followed by an Irrealis dependent clause. This happens when the main clause is making a truth-value statement (→ Realis), but has under its scope a clause referring to a virtual event (→ Irrealis), with no possibility of a true/false judgment about it.

This happens in certain negative contexts, with a subordinate clause depending on the verb denied:

M̈arasala nene mo CE ede co holo-ho.
door this 3:R NEG open 3S:I good-INT
'This door does not open easily.' (lit. does NOT open [so that] it BE easy)

This sentence is interesting enough to deserve a longer explanation: see our presentation of negation (§6.3.5 p.166).

More frequent, and more simple too, is the case when the first clause (C_1) refers to an actual event, but the second one (C_2) refers only to a virtual one, for example a wish held in the subject's mind. This definition corresponds to at least two cases:

- PURPOSE CLAUSES, if C_1 refers to an action, and C_2 to its purpose:

  Mo ran-i-á na covi.
  3:R push-TR-1S 1S:I fall
  'He pushed me (so that) I should fall down.'

  Nevertheless, although this pattern is theoretically possible, it appears seldom in our corpus. Usually, the subordinate status of these purpose clauses is indicated by a conjunction (**m̈ara** 'because, for', **vada** 'if, when'), followed by Irrealis:

  Mo rai-a vose m̈ara co pa sua ni-a.
  3:R cut-3S paddle because 3S:I SEQ paddle OBL-3S
  'He cut an oar in order to paddle with it.'

  An even more frequent pattern is to use the verb-conjunction **de** 'say, want', which will be discussed below (§7.2.5 p.184); an example of this would be:

  Mo ran-i-á MO DE na covi.
  3:R push-TR-1S 3:R say 1S:I fall
  'He pushed me (and meant) I should fall down.'

- SENTENTIAL OBJECTS, if C_1 is a volitional or manipulative (non-implicative) verb, and C_2 its clausal complement. This extremely frequent pattern concerns

mainly three verbs, that is, **dogo** 'feel like', **poe** 'like, want', and **de** 'say, want' (§5.2.2.3):

Nam	**dogo**	**na**	**sile-ko**	**n-re**	**presin.**
1S:R	feel	1S:I	give-2S	OBL-some	present

'I feel like giving you a present.'

Nam	**de**	**na**	**in**	**re**	**lasa**	**ai**	**co**	**dua.**
1S:R	say	1S:I	drink	some	cup	water	3S:I	two

'I would like to drink two glasses of water.'

Again, it is sometimes possible – though rare – to insert some conjunction before the sentential object:

Nam	**po-i-a**	VADA	**o**	**rai**	**re**	**aka-ku.**
1S:R	like-TR-3S	if	2S:I	cut	some	canoe-1S

'I would like you to make a boat for me.'

And this conjunction can also be replaced by the verb **de**, in a clause-chaining construction which will be discussed later:

Vinano	**nida**	**mo**	**poe**	**mo**	DE	**ha**	**vëlesi-a**	**mäudi-da.**
stranger	3P	3:R	like	3:R	say	3P:I	try-3S	life-3P

'The strangers want to test their destiny.'

With another verb in C_1, consider also the following examples:

Nam	**vadai-a**	**ni-a**	**co**	**vä**	**les**	**moli.**
1S:R	tell-3S	OBL-3S	3S:I	go	see	chief

'I told him to go and see the chief'

Nam	**sovi**	**naivou-ku**	**ro**	**vada**	**co**	**sle**	**mada**	**vadidi**	**lo**	**hanhan.**
1S:R	wait	wife-3S	PRG	when	3S:I	give	PERS	small	OBL	food

'I am waiting for my wife to feed the children.'

In all the examples we have been presenting of mood switching in clause-chaining structures, it is clear that the asymmetry with regard to modality is due to a difference of discourse level: the second clause is generally subordinate to the first one, or at least shows some kind of syntactic/pragmatic dependency from it.

5.2.2.3. Lexical polysemy and mood switching

A dramatic illustration of the mood-switching rules we have just given can be provided by three polysemic verbs, which we reviewed in last paragraph. These verbs **dogo**, **poe** and **de** have different meanings according to what follows them, and especially according to the modality of the next clause.

- **Dogo** + NP means 'hear/feel s.th.':

  Nam dogo leo-no.
  1S:R feel voice-3S
  'I can hear his voice.'

  Dogo + REALIS clause means 'hear/feel that (s.th. is going on)':

  Nam dogo hae mo nak-i-á.
  1S:R feel kava 3:R hit-TR-1S
  'I can feel the kava affecting me.'

  Dogo + IRREALIS clause means 'feel like (doing s.th.), be willing to':

  Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki.
  3:R NEG feel 3P:I again go.down Araki
  'They do not want to go down to Araki any more.'

- **Poe** + NP means 'want, like, love':

  Nam po-i-ko.
  1S:R like-TR-2S
  'I love you.'

  Poe + REALIS clause means 'like it when (s.th. happens)':

  Nam ce poe-i-a mada vadidi mo vävaodo.
  1S:R NEG like-TR-3S PERS small 3:R noisy
  'I don't like it when the children are noisy.'

  Poe + IRREALIS clause means 'wish, want (s.th. to happen)':

  Nam po-i-a na sodosodo isa-m.
  1S:R like-TR-3S 1S:I talk:DUP with-2S
  'I would like to have a chat with you.'

- **De** + NP means 'say':

  Om de sa?
  2S:R say what
  'What did you say?'

  De + REALIS clause means 'say, mean; think':

  Cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a.
  1IN:R see-3S PRG 3:R white 3:R say Araki 3:R hit-TR-3S
  'We can see that (the mountain) is white: this recalls how it was hit by Araki.'

Om de se mo po-i-ko?
2S:R say who 3:R like-TR-2S
'Who do you think loves you?'

De + IRREALIS clause means 'say that (s.th. will happen in the future); tell (s.b. to do s.th.); want':

Radami-na mo de p̈ira hosun co pa m̈are lo cada vavono.
meaning-3S 3:R say woman that 3S:I SEQ dead LOC place other
'This sign means that this woman will die abroad.'

Ta mo de na roho lo ima.
dad 3:R say 1S:I stay LOC house
'Dad told me to stay at home.'

Kam̈im dua ham de ha han re hina?
2P two 2P:R say 2P:I eat some thing
'The two of you, do you want to eat something?'

Notice that **de** is the second most frequent word in our literary corpus,[99] having also grammaticised as a subordinator. This issue will be detailed in §7.2.5 p.184.

The sentences in this paragraph show the mood markers do not affect only the meaning of the clause they belong to, but may also have a deep impact on the interpretation of the preceding main verb.

5.2.2.4. Conclusive remark

The uses of Realis v. Irrealis subject clitics which we have been reviewing so far appear to be globally consistent and straightforward: Realis is used when reference is made to a specific event in the past or present, and a truth value is implied; Irrealis is used when the event is virtual and non-referential, that is, future or desiderative, and so on. Nevertheless, some cases of paradoxical mood-marking will be illustrated in our presentation of conditional systems (§7.2.2).

5.3. Aspect

5.3.1. General presentation of aspect markers

While modality markers are obligatory in any verbal or adjectival clause, all aspect markers are optional. These aspectual clitics generally take place immediately after the subject-mood clitic, and immediately before the verb itself.

[99] With 123 instances out of 3990 words, **de** comes just after **mo** (830): see fn.189 p.189.

For instance, in the next sentence, **o** indicates mood (Irrealis) and person (Second person), while **le** 'again' codes for an iterative aspect:

O	**le**	**vavere!**	'Sing your song again!'
2S:I	again	sing	

We already noticed that there is no such thing as tense in Araki, that is, a morphological category which would indicate unambiguously whether the event referred to belongs to the past, the present or the future – with reference to the speaker's act of utterance. However, we have seen that the contrast in modality between Irrealis and Realis can often be interpreted in terms of time oppositions, that is, between Future (Irrealis) and non-Future (Realis).

Although aspect markers are also concerned with time, they do not provide the same information as mood markers: aspect says nothing of the time relationship between the event and the act of utterance (event-external temporality), but rather indicates which phase of the event is being considered (event-internal temporality): initial, medial or final phase, result of the event, and so on. Another semantic feature which can typically be assigned to aspect, is the marking of different relations between events: event E_1 comes before/after/at the same time as event E_2; E_1 is a cause/a consequence of E_2, and so on.

The different aspect markers which we are going to review are listed in *Table 5-43*; the latter also illustrates them briefly with a standard pattern **Nam** ('1S:R') + **hanhan** ('eat', intransitive). All these morphemes are clitics, and insert between the subject and the verb; except **ro**, which always marks the end of the whole predicate phrase – and **iso**, which is in fact a verb, and appears as a second clause with a Third singular subject.

Table 5-43 Morphology of aspectual markers: example with **hanhan** 'eat'

		Example	Approx. translation
ce	Negation	*Nam ce hanhan.*	'I did not/do not eat.'
le	again	*Nam le hanhan.*	'I ate again.'
m̈isi	still	*Nam pa m̈isi hanhan.*	'I am still eating.'
pele	Alternative	*Nam pele hanhan.*	'I took my turn to eat.'
pa	Sequential	*Nam pa hanhan.*	'Then I ate.'
re	Perfect	*Nam re hanhan.*	'I have eaten.'
iso	Complete	*Nam re hanhan mo iso.*	'I have already eaten.'
ro	Progressive	*Nam hanhan ro.*	'I am eating.'

To be precise, the negation **ce** is not an aspectual marker, but a modal one. However, it is included in this chart, because it belongs to the same morphological set as other aspectual markers; we will discuss negation issues later (§6.3.1 p.162). All other morphemes are detailed in the following paragraphs.

5.3.2. The aspect clitic le 'again'

5.3.2.1. Semantics of le

The clitic **le** indicates that the action is a repetition of a former one, whether after a break (English 'do again') or not (English 'go on doing').

O le vavere!
2S:I again sing
'Sing your song again!'

Mo ̈va, mo le kadu mo ̈va mo les Ivua.
3:R go 3:R again swim 3:R go 3:R see turtle
'So (Rat) went on swimming, until he saw Turtle.'

Ta! Na le sivo lesi-a racu mo hese hosun!
dad 1S:I again go.down see-3S man 3:R one that
'Dad! Let me go and have a look again at that man over there!'

Another meaning, is when an action is presented as semantically the reverse of a preceding one, in a kind of backwards process (English 'back'):

Mo le sna mo de "Na na le sna na vari-a cada-ku."
3:R again come 3:R say 1S 1S:I again come 1S:I hold-3S place-1S
'He came back, saying "I am coming back to take my place"'.

Nia ralme racu mo m̈are mo le m̈audu.
3S spirit man 3:R dead 3:R again live
'He's the spirit of people who were dead and came back to life.'

When combined with another aspect clitic, **le** normally comes in last position:

Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki.
3:R SEQ again get.up LOC morning 3:R NEG again see Araki
'When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.'

5.3.2.2. Combination with the negation

The morpheme **le** can also combine with the negation **ce**; the bundle **ce le** corresponds to English 'no more, no longer', or 'stop doing':

Mo ̈va, mo dogo leo-do, mo ̈va, mo ce le dogo otom̈e.
3:R go 3:R hear voice-3P 3:R go 3:R NEG again hear properly
'At first, they could hear their voices, but then they could not hear properly any more.'

Nia mo ravur mo dovo mo mle mo ce le elele cau.
3S 3:R get.up 3:R run 3:R go.back 3:R NEG again seek:DUP coconut.crab
'So he ran away and went back home, without looking any longer for coconut crabs.'

Notice that **ce** and **le** are separated in the next sentence:

Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki.
3:R NEG feel 3P:I again go.down Araki
'They don't want to go to Araki any more.' (lit. do not feel like going again to A.)

In all these cases, **le** comes after the negation **ce**. The only case where it can precede it, is with the negative existential **ce re**; thus we have **(mo) le ce re** 'there is not any more' as an alternate to **(mo) ce le re**:

Paniavu, ruai mo roho ro, pan kesi mo ce le re.
pineapple before 3:R stay PRG but now 3:R NEG again some
'As for pineapples, there used to be some, but there aren't any more now.'

Nida mo tilavo cam, mo le ce re hanhan vutiana.
3P 3:R deprived yam 3:R again NEG some food plenty
'They were lacking yam: there was not enough food any more.'

This is a piece of evidence for considering that **ce + re** is grammaticising into a single, inseparable, predicate **cere** 'there is not' – instead of just being a predicate **re** with a normal negation.[100]

5.3.3. The aspect clitic m̈isi *'still'*

When the marker **m̈isi** appears in affirmative sentences, it expresses the continuity of a state (English 'still'); in this case, it is normally associated with the time-focus marker **pa** (§5.3.5):

Kam holo-ho ro, pani kam pa m̈is coṁcoṁ-i raṁa-ṁam.
1EX:R good-INT PRG but 1EX:R SEQ still regret:DUP-TR father-1EX
'We are fine, but we are still mourning for our father.'

Mo vari-a nunu lo dani no-ṁam ta mo pa m̈is ṁaudu ro.
3:R take-3S shadow LOC day POSS-1EX dad 3:R SEQ still live PRG
'He took the photo at the time our father was still alive.'

More often, **m̈isi** combines with the negation **ce**, to form a complex aspect marker **ce m̈isi** 'not yet':

[100] This issue is presented in §4.3.6.7 p.65 and §6.3.3 p.164.

Lo mɨaudi-ku, nam ce mɨisi han re.
LOC life-1S 1S:R NEG yet eat some
'(Today, I ate some octopus;) during my whole life, I had never eaten any yet.'

Racu ne, mo ce mɨisi rai-a.
man this 3:R NEG still cut-3S
'This man is not yet circumcised (lit. they have not cut him yet).'

Semantically speaking, the combination **ce mɨisi** 'not yet' must not be understood literally as 'not still' – which would make no sense – but rather as 'still not'.

5.3.4. The aspect clitic pele *'Alternative'*

When a subject takes up an action which was performed by another subject, this turn-taking situation is coded by **pele**.

Re co pele sna co holo aka!
some 3S:I in.turn come 3S:I pilot canoe
'Let someone come and (take my place to) man the boat!'

Apparently, **pele** cannot combine with another aspect marker; when this must happen, then the subject clitic must be repeated:

O pele o le vari-a cada-m, na na si na pele hanhan.
2S:I in.turn 2S:I again hold-3S place-2S 1S 1S:I go.down 1S:I in.turn eat
'While you come back to your place, I will go and have lunch.'

This suggests that **pele** can be itself a predicate, meaning maybe 'take s.o.'s turn' (?). On the other hand, the pair **pele... pele** may translate a structure like 'While *you* do this, *I* will do that'.

5.3.5. The aspect clitic pa *'Sequential'*

Another aspect marker is **pa**, which we have been glossing SEQ 'Sequential'; in fact, it seldom corresponds to any marker in our English translation, and is quite difficult to describe in simple terms. This morpheme, which systematically comes before a verb V_1, indicates a link of *logical necessity* and/or *temporal exclusiveness* between this verb V_1 and a point in time. In other terms, **pa** can sometimes be glossed 'at that specific moment', or 'on that specific condition':

Ale, Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo mɨasaɨva mɨara-na.
so Araki 3:R SEQ move 3:R go.down LOC deep.sea because-3S
'This is precisely when Araki island decided to shift southward, towards the ocean.'

However, the majority (89%) of our corpus shows **pa** combined with Irrealis mood, generally to form the equivalent of our future:

Nica co pa han re sa?
1IN 1IN:I SEQ eat some what
'What shall we eat?'

We will first try and define the basic mechanism involved by **pa**, before we examine its semantic link with the future.

*5.3.5.1. Realis uses of **pa**: a focus on time*

The cognitive mechanism associated with **pa** is more visible in a Realis context. Quite often, the relationship involved by **pa** is between two verbs; it consists in presenting one verb as the time frame for the other one. On the one hand, simple clause chaining without **pa** mentions several events that occurred jointly – either simultaneously or in succession – without suggesting any logical link between them:

Nanov nam hanhan mo coco.
yesterday 1S:R eat 3:R night
'Yesterday, it was night when I had dinner.' (lit. I ate and it was night)

On the second hand, if **pa** is added to one verb, this indicates a link of temporal or logical dependency with the other one:

Nanov nam pa hanhan mo coco.
yesterday 1S:R SEQ eat 3:R night
'Yesterday, I had dinner precisely when night fell.'
[*gloss:* I (consciously) waited till night fell before I finally had my dinner]

Notice the strange meaning the same sentence would take, if **pa** was on the other verb:

***?* Nanov nam hanhan mo pa coco.**
yesterday 1S:R eat 3:R SEQ night
? 'Yesterday, I had dinner, and this is precisely when night fell.'
[*gloss:* Night (consciously) waited for me to have dinner, before it finally fell]

In other words, **pa** indicates that an event took place at a specific moment in time, in relation to another event. Not only is that temporal location suggested in the sentence, but it is generally the focus information; for example, the first sentence above – without **pa** – could be just answering the question 'What did you do yesterday?'; but the sentences with **pa** would rather answer questions focusing on time, that is, 'When did you have dinner yesterday?', or 'When did night fall yesterday?' (semantically improbable).

More precisely, all our examples of **pa** include a contrast in time, which suggests a gloss like '(V happened) at that specific moment, *neither before nor after*'. This mechanism recalls exactly what is named *contrastive focus* in general syntax, for example *It's me who did it* (that is, *nobody else*); this is why the best description of **pa** is a CONTRASTIVE FOCUS ON TIME.[101]

We have just shown how **pa** builds a temporal-logical link between two events, corresponding to two distinct verbs; it is also possible that **pa** refers just to a point in time. In this case, the mechanism is similar to what we have just described: **pa** selects a specific date as being correct, and at the same time marks off any other possible time location. Thus contrast both sentences below:

Nam	**lesi**	**rasi-m**	**keskesi.**
1S:R	see	younger.brother-2S	right.now

'I have just seen your brother.' [→ I knew him already]

Nam	**pa**	**lesi**	**rasi-m**	**keskesi.**
1S:R	SEQ	see	younger.brother-2S	right.now

'I just saw your brother right now.' [→ I had never seen him before]

In the first sentence, the event is located in time (**keskesi**), but this does not exclude the possibility of the same event occurring in the past; whereas with **pa**, this temporal location corresponds to a contrastive focus, drawing a necessary relationship between the event and its date.

5.3.5.2. Irrealis uses of ***pa***

The mechanism we have just shown for **pa** + Realis is basically the same when combined with an Irrealis. For example, **pa** is normally used whenever the event referred to is being situated in time:

Dan	**co**	**rolu**	**co**	**iso**	**na**	**pa**	**lahi.**
day	3S:I	three	3S:I	finish	1S:I	SEQ	marry

'I will marry in three days' time.' [→ neither before nor after]

The contrastive effect on time can be observed in the following pair of sentences:

Vada	**co**	**usa,**	**co**	**mule.**
if	3S:I	rain	3S:I	be.back

'If it rains, we'll go home.'

[101] The linguistic mechanism of **pa** corresponds exactly to the Bislama word *jas ~ jes*; e.g. *Oli tok-baot finis long 1985, gogo i kasem 1990 wok i jes stat.* 'It was discussed in 1985, but it was only in 1990 that work commenced' (Crowley 1995, emphasis mine). This structure results from the adaptation of English *just* to a **pa**-type structure in certain Vanuatu languages.

Vada co usa, co pa mule.
if 3S:I rain 3S:I SEQ be.back
'We'll go home if it starts raining (and only in that condition).'

Without **pa**, the relation between the two events is presented as being contingent, that is, not necessary; rain is only one among several possible conditions for going back home. Conversely, the particle **pa** expresses a necessary implication between both clauses, that is, rain is the only condition for going home. Another way to contrast these two examples, would be to consider what is informative: the first sentence answers a possible question 'What shall we do if it rains?' (→ focus on the main clause **co mule**); the second one replies to 'When shall we go home?' (→ focus on the time phrase **Vada co usa**). The optional presence of **pa** in conditional systems will be underlined in §7.2.2.6 p.181.

5.3.5.3. The semantics of Future

Nevertheless, the majority of examples of **pa** in our corpus consist of Irrealis clauses, which do not seem to be directly associated to a date in particular. They correspond rather to our Future,[102] without focusing on any specific moment:

Na pa sodosodo lo no-m maikrofon.
1S:I SEQ talk:DUP LOC POSS-2S microphone
'I am going to talk into your microphone.'

Om poe-i-a o pa moli, om poe-i-a o pa racu laɸa?
2S:R like-TR-3S 2S:I SEQ chief 2S:R like-TR-3S 2S:I SEQ man big
'Do you want to become a chief, do you want to become a big man?'

This use of **pa** can be explained, according to us, if we realise that the notion of Future tense, in typological terms, involves the reference to an abstract point in time. Each future event – either in predictions, promises, and so on – is symbolically attached to that specific point, thus receiving such semantic properties as uniqueness (I am referring to one single event) and apparent reality (I am referring to an event which I believe will really happen, at a particular moment in time).

This definition of Future tense helps make the difference with other verb forms pointing to a merely possible event, involving no link with reality or with a time reference. In many European languages, this contrast corresponds respectively to Future tense v. Subjunctive mood; in Araki, it seems to describe well the opposition between Irrealis with **pa** (for example **Na pa ɤa** 'I will go') and Irrealis without **pa** (for example **Na ɤa** 'I should go, I'd like to go, that I may go, my

[102] In our presentation of Irrealis (§5.2.1.2 p.107), we mentioned that although a simple Irrealis may translate our Future, this is usually done with the particle **pa**.

going ...'). Only a **pa**-marked verb is presented as being unique and associated to a specific point in time – even though this point is still unknown to the speaker.

The next pair of sentences below show how the cognitive mechanism associated with **pa** suggests a difference in situation:

Raṁare co hani-ko!
devil 3S:I eat-2S

'The devil is going to devour you!' [→ he may be already around]

Raṁare co pa hani-ko!
devil 3S:I SEQ eat-2S

'The devil will devour you!' [→ in the future/some day/somewhere]

The time reference indicated by **pa**, although it is not precise in itself, implies the speaker is referring to a particular – though still virtual – situation, which is not the present; hence the future interpretation. Conversely, the first sentence does not involve any specific point in time, which would be separated from the ongoing situation; this is why it is compatible with a present/near-future interpretation.

Finally, notice that the particle **pa**, when used with its Future meaning, can appear several times within a single sentence:

Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna
1S:I SEQ go.up 1S:I SEQ catch-TR-3S 1S:I SEQ throw-TR-3S come

inko o pa polo hap o pa taur-i-a!
2S 2S:I SEQ light fire 2S:I SEQ hold-TR-3S

'I will climb up, catch it (a coconut crab) and throw it to you;
meanwhile, you shall light a fire, and be ready to roast it!'

5.3.6. The aspect clitic re *'Perfect'*

Another aspect marker is **re**, which codes for Perfect. Its semantic function is typically aspectual, because it is used to indicate which side of an event is being considered. A verb preceded by **re** is viewed in its *result*, which implies that the action is complete:

Udeece mo re meco.
pudding 3:R PFT be.done

'The pudding is done.'

Mo re dovo.
3:R PFT run

'He has been running.' → He is tired now

Ha-ku hina mo re ciha!
FOOD-1S thing 3:R PFT disappear
'My food has disappeared!'

With **re**, no attention is paid on when and how the actual event took place, but only on its result in the current situation (for example the food is no longer there). In order to describe this situation, the speaker refers to the various events which led to it, and this corresponds exactly to the cross-linguistic definition of Perfect. Conversely, **re** is not used when the focus is on the event itself, for example in a narrative, in the description of a past action, and so on:

Mo re ede m̈arasala-ku.
3:R PFT open door-1S
'He has opened my door.'
(focus on the result: The door is open now)

Mo ede m̈arasala-ku.
3:R open door-1S
'He opened/opens my door.'
(focus on his action)

The so-called 'current situation' which **re** is supposed to be describing usually refers to the moment of utterance (that is, 'right now'), but it can also correspond to a past situation, which is taken as a reference point in the discourse. In this case, the perfect **re** will be translated with our pluperfect:

Mo lesi-a e̊pe-na mo re holo-ho.
3:R see-3S body-3S 3:R PFT good-INT
'He realised his body had totally recovered.'

Similarly, if the time reference is in the future, then the aspect marker **re** will correspond to our future perfect. Notice, in that case, that **re** combines with Irrealis mood – which is rare:

Na pa sna, co re usa.
1S:I SEQ come 3S:I PFT rain
'When I come back, it will have rained.'

This evidence is sufficient to show that **re** codes for aspect (Perfect), not for tense (Past), since by itself it says nothing about the date of the event.

In an earlier chapter, we provided a tentative explanation of how the aspect marker **re** emerged from the partitive/existential clitic of the same form **re**.[103]

[103] See §4.3.6.3 p.61.

5.3.7. The aspect auxiliary iso *'Complete'*

The Perfect **re** must be carefully distinguished from the Complete aspect **iso**, both from the syntactic and from the semantic point of view.

5.3.7.1. Syntax of ***iso***

Syntactically speaking, **iso** is basically a verb which means 'finish':

Hosun sodo di mo iso su.
DX1 story ANA 3:R finish DX1
'This story finishes here.'

Usa co iso, co pa ̈va inu hae.
rain 3S:I finish 3S:I SEQ go drink kava
'When the rain stops, we will go and have kava.'

But this verb **iso** appears very often as a second verb in a clause-chaining structure, preceded by a Third person singular clitic – whatever the subject of the first verb.[104] In this case, the verb **iso** points to the end of the first action:

Nam re goro | mo iso.
1S:R PFT sleep 3:R finish
'I have finished sleeping.' (lit. I have slept it finished)

lo wik mo ̈va | mo iso
LOC week 3:R go 3:R finish
'last week' (lit. in the week it went it finished)

Though it is much less frequent than with Realis, **iso** can appear in an Irrealis context, referring to the end of a future event:

Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.
1IN:I say 2S:I weep 3S:I finish 2S:I SEQ eat
'If you stop crying, you will have your dinner.'

Dan co rolu co iso na pa lahi.
day 3S:I three 3S:I finish 1S:I SEQ marry
'In three days' time, I will marry.' (lit. Let days be three and finish, I shall marry.)

5.3.7.2. Semantics of ***iso****: Complete* v. *Perfect*

In fact, almost all instances of **iso** combine with Perfect **re** in the first clause. As

[104] This proves that the subject of **iso** is not that of the first verb (e.g. **I have slept I finished*), but the event itself: e.g. *I have slept it finished.*

a consequence, the semantic contrast which is most relevant here, is between a simple Perfect **re** and a combination **re + mo iso**.

Thus compare the two sentences below:

Ha-ku hina mo re ciha.
FOOD-1S thing 3:R PFT disappear
'My food has disappeared.'

Ha-ku hina mo re ciha mo iso.
FOOD-1S thing 3:R PFT disappear 3:R finish
'My food has already disappeared.'

Obviously, the aspect auxiliary **iso** does not correspond always to a mere focus on the end of the action, for example **My food has finished disappearing.* The difference between both these sentences would be better described in terms of information structure.

On the one hand, the bare perfect (**re**) presents a new state of affairs, in which the verb is semantically informative: that is, the vanishing of the food is a surprise to the speaker, who makes it the focus of his sentence. On the other hand, as is suggested by the translation 'already', the event referred to is not inherently informative: it is presented as if it were predictable, that is, mentally presupposed. What is new, and therefore is the main information of the sentence, is that *the event which was supposed to happen actually did.* In our example, a probable context would be that the speaker left his food on a table, telling his friend 'I'm afraid rats will have eaten it before soon!'; and a few minutes later, he realises that the food is already gone. The surprise, if there is one, concerns not the very disappearing of the food, but the time it happened.[105]

In fact, the use of (**mo**) **iso** to indicate Complete aspect corresponds to two different translations, according to the scope of the time reference. On a short time-scale, reference is made to a specific action which had been previously planned for (English *already*):

Nam re vadai-a mo iso sa-n Grem.
1S:R PFT tell-3S 3:R finish to-CST Graham
'(Don't worry) I have already told Graham about it (as I was supposed to do).'

On the other hand, the action referred to may not be presupposed as a specific event in time, but have a generic status. For example, being a human person implies marrying or dying:

[105] This is, according to us, not only the semantic description of Araki *mo iso*, but also of Bislama *finis* (< English *finish*): e.g. the translation in Bislama of both sentences above would be, respectively, *Kakae blong mi i lus!* and *Kakae blong mi i lus finis!* In other terms, ARK **iso** and BSL *finis* both presuppose that the event itself was pre-constructed in the speaker's mind, and therefore cannot be informative.

Om re lahi mo iso?
2S:R PFT marry 3:R finish

1. 'Did you finally marry? (as you were supposed to do some time ago)'
2. 'Are you already married? (as everybody is supposed to do, sooner or later)'

The latter case, that is, wide-scale presupposition, also corresponds to questions about doing s.th. for the first time (English *ever*):

Om re han re visiho sip mo iso?
2S:R PFT eat some meat sheep 3:R finish

'Have you ever tasted mutton?'

Even if both structures are similar in Araki, Complete aspect must not be mistaken for Terminative auxiliary, that is, the designation of the last phase of an action: for example *I have already eaten ≠ I have finished eating*. When an Araki speaker wants to make such a distinction clear, he may repeat the Perfect clitic **re** on the verb **iso** itself, when the notion of termination is precisely under focus:

Om re hanhan mo iso?
2S:R PFT eat 3:R finish

'Have you *already* had dinner?'

Om re hanhan mo re iso, voni om d' o le han re hina?
2S:R PFT eat 3:R PFT finish or 2S:R say 2S:I again eat some thing

'Have you *finished* your dinner, or do you want to eat something else?'

5.3.8. The aspect post-clitic ro *'Progressive'*

Contrary to all other aspect markers which come immediately before the verb, the aspect clitic **ro** 'Progressive' always comes at the end of the verb phrase. We'll examine first its semantics, before observing which syntactic slot it takes exactly.

5.3.8.1. Semantics of ro *'Progressive'*

When used with Realis mood, the post-clitic **ro** presents the action as being in progress in the current situation. This corresponds to English *-ing* forms, whether in present or in past:

Nam sov-i naivou-ku ro.
1S:R wait-TR wife-1S PRG

'I am wait*ing* for my wife.'

Om m̈an p̈ala sa ro?
2S:R laugh at what PRG

'What are/were you laugh*ing* about?'

Nam	**m̈an**	**p̈ala**	**m̈enum̈enu**	**honi**	**mo**	**sale**	**ro**	**lo**	**rasi.**
1S:R	laugh	at	small.leaves	there	3:R	float	PRG	LOC	sea

'I am laughing about those small leaves which are float*ing* on the sea.'

With a stative verb, **ro** often means 'still', expressing the continuity of the state:

Mo	**m̈are**	**vo**	**mo**	**m̈audi**	**ro?**
3:R	dead	or	3:R	live	PRG

'Is he dead, or is he still alive?'

Nam	**vadai**	**kam̈im**	**nam**	**de**	**ha**	**hoco**	**lim̈a-m̈im,**	**pani**	**mo**	**vidiha**	**ro!**
1S:R	tell	2P	1S:R	say	2P:I	wash	hand-2P	but	3:R	black	PRG

'I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black!'

The verb **roho** 'stay, dwell', from which **ro** most certainly proceeds,[106] slightly differs in meaning, according to whether it is followed by progressive **ro** or not:

Nam	**roho**	**Vila.**
1S:R	stay	Vila

'I live in Vila.' (that is, my personal house is there)

Nam	**roho**	**ro**	**Vila.**
1S:R	stay	PRG	Vila

'I am staying in V./I am now in Vila.'
(this is a property of the current situation)

In fact, the combination **roho** + **ro** is the most common[107] way, for the speaker, to indicate in which place the subject is located – either in a temporary or a permanent way:

Ruai,	**Daki**	**mo**	**roho**	**ro**	**v̈aha-sun**	**Okava.**
before	Araki	3:R	stay	PRG	over.there	Hog-Harbour

'In the olden days, Araki used to be situated over there, near Hog Harbour.'

V̈apa	**di**	**mo**	**roho**	**ro**	**saha-n**	**kaura.**
cave	ANA	3:R	stay	PRG	up-DX	above

'The cave is located up there, above.'

The progressive marker appears often in relative clauses: while referring to an earlier predication, the speaker also mentally shifts its time reference towards the

[106] To draw a relation between the verb *stay* and the progressive aspect is typologically very common, especially in the Oceanic area; cf. Bislama *stap*, in *Hem i stap long Vila* 'He is in Vila' and *Hem i stap trink kava* 'He is drinking kava'. As for the phonological reduction **roho** > **ro**, see §2.3.5 p.25.

[107] In our literary corpus, 19 out of 42 instances of **ro** are with the verb **roho**.

past, so that the event alluded to is viewed in its progress. This corresponds to English past progressive (*was ...-ing*):

P̈ira nohosu nam vadai-ko ro, nia mo roho ro ne.
woman that 1S:R tell-2S PRG 3S 3:R stay PRG here
'The woman I told you (lit. I was telling you) about is here.'

*5.3.8.2. Clitic **ro** in Irrealis contexts: 'Suggestive'*

When combined with Irrealis mood, the clitic **ro** receives two possible meanings. One is just the equivalent of the Progressive aspect, transferred into the future (cf. marker **pa** 'future'):

Kaṁa pa sovi-ko ro.
1EX:I SEQ wait-2S PRG
'We shall be waiting for you.'

Co pa roho ro sa-n naru-m.
1IN:I SEQ stay PRG with-CST son-2S
'We'll be all staying with your son.'

The second sense diverges so much from that of 'Progressive', that it may be better to treat it as separate. With a second person, <Irrealis + **ro**> forms a kind of polite order, which can be called 'Suggestive' (cf. Bislama *traem* < English *try*):

O roho ro!
2S:I stay SUG
'Please stay there (while I am going)'

O kla ro co kan covi!
2S:I look SUG 3S:I PROH fall
'Take care that he does not fall!'

In other contexts, **ro** corresponds to a suggestion, rather than a polite order:

Vada o vari-a hadiv ro sivo o plan-i-a lo rasi ...
when 2S:I hold-3S rat SUG go.down 2S:I throw-TR-3S LOC sea
'Suppose you throw a rat into the sea ...'

With a first person, the same combination allows the speaker to present politely his own intent, with a tentative meaning (English *let's do*, Bisl. *mi traem ...*):

Na roho ro.
1S:I stay SUG
'Let me stay here./I will stay here.'

Both these uses are close to, though different from, the post-clitic **ra**, which fits in the same position of the sentence. This clitic has the same idiosyncratic meaning

as Bislama *festaem* (≈ English *first*): the action is politely suggested as preliminary to another one – hence such values as 'before anything else; please; why not', and so on.

O **ẅa** **ra!**
2S:I go first

'You go first (I'll join you later).'

O **m̈ap** **ra!**
2S:I rest first

'Before anything else, you should rest.'

Na **lpo si** **na** **lesi-a** **ra.**
1S:I try down 1S:I see-3S first

'Let me go and have a look at him (I'll be back soon)'

5.3.8.3. Syntax of **ro**, *and the limits of verb phrases*

Among all the particles and clitics which come around the verb, **ro** 'Progressive-Suggestive' is the most instructive in order to give a vernacular definition of verb phrases. Indeed, while it is clear that all VPs begin with a subject clitic, it seems dubious as to what is their final limit: especially, do VPs in Araki include only the verb (or the bundle Verb + Adjunct), or the verb + its direct object, or the verb + all its complements?

The particle **ro** appears systematically at the same syntactic position in the sentence, that is, between the direct object of the verb, and its other complements (indirect object, adverbial phrases). That is, the notion of 'direct object' includes not only the object suffix following the verb or the adjunct, but also the object noun phrase whenever there is one:[108]

[Om **ẅei-a** **sa** **RO]** **lo** **sto?**
2S:R do-3S what PRG LOC shop

'What were you doing in the shop?'

[Nam **vadai-ko** **RO]** **ini-a.**
1S:R tell-2S PRG OBL-3S

'I have told you about her.'

[108] As a consequence, the test with **ro** cannot be used to recognise object incorporation. The situation is different in other languages of Vanuatu like Mwotlap, in which VP-final clitics keep direct objects out of the verb phrase; this makes it easy to recognise incorporated objects, since they do not belong to the same side of the boundary.

Hina salahese [mo vse-i-a racu RO] lo mäudi-da.
thing several 3:R show-TR-3S man PRG LOC life-3P
'Several signs inform people of their destiny.'

In other words, Araki verb phrases, contrary to other languages, formally include their direct object, and no other complement.

The interest of this observation, among other things, is to provide syntactic tests in order to check whether a post-verbal element is a direct object, or an adverbial complement. For instance, it becomes clear that direct locative complements must be distinguished from direct objects:

Nia [mo roho RO] Rago.
3S 3:R stay PRG Tangoa
'He is staying in Tangoa.' DIRECT LOCATIVE COMPLEMENT

Nia [mo lesi Rago RO].
3S 3:R see(-TR) Tangoa PRG
'He is watching Tangoa.' DIRECT OBJECT

A similar application, is to make the difference between a preposition – which goes outside the VP, in the position of oblique phrases – and a transitivising adjunct – which comes inside the VP, and takes object suffixes. Therefore, in the two sentences below, **isa** is a preposition, but **päla** is a transitivising adjunct:

Nia [mo roho RO] isa-ku.
3S 3:R stay PRG with-1S
'She is (here) with me.'

[Nam mäan päla-ko RO].
1S:R laugh at-2S PRG
'I was laughing at you.'

This point allows us to examine now the syntax of transitivity and object marking.

5.4. Transitivity and object marking

The last complex issue which needs to be detailed, is the behaviour of Araki verbs with regard to transitivity and valency. While intransitive verbs are not too difficult to analyse, transitive stems raise important questions concerning the morphological marking of transitivity: in a word, the presence of transitivity markers depends both on the verb stems, and on the syntactic structures involved.

After examining these issues, we will present briefly a couple of valency-changing devices. The coding of secondary relations (indirect objects, oblique complements) will be reviewed later (§6.2 p.156), since these complements do not belong to the verb phrase defined syntactically.

5.4.1. Presentation of transitivity issues

5.4.1.1. Intransitive v. *transitive verbs*

From the syntactic point of view, Araki contrasts intransitive with transitive verbs. Intransitive lexemes never take either object NPs or transitive suffixes, and are morphologically unvarying: for example **doco** 'be sick', **dodo** 'play', **goro** 'sleep', **iso** 'finish', **kla** 'have a look', **sale** 'float', **sua** 'paddle', **v̈a** 'go', and so on.

Transitive verbs take object arguments, as NPs and/or as object suffixes: for example **dogo** 'hear, feel', **ecene** 'sell', **ele** 'search', **inu** 'drink', **hani** 'eat', **rkel** 'reach', **sure** 'pour; follow', **tovo** 'count, read', and so on.

Several roots present both intransitive and transitive uses; a few of them are presented in *Table 5-44*. Notice that the morphological means for this derivation are far from being regular:

Table 5-44 Transitivisation of some intransitive verb roots

INTRANSITIVE FORM		TRANSITIVISED FORM	
comï	'be sad'	**comï-**	'be sad about'; 'take pity on'; 'help'
ede	'be open'	**ede**	'open s.th.'
lito	'spit'	**litovi-**	'spit at'; 'despise, abuse'
m̈an	'laugh'	**m̈an p̈ala-**	'laugh at, scorn'
posi	'turn; change'	**posi-**	'change s.th., modify'
rag	'cry'	**ragisi-**	'cry for, regret, miss'
sodo	'blow'; 'talk'	**sodo**	'blow in'; 'shoot at'
		sodohi-	'talk about'

5.4.1.2. Morphological marking of transitivity

Most of the transitive (or transitivised) verbs, though not all of them, can be morphologically marked as such: this usually implies the presence of a transitivity suffix **-i** and/or of an object personal suffix.[109] For example, a root like **ecene** 'sell' is transitive not only from the syntactic point of view, but also through morphological suffixation:

Nam ecen-i-a radio mo hese. 'I sold a radio.'
1S:R sell-TR-3S radio 3:R one

On the other hand, a verb like **tovo** 'read' is invariable, that is, never takes these suffixes; yet it is definitely a transitive verb, since it can be – and normally is – followed by a direct object:

[109] These were listed in *Table 4-33* p.45.

Nam	**tovo**	**leta**	**mo hese.**	'I read a letter.'
1S:R	read	letter	3:R one	

In other words, a study focusing on transitivity in Araki, should first acknowledge that this kind of morphological marking is dependent on each verb root: some are compatible with suffixes, some are not. These questions of morphology will be raised in the next paragraph §5.4.2.

Yet, there are other cases of variations in transitivity, which concern syntax: according to the syntactic context, the verb 'sell' will either take both suffixes (**ecen-i-a**), or only the transitiviser (**ecen-i**), or no suffix at all (bare form **ecene**). This syntactic influence on morphological transitivity, obviously, does not concern invariable roots like **tovo**, and can only be observed with transitivity-sensitive lexemes like **ecene**. Rules concerning the syntax of transitivity will be detailed in §5.4.3.

5.4.2. Morphological allomorphisms

The paradigm of object suffixes presented in *Table 4-33* p.45 undergoes several unpredictable changes, depending on the verb morphology. When a verb stem ends with a consonant, it systematically takes the transitiviser suffix **-i**; but this is not systematic when the stem ends with a vowel. The result of this situation looks like five distinct verb paradigms, according to the final vowel of the verb radical; they are listed in *Table 5-45*, and explained below.

Table 5-45 Object suffix allomorphisms according to verb final vowel

	I	E	A	O	U
1	**i-á**	**-i-á**	**a-i-á**	?	**u-á**
2	**i-ko**	**-i-ko**	**a-ko**	**o-ko**	**u-ko**
3	**i-a**	**-i-a**	**a-i-a**	**o**	**u-a**
1 INC	**i-ca**	**-i-ca**	**a-ca**	**o-co**	**u-ca**
3	**i-da**	**-i-da**	**a-da**	**o-do**	**u-da**

Each column corresponds to a vowel at the end of a verbal root, and the forms given must be understood to *commute* with this vowel: for example a verb ending in E will normally have this /e/ replaced, not followed, by the suffix **-i**: for example **ecene** 'sell' → **ecen-i-a** 'sell it', not ***ecene-i-a**.

- *Verb roots ending in* /i/: these are the most frequent. They include **alovi** 'greet', **hani** 'eat', **hari** 'bite', **lesi** 'see', **levsei** 'know', **posi** 'change', **rai** 'cut', **sadi** 'spear', **sovi** 'await', **tapai** 'find', **uli** 'write', **vadai** 'tell', **vari** 'hold, take', **visi** 'bind', **voli** 'buy', **vëi** 'do, make'.

None of these verbs adds the transitiviser **-i** suffix to its root, in a way which would get to a cluster of two /i/ like ***hani-i-a**. To be more precise, the presence of the transitiviser is impossible to deduce from the observation of the surface forms: a form like **hania** ('eat it') can be analysed either as **hani + -a**, without a transitiviser, or as **hani + -i + -a**, provided we posit an extra deletion/simplification rule which would account for the shift from **i-i-a* to **i-a**. Knowing that several verbs lack the transitiviser suffix in Araki, we have opted for the first solution, so that a form **hania** is always glossed **hani-a** |eat-3S| in our translations.

It is sometimes difficult to know precisely the shape of some roots, either because they always appear in their suffixed form (for example **ligia** 'convey' → **lig** or **ligi**?); or because, in our corpus, the unsuffixed form only appears without its final vowel.[110] For instance, **nak** 'kill' might well be a short form of a root **naki**, in such a way that the suffixed form **nakia** 'kill him' could be read as **naki-a** |kill-3S|, without a transitiviser suffix; but since our corpus shows no form **naki*, we analyse **nakia** as having three morphemes **nak-i-a** |kill-TR-3S|.

- *Verb roots ending in /e/*: As shown in *Table 5-45*, most of these verbs have their final /e/ replaced by the transitiviser **-i**. This is the case for **ecene** 'sell', **plane** 'throw', **sure** 'follow': for example **sur-i-a** is |follow-TR-3S|. Nevertheless, there are as many as three kinds of exceptions to this 'rule':
  - the transitive stem of **kode** 'lie (to)' is not ***kod-i-**, but **kode-i-**.[111] The verb **opoe ~ poe** 'like, love' varies between both patterns: besides the 'regular' form **(o)po-i-a**, the same speaker uses an 'irregular' form **(o)poe-i-a**.
  - the verb **sle** 'give' follows an irregular paradigm **sle-i-á**, **sle-ko**, **sle-i-a**; this makes it similar to the /a/-roots analysed below.
  - the verbs **de** 'say; want', **dëve** 'pull; fish', **ede** 'open', **ele** 'seek, learn', **lare** 'break' are invariable, at least for a 3SG object; this makes them similar to several /o/ roots.

[110] This final-vowel deletion is usual in Araki, especially with a high vowel like /i/: see §2.3.2 p.21. A consequence of this process is that many roots which are classified here among /i/-ending verbs, actually are most often met without an /i/ in our corpus: **levse** 'know', **ve** 'do', **han** 'eat', **les** 'see'; yet they sometimes appear in their full form, which is enough to posit /i/-ending roots.

[111] This form can be easily explained if **kode** is in fact a short form of **kodei**, i.e., an /i/-ending root (see fn. 110); however, the assimilated form **kodokodo** for **kodekode** (§2.5.1 p.28) suggests that the radical is indeed of the form **kode** ['kore], not ***kodei** [ko'rei] ~ **kode** [ko're].

Table 5-46 Competing transitivity paradigms for verbs ending in /e/

	SURE + 'follow'	KODE 'lie to'	(O)POE 'like'	SLE 'give'	EDE 'open'
1	**sur-i-á**	**kode-i-á**	**po-i-á**	**sle-i-á**	–
2	**sur-i-ko**	**kode-i-ko**	**po-i-ko**	**sle-ko**	–
3	**sur-i-a**	**kode-i-a**	**po-i-a ~ poe-i-a**	**sle-i-a**	**ede**
1 INC	**sur-i-ca**	?	?	?	–
3	**sur-i-da**	?	**po-i-da**	?	?

Obviously more research is necessary to sort out regular from irregular forms.

- *Verb roots ending in* /a/: we only have one such root in our corpus, which is not even a verb, but a verbal adjunct: while the verb for 'laugh' is **m̈ana ~ m̈an**, its transitive form ('laugh at') takes an adjunct **p̈ala-**, to which the personal endings are added; for example **O kan m̈an p̈ala-i-á!** 'Don't laugh at me!' *Table 5-45* suggests that the /i/ heard in 1SG and 3SG is not – or no longer – the transitiviser, but rather a euphonic (epenthetic) high vowel to avoid a cluster of two /a/ (Ross 1998:23).
- *Verb roots ending in* /o/: they have all been discussed in §2.5.2, since they all undergo the same morphophonemic rules for vowel assimilation. The verb roots themselves were listed in *Table 2-26* p.30. None of these were found to be compatible with transitiviser suffix **-i**.
- *Verb roots ending in* /u/: our corpus has two 'regular' roots following the paradigm in *Table 5-45*: **ceu** 'surpass, be better than', and **inu** 'drink'; for example **Nam ceu-ko.** 'I am stronger than you'; **Nam inu-a** (~ **inum-i-a**) 'I drank it'. Yet, a few forms have been found to add the transitiviser **-i**, like **v̈asusu-i-a** 'give birth to'; and **p̈isu-i-a** 'point at (with the finger, **p̈isu**)'.
- *Vestigial transitive forms*: for a few verbs, Araki has retained from earlier stages an allomorphic stem specific to transitive forms. Like in Fijian and many other Oceanic languages (Ross 1998:23), these transitive stems, thanks to the suffixes **-i(-a)**, show a final consonant which has disappeared from the shorter form: for example **ragi ~ rag** 'cry' < POc **taŋis*, has a transitive form **ragis-i-** ('cry for/because of'), which reflects directly the POc transitive form **taŋis-i-*. Yet, a synchronic analysis of Araki might need to consider the consonant /s/ as now a part of the suffix, and argue that **ragi** 'cry' exceptionally takes a suffix /si/ instead of /i/.[112] The same applies for **sodo** 'talk', whose transitive form is **sodohi-** 'talk about';[113] and **lito** 'spit', which gives **litovi-** 'spit at, offend'.

[112] This is usually described as a case of 'thematic consonant' (Lynch 1998).

[113] Knowing that ARK /h/ < POc **k*, it would be tempting to explain this **-hi-** transitive ending on

Our last example is the verb **inu** 'drink', which in fact has got two competing transitive forms: one is conservative of the POc final consonant of the root, that is, **inumi-(a)**; the second form **inu-(a)** is obviously a modern innovation, with an attempt to standardise the derivation patterns within the system.

As a conclusion to this paragraph, it looks as though the language of Araki were in the middle of a long stage of morphological standardisation, yet with many inconsistencies still subsisting. What is more, the original value of /i/ as a transitivising morpheme has lost most of its systematicity, and whether it surfaces or not is pretty much a matter of arbitrary morphology rather than of semantics.

5.4.3. Syntactic influence on transitivity marking

5.4.3.1. Methodological issues

Nevertheless, although the morphological paradigms are hardly predictable as a system, it still remains possible to observe the syntactic behaviour of transitive forms in our corpus. Most verbs contrast a shorter form (verb stem, for example **poe** 'want') with a longer one (transitive form, for example **po-i-a** 'want it'), although they are followed by an object.

In order to observe these variations, the best roots are those ending in a consonant or in /e/, because it is usually clear which suffixes they bear: for example **poe** ≠ **po-i** ≠ **po-i-a** 'want'. Roots ending in /i/ or /u/ are not helpful when checking out the presence of the transitivity suffix,[114] but they are fine when the question is about object suffixes: for example **lesi** ≠ **lesi-a** 'see'; **ceu** ≠ **ceu-a** 'surpass'. Finally, invariable roots, like those ending in /o/, must not be considered at all with these transitivity issues, since they provide only one form, whatever the syntactic context: for example **dogo** 'hear'.

5.4.3.2. General principles of transitivity suffixation

The reasons why zero v. one v. two suffixes are present on a transitive verb form are complex,[115] but can apparently be accounted for according to the nature of the phrase which is immediately following the verb form. For example, if a verb is

---

sodo-hi-, as a possible instance of POc suffix **-aki(ni)* 'remote object' (Pawley and Reid 1980); but just one example is too little evidence for such a hypothesis.

[114] Another problem with that suffix **-i**, is that it may disappear through productive phonological deletion rules (see §2.3.2 p.21, and fn.24): e.g. the transitive form of the verb **nak** 'strike' is **nak-i**; but it sometimes surfaces as **nak**, thus leading to a confusion with the unsuffixed form.

[115] There is no possibility, for a verb compatible with **-i**, to take an object suffix directly: e.g. **huden** 'put down' can appear as **huden**, **huden-i** or **huden-i-a**, but never as ***huden-a**.

followed by another verb, it will have no suffix (for example **poe**); if followed by a NP with a human reference, only the transitivising suffix will be present, without any object suffix (for example **po-i**); finally, both suffixes will be present whenever the object NP has a non-human reference (for example **po-i-a**).

The rules for suffixation are in fact more complex than this; *Table 5-47* lists them all, before they are illustrated in the following paragraphs. What we consider is mainly the case when the transitive verb is associated to an explicit object phrase.

Table 5-47 Syntactic rules for transitivity suffixation

SYNTACTIC CONTEXT	no suffix e.g. **poe**	suffix **-i** e.g. **po-i**	**-i + (-a)** e.g. **po-i-a**
+ adjunct	+	–	–
+ other verb	+	–	–
+ partitive **re**	+	–	–
+ non-referential object	+	–	(+)
+ place name	–	+	–
+ human proper noun	–	+	–
+ human NP	–	+	(+)
+ non-human NP	–	–	+
+ human anaphora (*him/her*)	–	–	+
+ non-human anaphora (*it*)	–	–	+

5.4.3.3. Conditions for having no suffix

As shown in *Table 5-47*, transitive verbs appear in their bare form, that is, with no suffix at all, in several cases.

❖ V_{tr} + Adjunct

As was described first in §3.1.5 p.35, all suffixes are reported onto the adjunct whenever there is one.

Ha	**<u>huden</u>**	**pultan-<u>i-a</u>**	**paru-m̈im**	**sohe-na!**
2P:1	put	together-TR-3S	head-2P	like-3S

'(Bend down and) put your heads together like this!'

Mo	**<u>han</u>**	**povi-<u>a</u>**	**visiho-no.**
3:R	eat	all-3S	meat-3S

'He entirely devoured its flesh.'

Of course, the adjunct follows the same rules as a transitive verb, as to which

suffixes it can take;[116] for example before a human NP, no object suffix is allowed:

Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi.
3:R kill outright the woman DX2
'Then he killed outright that woman.'

❖ V_{tr} + Verb

When V_{tr} is followed by a second verb within a single VP, like in some cases of serialisation, it cannot take any suffix.

Na pa nak raha m̈are-ko!
1S:I SEQ hit RES dead-2S
'I am going to kill you!' lit. ... to hit-become-dead-you

This is also the case with four aspect-modal verbs, which behave like auxiliaries, that is, **lpo** 'try (doing)', **vari** 'take > start (doing)', **poe** 'like, enjoy (doing s.th.)' and **levsei ~ levse** 'know (how to do), be able':

"O le vavere!" Mo le var vavere.
2S:I again sing 3:R again take sing
'"Sing once again!" – and he started singing again.'

Mo ro om ce opoe kadu lo ai?
3:R do.what 2S NEG like swim LOC water
'Why don't you like swimming in rivers?'

Cam ce levse lesi-a, pani nia mo roho ro.
1IN:R NEG know see-3S but 3S 3:R stay PRG
'We are not able to see him [ghost], yet he is around.'

Serialisation must be distinguished from clause chaining, in which each verb form has its own subject clitic. In the latter case, suffixation is the rule, although unprefixed verbs are also met:

Nam ce poe-i-a mada vadidi mo v̈av̈aodo.
1S:R NEG like-TR-3S PERS small 3:R make.noise
'I don't like it when the children are making noise.'

Vinano nida mo poe mo de ha v̈elesi-a m̈audi-da.
stranger 3P 3:R like 3:R say 3P:I try-3S life-3P
'The strangers want to test their destiny.'

[116] Just like verbs, some adjuncts cannot take suffixes for morphological reasons: e.g. **hodo** 'in a blocking manner' → **Om rudu hodo m̈ara-ku** 'You are standing-blocking my eyes' (so that I can't see the TV, etc.) – we have **hodo** instead of ***hodo-i-a**.

❖ V_{tr} + Partitive **re**

A transitive verb followed by a partitive/non-specific NP introduced by **re**, cannot take any suffix, either **-i** or an object suffix.

Nia	**mo**	**vuso,**	**mo**	**ce**	**levse**	**lesi**	**re**	**hina.**
3S	3:R	blind	3:R	NEG	know	see	some	thing

'He is blind, he cannot see anything.'

Nam	**dogo**	**na**	**inu**	**re**	**hae.**
1S:R	feel	1S:I	drink	some	kava

'I feel like drinking some kava.'

This kind of sentence must be contrasted with one which has a referential object, pointing to a representation already existing:

Nam	**dogo**	**na**	**inum-i-a**	**mä-m**	**hae.**
1S:R	feel	1S:I	drink-TR-3S	DRINK-2S	kava

'I feel like drinking your (already quantified) cup of kava.'

Most interestingly, this evidence proves that the transitive suffix **-i** and /or object suffixes are necessarily associated with referential objects, which are cognitively and syntactically autonomous. The absence of suffixes on the verb before **re**, can be described, in our opinion, as a case of object incorporation: the non-referential object NP (for example **re hae**) is not treated as an ordinary object, but as an adjunct, that is, a VP-internal element.[117]

Another illustrative pair of sentences is the following:[118]

Päivuho,	**na**	**ul**	**re**	**leta**	**co**	**sivo**	**sa-n**	**puá.**
tomorrow	1S:I	write	some	letter	3S:I	go.down	to-CST	Mum

'Tomorrow, I shall write a letter to my mother.'

Nanovi,	**nam**	**uli-a**	**leta**	**mo**	**sivo**	**sa-n**	**puá.**
yesterday	1S:R	write-3S	letter	3R	go.down	to-CST	Mum

'Yesterday, I wrote a letter to my mother.'

Before the letter is written, the word **leta** only refers to an abstract or virtual notion: hence the non-specific article **re** and the object incorporation. Conversely, if the action of writing a letter really took place (cf. Realis mood), then the letter

---

[117] This important point was discussed in the chapter dedicated to **re**: see §4.3.6.2 p.60 '*Partitive **re** and transitivity issues*'.

[118] As we said before, other verbs would be blind to such a contrast, for purely morphological reasons: e.g. if the verb **ul** 'write' was to be replaced by **tovo** 'read' in similar sentences, we would have respectively **Na tovo re leta** 'I shall read a letter' and **Nam tovo leta** 'I read a letter'.

actually exists in the world, as an autonomous object: this is the only condition in which transitivity/object suffixes may – and must – occur.

This is a very strong tendency, almost a rule, in Araki: transitivity is marked morphologically on the verb if, and only if, the object is referential, that is, has autonomous existence in terms of mental representations.

❖ V_{tr} + non-referential (incorporated) object

The same principle applies normally to other non-referential objects, which are not introduced by the partitive **re**. This concerns generic reference, when no specific quantity is meant:

Na mara rai viha.
1S for cut tree
'I cut timber (as a job).'

Om vevе hina hacavua!
2S:R do:DUP thing too.much
'You work too much!'

Usa co iso, co pa va inu hae.
rain 3S:I finish 3S:I SEQ go drink kava
'When the rain stops, we will go for kava-drinking.'

All these are typical examples of object incorporation, both syntactically (lack of transitivity marking) and semantically (non-referential object).[119]

❖ Functionally-grounded exceptions

In reality, there appears to be some exceptions to the rule '*non-referential object → no transitivity suffix*': some sentences show transitivity suffixes even when their object is non-specific. However, we believe that these exceptions can be accounted for on discourse-functional[120] and cognitive grounds: for some reason, these predicates are felt by the speaker to be closer to the prototypical referential sentence. This leads to the definition of new sorts of referentiality of the object, that is, cognitive/pragmatic, as opposed to semantic, referentiality.

First, in a **Realis affirmation**, contrary to other types of sentences, arguments are *prototypically referential*, in such a way that even non-specific objects will be 'attracted' towards that prototype, and therefore receive transitivity marking:

– **Ruai, ham levsei inu ai vadug?**
before 2P:R know drink water hot

[119] See Givón (1984:72, 414).

[120] See Hopper and Thompson (1980).

– **Oo, kaṁam levsei <u>inum-i-a</u> ai vadug.**
yes 1EX:P know drink-TR-3S water hot
'In the olden days, did you use to drink tea? – Yes, we used to drink tea.'

The first sentence does not surprise us, since it follows the rules we have just stated for object incorporation; but the affirmative sentence is unexpected, since a non-referential object should have triggered again an incorporated object (that is, **...inu ai vadug**). This observation reinforces the hypothesis we stated,[121] that Araki almost systematically associates *Realis-mood affirmations* with a morphological marking implying *referentiality*[122] – even where the arguments are not referential – whereas in most other types of sentences (that is, Realis questions + negations, Irrealis assertions + questions + negations), indefinite objects are normally coded as *non-referential.*

Second, there is a tendency to mark the object as being specific, if it is salient from the point of view of **information hierarchy**, that is, if it is a strong topic or a focus of assertion. Although they both point to a non-specific (generic) object, our informant Lele Moli contrasted the two following sentences on purely functional-pragmatic criteria:

Nam **<u>ecene</u>** **paniavu** **ro.**
1S:R sell pineapple PRG
'*I* sell pineapples.' [*reply to*: 'Who sells pineapples here?']

Nam **<u>ecen-i-a</u>** ***paniavu*** **ro.**
1S:R sell-TR-3S pineapple PRG
'I sell pineapples.' [*reply to*: 'What do you sell?']

In the first case, the verb-object bundle ('sell pineapples') behaves functionally as a whole, as is usual for object incorporation; it is globally topical – that is, presupposed – in the context. But in the second case, the boundary between background and foreground information divides this bundle into two separate parts; being the focus of assertion, the object receives cognitive autonomy, and this results in its syntactic coding as a (pseudo-) referential object.[123]

---

[121] This was observed in our developments about the partitive article **re** (§4.3.6.2 p.60), and about the distribution of moods in the sentence (see fn.95 and 96 p.108).

[122] This correlation is general among languages: 'Human communication is by and large – or 'prototypically' – about real events [realis] and referential individuals' (Givón 1984:434).

[123] What looks like an exception, in fact, does not invalidate the general rule stated before, about the crucial role played by object referentiality. Rather, it suggests to refine this notion of referentiality by also considering the pragmatic level, in the continuity of T. Givón's typological observations: 'The morpho-syntactic marking systems in natural languages are sensitive to *pragmatic referentiality* rather than to *semantic referentiality*' (Givón 1984:427, emphasis mine).

5.4.3.4. Conditions for taking the transitivity suffix only

In some syntactic contexts, the verb must take the transitivity suffix **-i** (provided it is allowed by its morphology), but it cannot take any object suffix of the Third person. For the verbs whose morphology provides three forms (for example **poe** 'like'), this corresponds to the second form (**po-i**); for many verbs, though, this **-i** is difficult to track, either because it has merged with the final /i/ of the radical (for example **lesi** 'see'), or because it is deleted through productive phonological rules (for example **nak** for **nak-i** 'hit-TR').

❖ V_{tr} + place name

When a verb is followed by a proper noun designating a place, it takes the suffix **-i**, but no object suffix:

Nia mo p̈isu-i Raṁapo.
3S 3:R designate-TR Malo
'He pointed at Malo island.'

Om lesi Tumepu mo lulu lo raẅalu-na.
2S:R see T. 3:R white LOC beyond-3S
'You can see Mount Tumepu, which is white on its other side.'

This rule does not apply to common nouns referring to places:

Nam po-i Daki.
1S:R like-TR Araki
'I like Araki.'

Nam po-i-a udeude-m.
1S:R like-TR-3S island-2S
'I like your island.'

❖ V_{tr} + human proper noun

Proper nouns referring to people follow the same rule as place names, that is, take no object suffix:

Mo ro om ce opo-i Joj?
3:R do.what 2S:R NEG like-TR G.
'Why don't you like George?'

Nam sov Ral nida-n Pen ro.
1S:R wait R. with-CST B. PRG
'I am waiting for Ralph and Ben.'

Along with human proper nouns, we find names of animals when they are personified in a tale:[124]

Hadiv mo ̈va mo les Huira, mo de "Huira, o coṁi-á!"
Rat 3:R go 3:R see octopus 3:R say octopus 2S:I sad-1S

'As Rat went on, he saw Octopus, and said "Octopus, take pity on me!"'

At the end of the story, when the tale comes back to reality and mentions octopuses as animals – instead of as human-like characters – what we find is the ordinary transitivity marking for non-human referents (that is, with object suffix):

... o lesi-a huira co sa kia co taur-i-a co vari-a.
2S:I see-3S octopus 3S:I go.up there 3S:I seize-TR-3S 3S:I hold-3S

'... you will see the octopus jump to it, seize it and shake it.'

❖ V_{tr} + human common noun phrase

Just like proper nouns, common noun phrases with a human reference are normally incompatible with object suffixes.

Om ragis-i-a sa? – Nam ragis-i no-ku puá.
2S:R weep-TR-3S what 1S:R weep-TR POSS-1S Mum

'What are you crying for? – I am crying for my Mum.'

Raṁare mo vari va racu mo han povi-a visiho-no.
devil 3:R hold the man 3:R eat all-3S meat-3S

'The devil grabbed the man and devoured all his flesh.'

Nam les raṗala-ku nam alovi-a.
1S:R see friend-1S 1S:R greet-3S

'I saw a friend of mine, and greeted him.'

Nam suiha nam ceu moli.
1S:R strong 1S:R surpass chief

'I am stronger than the chief.'

The main exception to this rule, is with the noun **racu** 'man, person': while some sentences are regular (absence of object suffix), it is possible to find the noun **racu** preceded by an object suffix, as if it were a non-human referent (p.144).

Mohi mo levse hari-a RACU.
mosquito 3:R know bite-3S man

'Mosquitoes (can) bite men.'

---

[124] Remarkably, the marking of possession with the Construct suffix **-n(i)** follows exactly the same categories as for transitivity, i.e., human NPs and proper nouns + personified animals + place names. See §4.7.1 p.96.

Na lpo lesi-a RACU **mo hese hosun.**
1S:I try see-3S man 3:R one that
'I want to go and have a look at that man over there.'

Despite the paradox, one can figure out the reason why the generic word for 'man, person' tends to be coded grammatically as non-human. Its generic value puts it on the same level – cognitively speaking – as other generic nouns, which have non-human reference ('person'[125] ≠ 'plant' ≠ 'place' ...): this is why it is treated like an 'ordinary' noun. Conversely, most of the other nouns referring to humans are automatically placed in a mental paradigm referring to humans: for example **puá** 'Mum' is connected to **ta** 'Dad' and to all other kin terms, **moli** 'chief' designates a function in society; hence their great ability to be distinguished – cognitively and syntactically – from non-human terms.[126]

5.4.3.5. Conditions for taking both suffixes

The last possibility, for a transitive verb, is to take both its suffixes, that is, the transitivity suffix **-i** (if the verb root is compatible with it), and an object suffix.

❖ V_{tr} + pronoun

The basic condition in which (**-i** +) object suffixes must appear, is when no object NP is present. This corresponds to two possibilities: first, if the object refers to a person other than the third person:[127]

O ruen-i-á!
2S:I help-TR-1S
'Help me!'

[125] Not only the word **racu** 'man' refers to any person, male or female, but it has also grammaticised as an indefinite word for 'somebody', referring to any *animate* subject. In the tale of the coconut crab, the presence of this animal is expressed with the same word: **Racu mo hese mo kadumia laho vinini** 'Somebody [*a man] was scraping the trunk of the palmtree ... (it was a coconut crab)'. This semantic generalisation reinforces the paradoxical tendency of the word **racu** not to be treated linguistically as human.

[126] This linguistic paradox, for a generic noun for humans to be treated like non-humans, appears in another language of the same area, Mwotlap (personal data): the noun **et** 'person', contrary to all other human nouns, behaves like non-human terms in the syntax of possession and argumenthood. This suggests that this phenomenon is more widespread/natural than would be expected.

[127] As we explained in §4.1.1.2 p.42, this does not concern First exclusive + Second plural persons, for which no object suffix is used: e.g. **Nam ragis kaṁim ro** 'I am crying for you [PL]'.

Nam po-i-ko.
1S:R like-TR-2S
'I love you.'

Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa mo sivo.
1S:R see-3S wavelet PRG 3:R hold-1INC 3:R go.up 3:R go.down
'I am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up and down.'

Araki has no specific pronouns for reflexive (for example *I saw myself*) or reciprocal (for example *We know each other*); the ordinary object suffixes are used instead.

Second, when the third person object is already present in the context, it can be anaphorically resumed by a suffix, either singular (**-a**) or plural (**-da**). In this case, no difference is made between human and non-human referents:

Mo dogo havë mo hese mo vari-a mo plan vahuden-i-a.
3:R feel crab 3:R one 3:R hold-3S 3:R throw take.off-TR-3S
'He felt (there was) a crab, grabbed *it* and threw *it* away.'

Nam de na tovo leta nam vari-da.
1S:R say 1S:I read letter 1S:R hold-3P
'I am going to read the letter which I received (lit. I received *them*).'

However, non-human referents are often resumed by a singular pronoun, even if they are plural in meaning:[128]

M̈aci vadidi, o levse nak-i-a vila.
fish small:numerous 2S:I know hit-3S quickly
'Small fish are (lit. is) easy to kill.'

❖ V_{tr} + referential, non-human NP

Transitive verbs take object suffixes whenever they are followed by a NP with a non-human referent. It may be definite or indefinite, provided it is semantically specific (referential), that is, it refers to an actual object.

Nam ce levsei-a hica-na.
1S:R NEG know-3S name-3S
'I don't know her name.'

Mo rai-a aka, mo rai-a caṁa-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na.
3:R cut-3S canoe 3:R cut-3S outrigger-3S 3:R cut-3S yoke-3S peg-3S
'He cut a canoe, then he cut its outrigger, he cut its yoke, and its pegs.'

[128] The question of ambiguous number marking was presented in §4.5.2 p.79.

Once again, singular pronouns are common with plural inanimate objects:

Nam re voli-a radio mo dua.
1S:R PFT buy-3S radio 3:R two
'I have bought two radios.'

Sentential objects and certain subordinate clauses generally behave as non-human objects, that is, are preceded by a suffix **-a**:

Co pa vëi-a <ai co wet-i-a as>.
3S:I SEQ do-3S water 3S:I wet-TR-3S rope
'He will make the water wet the rope.'

Co lesi-a <se co pa vanovano vila>.
1IN:I see-3S who 3S:I SEQ walk:DUP fast
'We shall see who will go faster.'

Other uses of object suffixes were presented in the last paragraphs, in contrast with some rules excluding them.

5.4.4. Valency-changing processes

Araki has no passive voice, and generally has only few devices that modify the relation between the predicate and its arguments, that is, voice and valency. We will mention briefly three of them.

5.4.4.1. Symmetrical verbs

In English and many other languages, certain verbs are compatible with more than one semantic orientation towards its arguments: for example in Eng. *The door opened ≠ I opened the door*, the syntactic subject of the same verb form '*opened*' can either have the case-role of Patient or Agent. The same happens in Araki, for example, with the verb **ede** 'open':

Marasala mo ede. 'The door opened/is open.'
door 3:R open

Nam ede marasala. 'I opened the door.'
1S:R open door

– or with **posi** 'turn, change':

Posi-m mo posi. 'Your behaviour has changed.'
manner-2S 3:R change

Om posi-a macihi-na. 'You changed its colour!'
2S:R change-3S colour-3S

However, this phenomenon is more limited in Araki than it is in English.

5.4.4.2. Detransitiviser m̈a-

A very small number of transitive roots can be detransitivised[129] by means of a derivational prefix **m̈a-**. In our corpus, this concerns mainly two verbs for 'break': **lare** 'break (a long object) into two pieces', and **koso** 'break into pieces, shatter'. The transitive sentence below focuses on the event itself, whereas its detransitivised counterpart takes the point of view of the leg, and considers the result of the process, with a clearly passive meaning:

Nam	**lare**	**sadi-ku.**	'I broke my leg.'	
1S:R	break:long	leg-1S		TRANSITIVE
Sadi-ku	**mo**	**m̈a-lare.**	'My leg is broken.'	
leg-1S	3:R	DETR-break:long		DETRANSITIVISED

In fact, not only is that process little productive, but it is also optional even for these verbs: that is, they can also be used intransitively, without being derived with **m̈a-**:

Daga	**viha**	**mo**	**lare**	**hase-na.**	'The tree branch broke by itself.'
branch	tree	3:R	break	alone-3S	

In this case, the bare verb behaves like a symmetrical root (§5.4.4.1), and makes reference to the process itself rather than to its result. The contrast corresponds exactly to English 'it is broken' (**mo m̈a-lare**) v. 'it broke' (**mo lare**), that is, roughly *passive* v. *middle* voice.

Several adjectives or stative verbs also begin with a syllable **m̈a-**, although no derivation process is synchronically visible: for example **m̈adaga** 'puny', **m̈aloko** 'exhausted', **m̈alum** 'quiet', **m̈am̈asa** 'dry', **m̈arahu** 'afraid', **m̈asaga** 'cloven', **m̈avinuvinu** 'thin'. At least some of them proceed from a former derivation process with the prefix **m̈a-** < **ma-*, all being situated at different points on the time scale between Proto Oceanic and modern Araki.

5.4.4.3. Causativiser v̈a- and other causative structures

Whereas **m̈a-** was lowering the number of arguments from two (Agent + Patient) to one (Experiencer), there is a way to increase their number by adding a causativiser: this is done through the prefix **v̈a-**.[130] Although this device is well-known in other Oceanic languages, it is no longer productive in Araki, and was found only once in our whole corpus; this is with the verb **hani** 'eat' to make the causative form[131] **v̈a-hani** 'feed':

---

[129] See Margetts (1999); Ross (1998:25) refers to POc 'anti-causative' prefix **ma-*.

[130] The prefix **v̈a** comes from POc causativiser **pa-*/**paka-* (Ross 1998:26).

[131] In this situation, it is likely that **v̈ahani** is no longer perceived as having a prefix, but it has lexicalised into a simple verb 'feed'.

Ela mo ẅa-hani naru-na ro.
E. 3:R CAUS-eat child-3S PRG
'Ela is feeding her child.'

Nam ẅa-hani-a pla-ku to.
1S:R CAUS-eat-3S ECON-1S fowl
'I am feeding my fowls.'

A more productive device to make a causative structure, is to build a periphrase with the verb[132] **ẅei** 'do, make' – optionally followed by the verb-conjunction **de**. Notice that the following verb is Realis only if the target event was successful:

Co pa ẅei-a ai co wet-i-a as.
3S:I SEQ do-3S water 3S:I wet-TR-3S rope
'He will make the water wet the rope.'

M̈ara p̈ira hosu-n mo re ẅei-a mo re lokodu mo iso.
because woman DX3-ASS 3:R PFT do-3S 3:R PFT angry 3:R finish
'... because that woman had already made him so angry.'

Nam de na ẅei-a na de nko o hani-a ha-m hina!
1S:R say 1S:I do-3S 1S:I say 2S 2S:I eat-3S FOOD-2S thing
'I want to have you eat your dinner!'

Alternate patterns for causativisation include serialisation within a single VP:

Na pa nak raha m̈are-ko!
1S:I SEQ hit RESUL dead-2S
'I am going to kill you!'

– or clause chaining, with more than one VP:

Ha pa nak-i-a co m̈are.
3P:I SEQ hit-TR-3S 3S:I dead
'They will strike him to death.' (lit. They will hit him he will die.)

5.5. Verb serialisation

Araki allows two verb roots to appear in one single verb phrase, thus forming a sort of complex verb <V_1-V_2>; usually no more than two verbs can appear at a time. This series of two verbs share one single mood-subject clitic – which does not imply that they semantically have the same subject – and share the same aspect

[132] In analysing Tangoa, Ray (1926:364) suggests that TGO *tha-* (ARK **ẅa-**) is the short form of the verb TGO *thai* (ARK **ẅei**), both being used in causative structures; we do not believe this is correct.

markers; no object or other complement can insert between these two verbs. The transitivity suffix **-i**, as well as the object suffix, appear on the right of the second verb, provided this is authorised by the morphology of V_2, and by the syntactic context.[133] Distributionally speaking, V_2 takes the syntactic slot of what we have called adjuncts (§3.1.5).

M̈ala mo de "Na pa p̈isu cudug-i-a aka-ca!"
Hawk 3:R say 1S:I SEQ prick pierce-TR-3S canoe-1INC:P
'The Hawk went "I am going to prick and make a hole in our boat!"'

Lag mo sere lare daga viha.
wind 3:R blow break branch tree
'The wind blew (so strong that it) broke the branch of the tree.'

In reality, verb serialisation is much rarer in Araki than in many other Oceanic languages. It seems to be productive only when either of the two verbs is a movement verb, that is, **v̈a** 'go', **saha** 'go up', **sivo** 'go down':

Ha sivo goro!
2P:I go.down sleep
'You (all) go to sleep!'

Another pattern in which serialisations appear less seldom, is when the second element is a stative verb or an adjective: V_2 indicates the manner of V_1.

Om haraho m̈alum.
2S:R crawl quiet
'You crawl so slowly!' (said to a hermit crab)

Hapu mo ug laṗa.
fire 3:R light big
'The fire went with big flames.'

M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da.
from period that 3:R see:DUP bad OBL-3P
'Since that time, they have been hating each other.'

As for verbs of action, serialisation is a much less frequent strategy than clause chaining[134] (§7.3).

---

[133] These rules were presented in §5.4.3, including a development about verb serialisations (p.137).

[134] The difference between 'verb serialisation' and 'clause chaining' corresponds to the contrast between 'nuclear-layer' and 'core-layer serialisation' in the terminology of several scholars: see fn.188 p.189.

5.6. Basic VP structure

All the elements we have been reviewing in the present chapter belong to the Verb Phrase. The only obligatory elements to form a VP are the head and the subject clitic.

What we call here VPs, for the sake of simplicity, should be better tagged '*Aspect-and-mood sensitive predicates*', which would have a wider scope than just 'verb phrase'. Indeed, despite its name, the verb phrase can not only have a verb as its head, but also an adjective or a numeral, for which this construction is the default. Moreover, although NP predicates have a syntax of their own, a noun can also be the head of a so-called 'VP', provided it is endowed with mood-aspectual properties – for example negation **ce**, sequential **pa** (see §6.1.1). In all these cases, we consider that adjectives remain adjectives, and nouns remain nouns, although they are treated like verbs;[135] this is why the tag 'VP' is not so accurate – it is only meant here as a shortcut.

This complex structure consists of several elements, in a rather fixed order:

(1) the subject clitic, which also carries the indication of modality;

(2) the word **dua** 'two', for vestigial forms of dual; exceptionally **rolu** 'three', with a globalising effect;[136]

(3) the aspect clitic **pa** 'Sequential';

(4) the negation **ce**, or prohibitive **kan** (§6.4.2);

(5) other aspect clitics: **le**, **mïsi**, **pele**, **re**;

(6) the HEAD: normally a verb, an adjective, or a numeral; sometimes a noun;

(7) an adjunct, or a second verb (V_2) in a serialisation;

(8) the transitiviser suffix[137] **-i**, provided it is allowed by the morphology of the preceding word;

---

[135] See the discussion about the nature of nouns, in §6.1.1 p.153.

[136] See §4.5.4.4 p.83 for dual forms in subject clitics, and §4.5.4.7 p.87 for trial.

[137] The so-called 'mobility' of the transitiviser *-i* in several Oceanic languages, i.e., the fact that it can affect another word than the main verb, has led some authors (Margetts 1999; Ross 1998:26) to name it an 'enclitic' rather than a suffix at the level of Proto Oceanic. We do not subscribe to this point of view, since the only relevant criterion to distinguish between both these notions, is not mobility but behaviour with regard to stress (see *Table 2-16* p.21). In these languages probably, and at least in Araki, the bundle *-i* + (*-a*) is a bunch of suffixes, not clitics, which simply affects the last element of the nuclear verb phrase – whether it is a verb or an adjunct.

(9) an object suffix, provided it is allowed by the morphology of the preceding word, and by the syntactic conditions;

(10) an OBJECT,[138] normally a noun phrase;[139]

(11) the aspect post-clitic **ro** 'Progressive', which ends the global VP.[140]

All adverbial complements, the aspect marker (**mo**) **iso** and all other clauses – even if they are syntactically the object of V_1 – belong to the right of the VP, that is, are situated outside of it.

A couple of sentences will illustrate briefly this ordering of constituents inside the VP:

[Nam	**ce**	**MAN**	**pala**	**mada vadidi**	**ro].**
1S:R	NEG	laugh	at	PERS small	PRG
1	4	**6**	7	< 10 >	11

'I am not laughing at the children.'

[Ha	**le**	**HUDEN**	**pultan-i-a**	**paru-mim]**	**sohe-na!**
2P:1	again	put	together-TR-3S	head-2P	like-3S
1	5	**6**	7	8-9	< 10 >

'Put your heads together again like this!'

[Mo	**pa**	**le**	**RUDU]**	**lo**	**nahodani**	**[mo**	**ce**	**le**	**LESI**	**Daki].**
3:R	SEQ	again	get.up	LOC	morning	3:R	NEG	again	see-(TR)	Araki
1	3	5	**6**			**1**	4	5	**6**-(8)	10

'When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.'

[138] We include here real objects as well as incorporated ones, because we have found no syntactic test to show that the latter belong to another slot; however, we strongly suspect that incorporated objects are actually a kind of adjunct, thus fitting in slot nr.7.

[139] This includes common-noun phrases and proper-noun phrases. The only pronouns allowed in its position are **kamam** '1EX:PL' and **kamim** '2PL', for which no object suffix exists.

[140] We argue that the final limit of the VP in Araki can be indicated by the clitic **ro**: see §5.3.8.3 p.129.

6. *Clause structure*

The only element which is obligatory to build a clause, is a predicate phrase (PdP). This PdP can be a Verb Phrase, that is, a mood-and-aspect sensitive structure whose head is either a verb, an adjective, or a numeral; but there are other sorts of PdP, such as Noun Phrase predicates, which have distinct syntactic properties: we will present them in §6.1. Apart from the PdP, clauses can take several optional elements, such as a topic, a subject NP, and some adverbial complements[141] such as time, place, manner, and so on. They will be dealt with in §6.1.2.3.

On the other hand, clauses have devices for indicating their pragmatic status, that is, negative, imperative or interrogative. We will present briefly their syntax.

6.1. Verbless clauses

Chapter 5 gave a detailed account of the internal syntax of Verb Phrases. However, there are other kinds of predicates in Araki, which have distinct properties, both syntactically and semantically: while we define VPs as being sensitive to such categories as aspect and (Realis v. Irrealis) modality, other kinds of predicate phrases are not, that is, have no relation whatsoever to time.

6.1.1. NP predicates

Like in almost all Austronesian languages, nouns in Araki are directly predicative, that is, need no copula to build an equational sentence; since it is not just a noun, but a whole NP which can become a predicate, it can be called a NP predicate (NPP).[142]

[141] Objects are not considered here, since they belong syntactically to the VP, and were described in §5.4 p.130.

[142] We have already alluded to noun phrase predicates (NPP): see §3.1.1 p.33 about the definition of nouns; §4.1.1.2 p.42 about independent pronouns.

NPPs are not compatible with modality marking, and thus do not normally take subject clitics. The subject of a NPP can be *zero* if it is inanimate and obvious in the context:

Ima-ku.
house-1S
'(This is) my house.'

Most often, the subject is explicitly mentioned, and is either a NP itself, or an independent pronoun (NPPs are bracketed in our examples):

Daki [udeude-ku].
Araki island-1S
'Araki is my island.'

Pan viha hosun [viha hetehete].
but tree that tree small
'Now, that tree was a small tree.'

Nia [ralme racu mo mare mo le maudu].
3S spirit man 3:R dead 3:R again live
'He's the spirit of people who were dead and came back to life.'

Although subject clitics are incompatible with NP predicates, they are required when the NPP is being *negated.* In this case, the usual rules regarding modality in verb phrases (that is, Realis v. Irrealis) apply here too:

Veral ne [mo ce veral hanhan].
banana this 3:R NEG banana food
'This banana is not for eating.'

In fact, there is also a case when a NPP can be preceded by a subject clitic in an affirmative sentence: this happens when the predicated property is semantically represented as a process in time. The subject is not only said to belong to a timeless category (for example 'He is a chief.'), but this equational relationship is described as dynamic in time (for example 'He will become a chief.'). In this case, the NP predicate is often associated with aspect/mood markers, in such a way that we shall consider them to follow the syntax of VPs.[143]

This is clear in the next example, where NPs are not only predicative, but also marked in mood (Irrealis) and aspect (**pa** Sequential/Future). As a consequence, they receive the clitic **o** as their subject, instead of the free pronoun **niko** – compare **Niko moli** 'You are a chief'.

[143] See §5.6 p.149 and §6.3.1 p.162.

Om poe-i-a o pa moli, om poe-i-a o pa racu laṗa?
2S:R like-TR-3S 2S:I SEQ chief 2S:R like-TR-3S 2S:I SEQ man big
'Do you want to (become) a chief, do you want to (become) a big man?'

Though the NP behaves pretty much like a VP in such sentences (predicativeness, sensitivity to aspect-mood categories), we believe that these words remain basically *nouns*, because their main linguistic function is to predicate the inclusion of an entity *x* into a category of objects. This last example does not allow to erase the boundary between the two parts of speech verb v. noun in Araki, which are clearly distinguished in the syntax of this language.

6.1.2. Other direct predicates

Nouns are not the only part of speech which can form direct predicates, without subject clitics.

6.1.2.1. Directly predicative adjectives

A small handful of adjectives are apparently able to form direct predicates:

No-m vatu [vutiana].
POS-2S money plenty
lit. 'Your money is abundant.'

Nia [deci]. ?*Mo deci.*
3S remote
'He is far away.'

These lexemes do not follow the general rule for adjectives, which is to take subject clitics, like verbs do (§4.6.1).

6.1.2.2. Possessive predicates

Though they can also be included among NP Predicates, possessive classifiers are predicative (§4.7.4):

Lasa nohoni [m̈a-n se]?
cup that DRINK-CST who
'This cup here, whose is it?'

6.1.2.3. Demonstrative predicates

Most demonstrative words (§4.4) can form the predicate of a sentence. From the semantic point of view, this corresponds to two possibilities. Firstly, the

speaker may want to show where the subject is – that is, the subject is the topic, and the deictic predicate is the comment:[144]

M̈a-ku	**ai**	**[kesi].**	'My glass of water is here.'
DRINK-1S	water	DX1	

But more often, the information structure is the reverse: the subject NP is semantically the comment, that is, the informative part of the clause, whereas the demonstrative predicate is the equivalent of a topic.[145] This is used when the speaker wants to identify an object which is already given in the situation:

M̈a-ku	**ai**	**[honi]!**	'This is *my* glass of water!'
DRINK-1S	water	DX2	(lit.) *MY* glass of water $_{\text{is this}}$!

Though this second combination seems paradoxical (that is, foreground subject + background predicate), it is perfectly common in all this geographical area, especially for demonstratives. For example, the translation of the last sentence into Bislama has the same structure *Wota blong MI [ia]!* 'This is *my* water!', with a foreground subject and a background predicate.

6.1.2.4. Adverbial predicates

It is possible to have an adverb or a prepositional phrase (§6.2.1) as a predicate.

Nica	**[p̈aivuho].**	'You and me tomorrow.'
1INC	tomorrow	(said to mean 'Good bye.')

Raṁare	**[kia].**	'There are devils.'
devil	there	

The latter pattern is employed especially for *existential statements*, when the referent is indefinite, but semantically specific.[146] This corresponds normally to affirmative sentences, as opposed to questions or negations:

Re	**paniavu**	**lo**	**ima**	**rurun?**	**–**	**Nia**	**[kia].**
some	pineapple	LOC	house	cook:DUP		3S	there

'Is there some pineapple in the kitchen? – Yes, there is.'

---

[144] Demonstrative predicates were first presentend in §4.4.3.1 p.75.

[145] In this case, there is a change in the prosodic melody, which is remarkably iconic of the information hierarchy. Instead of the clause stress falling on the predicate (e.g. **M̈a-ku ai KESI**), it strikes the subject, leaving the predicate unaccented (e.g. **M̈A-KU AI honi!**). A less idiomatic way to say the latter sentence would be to use an extra-posited topic: **Nohoni, m̈a-ku ai** '(lit.) As for this, it is *my* water'.

[146] In the case of non-specific nouns, existential sentences use the partitive clitic **re**: see §4.3.6.7 p.65.

When the subject of an existential statement is associated with a numeral like **(mo) hese** 'one', it becomes ambiguous whether the predicate is the numeral itself – with its subject clitic – or the locative complement. For example, if we bracket the predicate phrase, notice there are two alternate interpretations for the same sentence below:

Racu mo hese [lo ima rurunu].
man 3:R one LOC house cook:DUP

'There is a man in the kitchen.' (lit. One man IS IN THE KITCHEN.)

Racu [mo hese] lo ima rurunu.
man 3:R one LOC house cook:DUP

'There is a man in the kitchen.' (lit. Man IS ONE in the k.)

For the second interpretation, see §4.3.5.2 p.56. We currently have no evidence, nor syntactic test, which should privilege either analysis over the other.

6.1.3. Parts of speech and direct predicativeness

Table 6-48 sums up which syntactic categories are directly predicative, and which ones follow the basic syntax of VPs in needing subject clitics.[147]

Table 6-48 Parts of speech and direct predicativeness: summary

	directly predicative	*take subject clitics*
nouns and NP	+	(+)
possessive classifiers	+	–
adverbs and PrepP	+	–
demonstratives	+	–
free pronouns	+	–
(dir. pred. adjectives)	+	–
adjectives	–	+
numerals	–	+
verbs	–	+
adjuncts	–	–

[147] We have not mentioned another predicative word, i.e., **re** (non-specific existential). Its behaviour is somewhat particular, since it takes subject clitics in negative and aspectualised sentences, but does not in questions. This point was detailed in §4.3.6.7 p.65; see also *Table 4-37* p.68.

6.2. Verbal clauses: peripheral complements

We shall briefly recapitulate the main properties of verbal arguments. The order of constituents in a clause containing a VP predicate is the following:

(Topic) – Subject – VP including Object – peripheral complements

The function of subject and object are not indicated by any morphological marking such as case, but only by their position in the sentence; both these functions were dealt with already,[148] and this chapter will focus on peripheral or adverbial complements.

6.2.1. Adverbs and prepositional phrases

Adverbs were defined as a part of speech in §3.1.6 p.36. Like in many languages, the slot of adverbs can be taken by prepositional phrases; there is no postposition in Araki. Other parts of speech, such as demonstratives (§3.1.7, §4.4.3.1), can take this postverbal position too.

Morphologically speaking, prepositions fall into three categories:[149]

- 'verb-like prepositions' [VLP] take the same object suffixes as verbs do (§4.1.3): for example **pedesi-á** 'with me', **pedesi-ko** 'with you';
- 'noun-like prepositions' [NLP] take the possessive – and the construct – suffixes (§4.1.4.2), for example **isa-ku** 'with me', **isa-m** 'with you', **isa-n moli** 'with the chief';
- 'bare prepositions' take no suffix at all, for example **lo ima** 'in the house'.

6.2.1.1. Locational adverbs and prepositions

Locational adverbs include **karano** 'underneath', **kaura** 'above', **ravui** 'close-by'; locational prepositions include **lo** 'in, at', and **raväalu** 'beyond, on the other side of':

Väpa mo hese, kesi-ni ravui <lo ima-ku>.
cave 3:R one here-ASS nearby LOC house-1S
'There is a cave, around here near my house.'

When the referent is obvious in the context, an anaphora is made possible with the adverb **kia** 'there, in that place':

[148] For the syntax of subject, see §4.1.1.2 p.42 and §5.1 p.103; objects were detailed in §5.4 p.130.

[149] The same terminology is proposed for To'aba'ita in the Solomons (Lichtenberk 1991).

Racu tade mo sivo ro kia.
man every 3:R go.down PRG there
'Everybody still goes there.'

All place names (proper nouns) behave like adverbs, that is, do not take prepositions to be a complement. In the next sentence, notice that **Daki** is a subject (that is, not an adverb), but **Okava** is an oblique complement:[150]

Ruai, Daki mo roho ro ̈vaha-sun Okava.
before Araki 3:R stay PRG over.there Hog-Harbour
'In the olden days, Araki used to be situated over there, in Hog-Harbour.'

6.2.1.2. Directional adverbs and prepositions

Directional adverbs are homophonous with movement verbs, and their meaning is derived from them: **̈va** 'go → *forward*', **saha ~ sa** 'go up → *up*', **sivo ~ si** 'go down → *down*', **sna/m̈a** 'come → *hither*', **mle** 'go back → *back, over there*'. Contrary to these verbs,[151] directional adverbs are used directly, that is, without subject clitic, to indicate the direction of a movement.

Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna.
1S:I SEQ go.up 1S:I SEQ catch-TR-3S 1S:I SEQ throw-TR-3S come
'I will climb up, catch (the crab) and throw it to you here (lit. hither).'

Mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun.
3:R hold.out down LOC hole-CST tree that
'Then he stretched down his arm inside the hole of the tree.'

However, these directional constructions appear seldom; almost always the verbal construction is preferred, in a clause-chaining pattern,[152] for example **na pa plan-i-a co sna** 'I will throw it + it will come'. The only case in which Directionals are systematic, is in association with a couple of verbs like **kla** 'watch', or **lpo** 'try':

M̈ala mo kla ̈va mo lesi-a cam di.
Hawk 3:R watch go 3:R see-3S yam ANA
'Hawk looked in front of him (lit. forward) and saw the piece of yam.'

---

[150] The reason why they cannot be considered as direct objects of the verb, is evidenced by the position of the post-clitic **ro** (§5.3.8.3 p.129).

[151] It would be wrong to interpret these directionals as verbs in a serialisation, because they appear after the object, not before it (§5.5 p.147). Distributionally speaking, directionals are adverbs.

[152] See §7.3.2.2 p.193. See also fn.196 p.193 for statistical data comparing both structures: our corpus shows 17 cases of the adverbial construction, v. 215 instances of the verbal one.

Na lpo si na lesi-a ra.
1S:I try down 1S:I see-3S first

'Let me go (down?) and have a look at him (I'll be back soon)'

Notice also the 'prepositional' use of a directional in next sentence:

Mo mña mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia.
3:R come 3:R stay there 3:R say 3S:I stay Tangoa down Elia

'As soon as it got there, it stopped, intending to settle *between* Tangoa and Elia.'

Finally, remember that some directional adverbs are used in the morphology of demonstratives, for example **sivo-ni(n)** 'down there', **sa-su(n)** 'up there' (§4.4.1 p.71).

6.2.1.3. Time adverbs and prepositions

Time adverbs include **nanovi** 'yesterday', **hede/nahade** 'today', **päivuho** 'tomorrow', **ruai** 'before', **parahu** 'afterwards', **nredan** 'sometimes', **keskesi** 'now', **tade** 'always'. The preposition **lo** 'in' also serves here.

<Lo Sande mo hese>, Pasta Sope mo roho ro Titiai ruai.
LOC Sunday 3:R one Pastor Sope 3:R stay PRG T. before

'On a Sunday, Pastor Sope was staying in TTI – a long time ago.'

Time clauses will be reviewed in our study of subordination: see §7.2.3 p.181.

6.2.1.4. Manner or modal adverbs and prepositions

Adverbs of manner and other semantic values include: **vila** 'fast', **kodogo/pana** 'maybe', **sohena** 'thus', **pdogo** 'only'. The noun-like preposition **mara** 'after, because of, for' is also very frequent, in addition to its use as a conjunction ('because'):

Na mara rai viha.
1S for cut tree

'I cut timber (as a job).' lit. I am for tree-cutting.

Om mece mara no-m rueruen.
2S:R thanked because POSS-2S help:DUP

'Thank you for your help.'

Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ... Hosu nam mana ro mara-na.
1S:R see-3S wavelets this 1S:R laugh PRG because-3S

'I was watching the wavelets ... This is what I was laughing about.'

Remember also that the equivalent of English adverbs of manner are adjectives in the position of an adjunct (see §5.5 about serial verbs).

Om haraho m̈alum.
2S:R crawl quiet
'You crawl so slowly!' (said to a hermit crab)

6.2.1.5. Dative, instrument and other oblique relations

More abstract relations are expressed through the prepositions [NLP] **nida-** 'with, towards (+human)', **sa- ~ isa-** 'with, to (+human)',[153] and [VLP] **pedesi-** 'with', **hini-**[154] **~ ini- ~ ni- ~ n-** 'Dative, Instrument, Oblique'. Some of them are illustrated below:

Nam sov Ral nida-n Pen ro.
1S:R wait R. with-CST B. PRG
'I am waiting for Ralph *and* Ben.'

Nanovi, nam uli-a leta mo sivo sa-n puá.
yesterday 1S:R write-3S letter 3R go.down to-CST Mum
'Yesterday, I wrote a letter *to* my mother.'

Nam vadai-ko ro ini-a.
1S:R tell-2S PRG OBL-3S
'I have told you *about* her.'

Ima nohosu om vodo hini-a.
house that 2S:R be.born OBL-3S
'There is the house you were born *in.*'

M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da.
from period that 3:R see bad OBL-3P
'Since that time, they have been hating (lit. looking bad *at*) each other.'

Kam kila ro m̈ara hin-re pogi o pa le m̈a Daki.
1EX:R look PRG because OBL-some day 2S:I SEQ again come Araki
'We hope that *one day*, you will come back to Araki.'

When the context is obvious about the nature of the referent, relevant anaphoric adverbs are **nia ~ inia** 'with it/about it'. Notice a possible translation with the verb 'use':

---

[153] In the neighbouring language of Port-Sandwich, this noun-like preposition **sa- ~ isa-** has grammaticised into a genitive marker for alienable nouns: e.g. *n-öangg sa tata* 'Dad's canoe', *n-öangg isa-n* 'his canoe', *isa-ngg* 'mine' (Charpentier 1979:59).

[154] We personally suspect the preposition **hini-** ('dative, oblique ...') to result from the reanalysis of POc 'remote object' suffix **-aki(ni)* (Pawley and Reid 1980); see also fn.113 p.134.

Mo rai-a vose m̈ara co pa sua ni-a.
3:R cut-3S paddle because 3S:I SEQ paddle OBL-3S
'He cut an oar in order to paddle with it.'

Co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi ni-a co sa.
3S:I SEQ do-3S water 3S:I wet-TR-3S rope 3S:I SEQ climb OBL-3S 3S:I go.up
'He will wet the rope with the water, so that he can use it to climb up (the tree).'

Finally, notice that instruments are very often introduced in a preceding clause by means of the verb **vari** 'take'.[155] In the following clause, the instrument phrase is normally cross-referenced with an anaphoric adverb:

Mo vari-a hap̈asi via mo rai-a aka ini-a.
3:R hold-3S stem (taro) 3:R cut-3S canoe OBL-3S
'(Rat) took the stem of a wild taro, and cut himself a canoe out of it.'

6.2.2. Oblique transitivity

Some verbs can be described as having oblique transitivity, since they are usually followed by an oblique (generally prepositional) complement.[156] For instance, **v̈alum** 'to fight' takes an oblique argument, like in English:

Nam de na v̈alum p̈edesi-ko.
1S:R say 1S:I fight with-2S
'I want to fight with you.'

The same occurs for **lokodu** 'be angry', which indicates its Beneficiary with a preposition: **lokodu nida-** or **lokodu ni-** 'be angry at (s.o.)'; and similarly, the verb **vavere** 'sing' needs the preposition **lo** on its object:

Nam de na pa vavere lo vere mo hese.
1S:R say 1S:I SEQ sing LOC song 3:R one
'I would like to sing a song (lit. to sing in a song).'

There is a fair number of verbs which behave the same way, and mentioning them all would be a matter of lexicography rather than descriptive grammar.

---

[155] This will be discussed in §7.3.2.1 p.191.

[156] Notice that we treat **m̈an p̈ala-** 'laugh at' as a transitivised verb (see *Table 5-44*), but **v̈alum p̈edesi-** 'fight against' as a <verb + preposition> bundle: this is explained in §5.3.8.3 p.129.

6.2.3. Ditransitivity and three-argument verbs

On the other hand, Araki does not normally allow for ditransitive verbs, that is, taking two direct objects as English *I'll give you some money*. In this case, one object is direct, while the other one takes an oblique case, therefore appearing outside the verb phrase.[157] Verbs which are concerned by this rule include **sile ~ sle** 'give', **vse** 'show', **vadai** 'tell'.

Interestingly, human referents have the priority for being the object of the verb. Generally, the human-priority rule implies that the verb is oriented towards (what English codes as) its Beneficiary, for example the person to whom s.th. is told or given; in this case, inanimate arguments are introduced by instrumental/oblique prepositions such as **n(i)- ~ ini-, lo**:

[Nam vadai-ko ro] ini-a.
1S:R tell-2S PRG OBL-3S
'I have told you about her.'

Nam dogo [na sile-ko] n-re presin.
1S:R feel 1S:I give-2S OBL-some present
'I feel like giving you a present.' (lit. favour you with a present)

Rasi-ku [mo sle naru-na] lo hanhan.
brother-3S 3:R give child-3S LOC food
'My brother gave his child some food.'

But in some cases where the Patient is semantically human, it happens that it can take the priority over the Beneficiary, and be promoted to object position. In this case, the Beneficiary will be introduced by another preposition, like **sa- ~ isa-** 'with, to'. As a consequence, what is syntactically an object does not always match the same semantic case roles: for example **-ko** 'you' and **naru-na** 'his child' were Beneficiaries in the last two sentences, but they are Patients below:

[Na pa sle-ko] sa-n raṁare co pa hani-ko!
1S:I SEQ give-2S to-CST devil 3S:I SEQ eat-2S
'I will give you to a devil, who will devour you!'

Rasi-ku [mo sle naru-na] isa-n p̈ira nohoni.
brother-3S 3:R give child-3S to-CST woman that
'(lit.) My brother gave his child to that woman.' (i.e., he got her pregnant)

[157] Verb phrases are bracketed in the following examples.

6.3. Negation

6.3.1. Basic syntax of negation

The general negation is a single morpheme **ce**, which is used in all negative sentences except imperative.[158] It always comes at the beginning of the predicate phrase, following the subject clitic, in the same position as aspect markers. It can be combined to Realis or Irrealis mood:

Nam ce opo-i-da pada.
1S:R NEG like-TR-3P spider
'I don't like spiders.'

Co ce levse vëi-a.
1IN:I NEG know do-3S
'We won't be able to do it.'

Remarkably, the use of negation triggers the presence of subject clitics, even when the affirmative sentence does not take them, that is, for non-verbal predicates. On the one hand, VP predicates just add the clitic **ce** to the affirmative sentence:

Mo vëa lo hamali.
3:R go LOC men's.house
'He went to the men's house.'

Mo ce vëa lo hamali.
3:R NEG go LOC men's.house
'He didn't go to the men's house.'

Conversely, direct predicates such as NPs need subject clitics only when they are negated:

Vëral ne [vëral hanhan].
banana this banana food
'This banana is for eating.'

Vëral ne [mo ce vëral hanhan].
banana this 3:R NEG banana food
'This banana is not for eating.'

A way to interpret this rule, would be to say that the presence of a negation provides the NP predicate with some modal value, which is typical of VP predicates; this is how NPPs transform into (so-called) 'VP predicates'.[159]

---

[158] The case of prohibitive sentences (clitic **kan**) will be reviewed in §6.4.2 p.168.

[159] The same phenomenon was observed when NP predicates combine with aspect markers (§6.1.1 p.151). See also the explanation in §5.6 p.149.

Notice also the next sentence, in which the third person clitic is used as a subject, while the predicate is a first person. In fact, the very same paradox appears in the English equivalent *It is (not) me*:

Mo ce na hosun nam nak-i-a racu ro.
3:R NEG 1S REL 1S:R kill-TR-3S man PRG
'It is not me who killed the man.'

This subject clitic would be impossible in an affirmative sentence (see §4.1.1.2).

6.3.2. Negative complex morphemes

The negation **ce** combines with other elements, for example aspect markers, to build complex negative morphemes. Some of them were already mentioned, and will be reviewed briefly here.

- Negation **ce** + aspect **le** 'again' → **ce le** 'no longer' (§5.3.2.2):

Mo ̈va, mo dogo leo-do, mo ̈va, mo ce le dogo otoṁe.
3:R go 3:R hear voice-3P 3:R go 3:R NEG again hear properly
'At first, they could hear their voices, but then they could not hear properly any more.'

- Negation **ce** + aspect **ṁisi** 'still' → **ce ṁisi** 'not yet' (§5.3.3):

Racu ne, mo ce ṁisi rai-a.
man this 3:R NEG still cut-3S
'This man is not yet circumcised (lit. they have not cut him yet).'

- Negation **ce** + partitive **re** 'some' → 'not any'.

Nam ce les re raṗala-ku.
1S:R NEG see some friend-1S
'I did not see any friend of mine.'

- Negation **ce** + NP **re hina** 'some thing' → 'nothing'.

Nam sivo nam de deṽedeṽe ṁaci, nam ce var re hina.
1S:R go.down 1S:R say pull:DUP fish 1S:R NEG hold some thing
'I went for fishing, but I didn't catch anything.'

- Negation **ce** + adverb **n-re-dan** 'on some day' → 'never'.

Mo ce usa n-re-dan.
3:R NEG rain OBL-some-day
'It never rains.'

The three latter combinations were explained and illustrated in §4.3.6.6 p.64 (*Partitive* re *in negative contexts*). They are narrowly related with the phrase **mo ce re** 'there is not (any)', which has grammaticised with a negative existential meaning; this phrase is being discussed below.

6.3.3. Negative existential and grammaticisation

The combination <negation **ce** + Verb + partitive **re** in object position>, had the frequent effect of implying the non-existence of this object:

Mo	**ce**	LES	**re**	**cau**	**lo**	**leṗa.**
3:R	NEG	see	some	coconut.crab	LOC	ground

'They didn't see any coconut-crab on the ground.'
(→ suggests that *there is no* such crab)

We have suggested that this particular use of **re** has resulted in an existential structure, in which **re** is the predicate head ('exist, be there');[160] this is visible from the position of aspect **le**:

Mo	**ce**	**le**	**RE**	**hina,**	**nia**	**hosun.**
3:R	NEG	again	exist	thing	3S	that

'There is nothing (to say) any more, that's it.' [conclusive sentence]

In turn, the frequent sequence <**ce re** + N> was reinterpreted as – that is, grammaticised into – a complex predicate **ce-re** meaning 'do not exist, not be there':

Mo	**ce-re**	**cau**	**lo**	**leṗa.**
3:R	NEG-some	coconut.crab	LOC	ground

'There is not any coconut-crab on the ground.'

If the object has a possessive marker, then the whole phrase corresponds to 'have not':

Niko	**mo**	**ce-re**	**monohi-m!**
2S	3:R	NEG-some	brain-2S

'You have no brain!' (you stupid!) lit. 'You, (there) is not any brain of yours.'

Nko	**pa**	**racu**	**tilavono,**	**co**	**ce-re**	**no-m**	**hina.**
2S	SEQ	man	poor	3S:I	NEG-some	POSS-2S	thing

'You will become a poor man, you will not have anything.'

Notice that the predicate **ce re**, like any VP-type predicate, is sensitive to mood (cf. **co** in last sentence) and aspect (cf. **re** 'Perfect' in next one):

---

[160] This was suggested in our chapter about the clitic **re** (§4.3.6.7 p.65).

Kesi racu mo roho ro kia, mo *re* ce-re no-no paua.
now man 3:R stay PRG there 3:R PFT NEG-some POSS-3S force
'Nowadays some people live there, the (devil's) force has disappeared.'

Evidence for the rigidification of **ce-re** as being one single predicate, is precisely given by the position of some aspect markers before v. after the negation **ce**.[161]

6.3.4. Independent negation

When the object referred to is obvious from the context, the pronominal use of **re** is possible (§4.3.6.5):

Re raṁare? – Mo ce re. 'Are there devils? – No, there is not any.'
some devil 3:R NEG some

The phrase **mo ce re** 'there is not any' has become the common word for 'no' (independent negation):

Na racu, niko mo-ce-re. 'I am a man, you are not.'
1S man 2S 3:R-NEG-some

This is very common at the end of yes/no questions:

Om re goro vo mo-ce-re? 'Have you slept or not?'
2S:R PFT sleep or 3:R-NEG-some

What prevents us from considering a complete grammaticisation/rigidification of these three words into one (> **mocere** 'no'), is its sensitivity to Irrealis modality:

Co pa usa vo co ce-re? 'Will it rain or not?'
3S:I SEQ rain or 3S:I NEG-some

The only rigidification we have is probably that of **ce+re > cere**, in such a way that the independent negation should be best spelt **mo cere** 'no'.

As far as negation is concerned, many languages in Vanuatu have followed a path which is typologically quite common, consisting in the incorporation of the partitive quantifier (Araki **re**) into the negation itself; this is what happened with French *pas* (in *ne ... pas*), and also with morphemes of the very same origin as Araki **re**, within Vanuatu.[162] Araki has not followed the same diachronic processes, and despite the diverse uses of **re**, none can be said to be directly negative; if this

[161] For example, the aspect clitic **le** shows sometimes the predicate head to be RE alone (e.g. **Mo ce *le* RE hina** 'There is nothing any more'), and sometimes CE-RE as a whole (**Mo *le* CE-RE hina**), with the same global meaning. See §5.3.2.2 p.116.

[162] Mwotlap (pers. data), contrary to other languages in the Banks group, has grammaticised its partitive **te** as the second part of its negation. Robert Early (1994) shows that the particle **re** in Lewo is homophonous with a partitive, and provides evidence from other Vanuatu languages too.

were true, we would have something like ***Nam ce re ӧa** or ***Nam ce ӧa re** 'I didn't go', which are both ungrammatical. Negation in Araki only consists of the morpheme **ce**, and its combination with **re** concerns exclusively

- the negative-existential predicate [**mo ce-re** +N], in which **re** keeps playing its basic quantifying role;
- the independent negation [**mo ce-re**].

6.3.5. Negation and modality

Finally, negation has an interesting effect on the modality of dependent clauses, causing it to switch from Realis to Irrealis.[163]

We shall illustrate it with three slightly different sentences, which are (truth-value) statements about a door being easy v. hard to open; they all consist of a main verb **ede** 'open', and a second clause which indicates whether this first action is easy (lit. **holo** 'good') or not.[164]

1. **M̈arasala nene mo ede mo holo-ho.**
   door this 3:R open 3:R good-INT
   'This door opens easily.' (lit. it opens [so that] it IS easy)

Sentence 1 is affirmative, in such a way that both clauses belong to the same pragmatic/logical level. Their truth values necessarily go together, that is, if the whole statement is true, then both clauses are true too ('the door opens' + 'it is easy'). This is why both must take Realis modality.

A way to negate the latter statement, would be to add the negation to the second part of the sentence: 'the door opens' + 'it is not easy'. In logical terms, this second part is precisely what falls under the scope of the negation:

2. **M̈arasala nene mo ede mo CE holo-ho.**
   door this 3:R open 3:R NEG good-INT
   'This door does not open easily.' (lit. opens [so that] it IS NOT easy)

In this case, both clauses still respond to a truth value judgment: first, it-is-true-that the door opens; second, it-is-true-that it is not easy. Since both clauses have referential/epistemic values of their own, they still must take Realis modality.

But there is a second way to negate sentence 1, that is applying the negation to the whole sentence. Although the whole meaning is roughly synonymous with sentence 2, the strategy is different: instead of saying 'it opens' + 'it is not easy',

---

[163] We briefly alluded to this phenomenon in §5.2.2.2 p.111.

[164] This is an original feature of Araki, that clause chaining is a strategy used when European languages prefer subordination or adverbs. See §7.3.2.2 p.193.

what will be negated is the global notion of 'easy opening'. The consequence of this situation is that the first clause is Realis, but the second one *must be Irrealis*:

3. **M̈arasala nene mo CE ede co holo-ho.**
door this 3:R NEG open 3S:I good-INT
'This door does not open easily.' (lit. does NOT open [so that] it BE easy)

The reason for this mood switching is that both clauses cannot be on the same level with regard to truth value: if it is true that the door does *not* open, then the ease v. difficulty of this opening cannot be true itself, but is necessarily virtual. As a consequence, it wouldn't make sense to provide the second clause with a truth value, and with the pragmatic status of an assertion ('*the door doesn't open, and it is easy'). A better gloss of sentence 3 could be 'This door does NOT open-in-a-way-which-would-be-easy'. In other words, the Irrealis marker **co** implies that the second clause (**co holo-ho**) is subordinate to the main verb (**ede**).

Here is another pair of mood-switching sentences, which concerns (the equivalent of our) relative clauses:

Nam re lesi-a racu mo hese | mo levsei-a no-co sodo.
1S:R PFT see-3S man 3:R one 3:R know-3S POSS-1IN talk
'I have met a man who knows our language.'

Mo ce re racu ne | co levsei-a no-co sodo.
3:R NEG some man here 3S:I know-3S POSS-1IN talk
'There isn't anybody here who knows our language.'

Once again, the use of negation in the main clause causes the reference to become virtual, that is, non-referential (cf. **re**); as a consequence, the relative clause switches from Realis to Irrealis mood. These facts strongly recall data in Romance languages, which use subjunctive in subordinate clauses under the scope of a negation;[165] for example French *Je connais quelqu'un qui peut t'aider* 'I know somebody who can [Indicative] help you' v. *Je ne connais personne qui puisse t'aider* 'I don't know anybody who can [Subjunctive] help you'.

These data confirm the strong link which exists, in Araki grammar, between negative sentences, and virtuality/non-specificity of the reference, whether an object or an event.[166]

[165] From a typological point of view, it is a well-known fact that a negated sentence involves the non-referentiality of dependent noun phrases (Givón 1984:331, 391).

[166] See §4.3.6.2 p.60, and fn.96 p.108.

6.4. Sentence types

6.4.1. General remarks

Although the grammatical description we have been presenting focuses on assertive sentences, some remarks were made about other sentence types, such as orders and questions. Generally speaking, neither of these types involves any change in the order of constituents, contrary to what occurs in European languages; but they differ from assertive sentences on other regards, which will be detailed below.

Among general points, we underlined the affinity of these non-affirmative types of sentences with the non-referentiality of objects and events – the same way as for negative sentences in last paragraph. This explains why, contrary to affirmations, they are all compatible with partitive **re**:

Om	**re**	**han**	**<u>re</u>**	**visiho**	**sip**	**mo**	**iso?**
2S:R	PFT	eat	some	meat	sheep	3:R	finish

'Have you ever tasted mutton?'

No-ku	**ta,**	**o**	**vodo**	**<u>re</u>**	**päka-ku,**	**<u>re</u>**	**vina-ku.**
POSS-1S	dad	2S:I	make	some	bow-1S,	some	arrow-1S

'Dad, please make me a bow, make me some arrows.'

This affinity with non-referential reference is also striking in the next question. Contrary to the following assertion, the generic NP does not trigger necessarily the presence of transitivity suffixes on the verb (see p.139):

– **Ruai,**	**ham**	**levsei**	**<u>inu</u>**	**ai**	**vädug?**
before	2P:R	know	drink	water	hot

– **Oo,**	**kaṁam**	**levsei**	**<u>inum-i-a</u>**	**ai**	**vädug.**
yes	1EX:P	know	drink-TR-3S	water	hot

'In the olden days, did you use to drink tea? – Yes, we used to drink tea.'

However, both imperative and interrogative verbs do take these transitivity suffixes, whenever the object is referential and definite.

Other properties, more specific of each sentence-type, are detailed below.

6.4.2. Imperative sentences

All imperative sentences take Irrealis modality, by definition, since they refer to virtual events (§5.2.1.2). The verb must be preceded by its subject clitic:

O	**ruen-i-á!**	**(*Ruen-i-á!)**
2S:I	help-TR-1S	

'Help me!'

Except for prosody, all imperative sentences are thus formally identical with sentences expressing an intent or a near future (for example 'You should help me', 'you are going to help me'). Imperative sentences can have a subject different from a second person:

Nohosu co oloña, nene co oloña!
DX3 3S:I bow.head DX1 3S:I bow.head
'Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head ...'

We have presented how the post-clitics **ro** 'Suggestive' and **ra** 'first' help form polite orders (§5.3.8.2 p.128):

O sov ro ña̱komono!
2S:I wait SUG a.bit
'Please wait a minute!'

O ña̱p ra!
2S:I rest first
'Before anything else, you should rest.'

A negative order does not use the ordinary negation **ce**, but the modal clitic **kan** 'Prohibitive':

O kan vari-a sule vahasu, o vari-a nenen!
2S:I PROH hold-3S stone over.there 2S:I hold-3S here
'Don't take that stone over there, (you'd better) take this one!'

With another person, the same **kan** means 'must not':

Na kan sa lo ima-na.
1S:I PROH go.up LOC house-3S
'I should not go/I am not supposed to go to his house.'

And the same morpheme corresponds to English 'lest/in order not to'[167] when the clause it belongs to depends from an action verb:

O kla ro co kan covi!
2S:I look SUG 3S:I PROH fall
'Take care that he does not fall!'

6.4.3. Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences can take either Realis or Irrealis modality.[168] Yes/no questions are similar to the corresponding question, except for prosody:

[167] This use is called 'negative-purpose/precaution complementiser' by Lichtenberk (1991; 1995).

[168] See fn.94 p.106.

Om re hanhan mo iso?
2S:R PFT eat 3:R finish
'Have you already had dinner?'

Quite often, the interrogation is marked by a final tag ... **vo mo-ce-re?** '... or not?' (§6.3.4):

Om re goro vo mo-ce-re?
2S:R PFT sleep or not
'Have you slept or not?'

The only restriction associated with questions concerns the adjectival suffix **-ha** 'Intensifier', which is normally possible only in assertions (§4.6.2):

Om holo (*-ho) ro? – Nam holo-ho ro.
2S:R good PRG 1S:R good-INT PRG
'Are you all right? – Yes, I'm fine.'

As far as Wh- questions are concerned, the interrogative words take the same slot as the word they replace:

Naru-m mo visa? – Naru-ku mo dua.
child-2S 3:R how.many child-1S 3:R two
'(lit.) You have *how many* children? – I have two.'

Om de se mo po-i-ko?
2S:R say who 3:R like-TR-2S
'Who do you think loves you?' lit. You think *who* loves you?

Interrogative words include **sa** 'what', **se** 'who', **ve** 'where', **gisa** 'when', **visa** 'how many':

Nica co pa han re sa?
1IN 1IN:I SEQ eat some what
'What are we going to eat?'

Hica-m se?
name-2S who
'What (lit. Who) is your name?'

Co de co va mara-n re cada, o pa kaka gisa?
1IN:I say 1IN:I go from-CST some place 2S:I SEQ reach when
'Suppose we start racing from a point: when will you reach (the end)?'

Om va lo hamali vo om ta ve?
2S:R go LOC men's.house or 2S:R come where
'Have you been in the men's house, or what (lit. or where are you coming from)?'

In the last sentence, notice the frequent tag for Wh- questions: for example *Did you go to this place, or where did you go?*

The interrogative article ('what X, which') is **sava**, a longer form of **sa**. It comes before a noun, for example **sava hina** 'what thing':

O pa levsei lo dan hosu sava hina co pa mña isa-m.
2S:I SEQ know LOC day that which thing 3S:I SEQ come to-2S

'You will know, on that very day, what kind of events will happen to you.'

Two interrogative words are derived from **sa** 'what', that is, **sohe sa** 'like what → how' and **mña sa** 'because of what → why':

Na pa mñare sohe sa?
1S:I SEQ dead like what

'How will I die?' (to an oracle)

Mñara sa om sadai ro lo tep?
because what 2S:R sit PRG LOC table

'Why are you sitting on the table?'

Finally, our corpus apparently provides evidence of an interrogative verb of the form **rodo ~ ro** 'do what, be like what, be how':

Om ro ro?
2S:R do.what PRG

'What are you doing?' *or* 'How are you?'

Mo rodo?
3:R do.what

'What's going on?'

Interestingly, the latter phrase is used as an interrogative word for 'why, for what reason', as an alternative to **mña sa**:

Mo ro om ce opo-i Joj?
3:R do.what 2S:R NEG like-TR George

'Why don't you like George?' (lit. 'What happens [so that] you don't ...?')

7. *Complex sentences*

After this detailed description of single clauses, this chapter will present briefly the different ways in which clauses are linked together.

7.1. Coordination

Coordination as a clause-linker is far from being widespread in Araki: clause chaining is by far the preferred strategy. Nevertheless, some coordinators exist, whose meaning is more precise than just 'and'.

- The most frequent coordinator is **pani ~ pan** 'and, but', which usually carries an adversative meaning:

Cam ce levse lesi-a, pani nia mo roho ro.
1IN:R NEG know see-3S but 3S 3:R stay PRG
'We are not able to see him [ghost], *yet* he is around.'

Mo hani-a pani cam di cam hahada.
3:R eat-3S but yam ANA yam red
'(The rat saw a piece of yam and) ate it. *The trouble is*, this yam was red yam.'

- The word for 'or' is **voni ~ von ~ vo**:

Racu vo p̈ira?
man or woman
'(Is it) a boy *or* a girl?'

Mo m̈are vo mo m̈audi ro?
3:R dead or 3:R live PRG
'Is he dead, *or* is he still alive?'

Co pa usa vo co ce-re?
3S:I SEQ rain or 3S:I NEG-some
'Will it be raining *or* not?'

- **M̈ara** 'because' can be said to have coordinating effects:

  Siho mo m̈alokoloko m̈ara mo ce hanhan.
  Kingfisher 3:R exhausted because 3:R NEG eat
  'The Kingfisher was exhausted, because it had not eaten anything.'

  Mo com̈i naivou-da m̈ara nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro.
  3:R regret wife-3P because 3P 3:R go 3:R GLOB 3:R dance PRG
  'They regretted their wives, because they had left to dance with (other men).'

- Frequent use is made of the Bislama coordinator **ale** (< Fr. *allez*). Possible meanings are 'OK; then; now; so; finally':

  Mo huden-i-a lo paru-na, ale mo m̈a mo m̈a.
  3:R put-TR-3S LOC head-3S then 3:R come 3:R come
  'He stuck (the red flower) on his head, *and then* he came closer (to them).'

  Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na.
  then Araki 3:R SEQ move 3:R go.down LOC deep.sea because-3S
  '*That is why* Araki island decided to shift southward, towards the ocean.'

  Mo v̈a ro; ale p̈ira mo hese mo roho rav̈al cigo mle v̈a.
  3:R go PRG then woman 3:R one 3:R stay beyond cape go.away go
  'So he went his way ... *Now*, there was a woman living beyond the cape.'

As far as coordination between NPs is concerned, there are three ways to translate English 'X and Y', which have been detailed elsewhere. These are:

- the noun-like preposition **nida-** 'with' (§6.2.1);
- the comitative suffix **-n(i)**, only with free pronouns (§4.1.1.3);
- the numeral **rolu** 'three → and', with personal pronouns (§4.5.4.7).

7.2. Subordination

Subordination exists in Araki, but it must be kept in mind that many English subordinate structures correspond to a simple pattern of clause chaining in Araki (that is, conjunction *zero*); whether the latter constructions must be called 'subordination' in this language deserves discussion (see §7.2.1.2, §7.3.2.3).

7.2.1. Relative clauses

A noun phrase can be modified by a relative clause. Thanks to this strategy, tracking the reference of a NP is done by recalling a property of the object which

has previously been assigned to it: for example English *The house I bought last year* gives the instruction to the hearer, to remember a house that has already been characterised, in a broader context, by such and such property.

Araki shows two kinds of relative clauses: one which is marked by a relativiser; the other which is not marked by any subordinating morpheme, and resorts only to clause chaining.

7.2.1.1. Relative clauses with a relativiser

The word which is used to build relative clauses is in fact the demonstrative[169] of the third grade **(no)(ho)su(n)**; since three affixes are optional, this makes many allomorphs for the relativiser – the most frequent being **nohosu**. For a demonstrative to be used as a relativiser is not rare typologically, cf. English *that*.

The demonstrative appears in its normal position within the NP (see §4.8), and is immediately followed by the subordinate clause. Inside this clause, the relativiser can be agreed upon by a third person subject (**mo**) or object (**-a**):

Va p̈ira mo dogo, p̈ira uluvo [hosun mo roho ro raẅal cigo].
the woman 3:R hear woman young that 3:R stay PRG beyond cape

'He was heard by the woman, the young woman who (she) lived beyond the cape.'

The relativiser can refer to someone other than the third person. In the next sentence, notice that the subject clitic inside the relative clause (**om** 'thou') agrees with the antecedent of the relative (**inko**): thus we have a pattern like *You are the one who (you) are clever* instead of *... the one who is clever.*

Inko [hosu nanov om lito-vi-á]?
2S that yesterday 2S:R spit-TR-1S

'Is it you, the one who (you) scolded me yesterday?'

Notice the possibility of pluralising the relative marker, by means of the plural clitic **dai**:

Dai [nohosu mo roho ro Naura-lap̈a] mo dogo leo-do ro.
PL that 3:R stay PRG Mainland 3:R hear voice-3P PRG

'Those who were on the mainland (Santo) could hear their voices.'

Knowing that **dai** cannot be the head of the NP, the latter example suggests that the demonstrative-relativiser itself is the head, as is the case when a relative clause has no overt antecedent. This happens usually when reference is made to a generic set of people (for example *those who*, see last example) or to an inanimate notion, with no allusion to a specific noun (for example *what I saw*):

[169] Demonstratives were detailed in §4.4 p.69; concerning uses of **(no)hosu(n)** as a relativiser, see also *Table 4-40* p.76.

Mo sui-ha mo ceu [nohosu nam coṁcoṁ-i-a].
3:R strong-INT 3:R surpass that 1S:R think-TR-3S
'He is stronger than (lit. He is strong he surpasses) what I believed.'

It can also happen in the case of an elliptical phrase pointing to a noun already mentioned in the context – cf. English *The one I saw* instead of *The woman I saw*:

Mo levse posi-a naho dai p̈ira sohe [nosun om po-i-a ro].
3:R know change-3S face PL woman like that 2S:R like-TR-3S PRG
'(This devil) knows how to transform women's faces into the one you love.'

In all these sentences, notice that the relativiser is only coding for subordination, without bearing any case marking. Like in Arabic or many other languages, the syntactic function of the relativiser is normally indicated by a resumptive pronoun inside the clause (here the object suffix **-a**): what we have is literally *stronger than that I believed it*, that is, 'stronger than what I believed'.

Conversely, it happens sometimes that the antecedent is not resumed in the relative clause, so that its function must be guessed from the context. This is especially true when the function of the relativiser inside the subordinate clause is oblique:

Ima [nohosu nam vodo ro] mo re ug.
house that 1S:R be.born PRG 3:R PFT burnt
'The house I was born (*in*) has burnt.'

7.2.1.2. Relative clauses without a relativiser

The evidence shown in the last paragraph reveals how a demonstrative word can be used as a relative marker. However, it would be misleading to consider that such a relativiser maps exactly our own relative structures. In fact, many relative clauses in Araki do not resort to any subordinating marker, but use clause chaining instead:

Nam de na tovo leta [nam vari-a].
1S:R say 1S:I read letter 1S:R hold-3S
'(lit.) I am going to read the letter I received it.'

Nam poe ima [m̈arasala-da mo raha lap̈a].
1S:R like house door-3P 3:R RESUL big
'(lit.) I like houses their doors are big.'

By definition, this kind of non-overt subordination is hard to distinguish from a plain case of same-level clause chaining, which is very common in Araki (§7.3):

Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi | mo si | mo colo.
3:R kill outright the woman that 3:R go.down 3:R drown
'He killed outright that woman, who/she sank down.'

Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese | mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun.
3:R hear crab 3:R one 3:R stay there inside-CST tree that
'He heard a crab, which/it was there inside that tree.'

Of course, English translation is not a sufficient argument to say there is or there is not a subordination; but we claim that it is possible to identify relative clauses through its linguistic effects at a larger scale than the whole sentence, that is, discourse consistency and topic continuity. To our view, a clause is a relative clause if it can be shown that:

- its topic does not affect the topic continuity occurring immediately before and after it;
- it does not provide any new information, but is only there to recall some background predication;
- its aim is to help track back the reference of a NP, which is involved in another (adjacent) clause itself.

This pragmatic definition of subordination – especially relative clauses – may be difficult to observe in speech, but it is strongly suggested by the very data, together with our typological investigations;[170] moreover, a study on prosodic strategies should be able to confirm the first intuitions.

Notice that our first example above satisfies our definition: the speaker is not making two statements on the same level ('I'm going to read a letter, and I received it'), but recalling a piece of background information ('I received a letter'), which is supposed to be already known by the addressee, in order to help track the reference of an element inside the main, foreground clause. Another example of relative clause without a relativiser is given below; notice that it refers again to a background predication ('you caught a fish this afternoon'):

Mo ce m̈aci ne [nam dev̈e], nia v̈ahasu.
3:R NEG fish here 1S:R pull 3S over.there
'It is not this fish which I caught (lit. not this fish I caught it),[171] it is that one.'

---

[170] It is not rare typologically to have relative clauses with no subordinating morpheme except prosody. Tok Pisin (English-based pidgin of Papua New Guinea) has sentences like *Mani em i stap arere long bokis em i bilong mi* 'The money [which] is near the box belongs to me' (Dutton & Thomas 1985:143).

[171] **Dev̈e** 'pull, fish' belongs to the set of transitive verbs ending in /e/, which do not take transitive or object suffixes (§5.4.2 p.134); but another verb would take them in this sentence: **mo ce m̈aci ne [nam var-i-a]** 'it is not this fish I-grabbed-it'.

Conversely, the next sentence shows no subordination, since both clauses belong to the same level of (foreground) information in the discourse: it must be analysed as a simple case of clause chaining. As a consequence, **nosun** is not the relativiser (*'the place *which* people live in'), but a demonstrative:

Kesi cada nosun | racu mo roho kia, | mo re ce re no-no paua.
now place that man 3:R stay there 3:R PFT NEG some POSS-3S power
'Nowadays, that place is inhabited, it has lost all of his (the devil's) power.'

7.2.2. Conditional systems

A case was left apart in our study of modality (§5.2), that is the behaviour of conditional sentences with regard to mood-marking. The first idea that comes to mind, is that all conditional systems, since they refer to virtual events, should be coded as Irrealis. In fact, we will see that this is true only of some sentences, while for other kinds of hypotheses, Realis mood is required.

Three markers are used for conditional sentences, corresponding to English 'if': **vada**, **aru**, **co de**. According to our corpus, only **co de** is incompatible with Realis mood, whereas **vada** can take both moods. These three hypothetical markers differ slightly in meaning, as is explained below. We will also discuss the use of **napdogo** 'even if' (concessive conditional).

*7.2.2.1. The conditional conjunction **co de** 'suppose, if'*

Co de is again a new instance of the verb 'say', which is concerned by many syntactic issues in Araki.[172] If **co** is the Third singular (Irrealis) pronoun, then **co de** would be difficult to translate – lit. 'let him say that'; but it is more probably the First inclusive plural Irrealis pronoun ('1IN:I'), referring to the speaker and his addressee. In this case, **co de** has to be understood as 'let us say that' → 'if', in a very similar way to English *(let's) suppose*:

Co de na v̈a, raṁare co pa hani-á.
1IN:I say 1S:I go devil 3S:I SEQ eat-1S
'Suppose I go there (lit. Let's say that I shall go), I will be devoured by a devil!'

All our examples of **co de** are with an Irrealis verb in both clauses, which is not surprising since **co de** itself contains Irrealis mood. Semantically speaking, this conditional conjunction can express two kinds of hypotheses. It can refer to a possible situation in the future:

[172] Its basic uses were presented in §5.2.2.3 p.112, and we will present its syntactic use as a conjunction, in §7.2.5 p.184.

Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.
1IN:I say 2S:I weep 3S:I finish 2S:I SEQ eat

'If/When you finish crying, you will have your dinner.'

or it can present a Counterfactual hypothesis about the present:

Co de na m̈aci, na pa avu.
1IN:I say 1S bird 1S:I SEQ fly

'If I were a bird, I would fly.'

This ambiguity suggests that the difference between possible hypothesis and counterfactual, contrary to many other languages, is not really grammaticised in Araki.

*7.2.2.2. The conditional conjunction **aru** 'if'*

Aru occurs in our corpus only with Realis mood in the conditional clause. Like **co de**, it can refer either to a possible hypothesis:

Aru mo usa, co pa re ai.
if 3:R rain 3:R SEQ some/exist water

'If it rains [next week], we will have water.'

or to a counterfactual situation in the past:

Aru mo usa, mo pa re ai.
if 3:R rain 3:R SEQ some/exist water

'If it had rained [last week], we would have water.'

Interestingly, the semantic difference between both sentences is not coded by a modal change on the conditional clause, but on the main clause. It is paradoxical to have a Realis marker (**mo**) in a clause referring to a counterfactual, which is by definition disconnected from the real world. The right interpretation is suggested by the conjunction **aru**, which shows the whole clause to be hypothetical, in such a way that the only function of Realis **mo** in the main clause, is to indicate that the hypothesis takes place in the past, not in the future; the counterfactual sense is a logical consequence of this combination.[173]

On the other hand, notice the possibility to find the verb-conjunction **de** following the conjunction **aru**: instead of **Aru mo usa**, we could have **Aru mo de mo usa**, with the same meaning(s) 'if it rains/had rained'.

[173] In the case of this particular sentence, notice also that the Realis interpretation (*'there was some water') is being blocked by the quantifier **re**, which cannot refer to any specific referent; this forces into a non-specific, counterfactual interpretation of the whole sentence (see §4.3.6.7 p.65).

*7.2.2.3. The conditional conjunction **vada** 'when; if'*

Vada is a common subordinator[174] in Araki, probably deriving etymologically from the same root as **vadai** 'say, tell'. When used in a topic clause, **vada** is most often associated to Realis mood. It can refer either to a single event in the past (English 'when'), to a generic event in the global situation (English 'whenever'), or to a possible event in the future (English 'when', 'if', 'in case').

Vada mo tapulo usa ro, co mule.
when 3:R start rain PRG 3S:I go.home
'When it begins to rain, we shall go back home.'

Nanaru-ku mo avulai m̈ara vada mo usa.
children-1S 3:R glad because when 3:R rain
'My children enjoy the rain (lit. They are glad because + when it rains).'

Vada om poe-i-a o d' o pa racu-laṗa, o levse sa kia.
when 2S:R like-TR-3S 2S:I say 2S:I SEQ man-big 2S:I know go.up there
'Suppose you want to become a chief, you can go there [and ask the oracle].'

With the same conditional meaning – possible hypothesis on the future – **vada** is also compatible with Irrealis:

Raẅalu wik, vada lag co losu, co pa usa.
beyond week when wind 3S:I (tempest) 3S:I SEQ rain
'Next week, if there is a hurricane, it will rain.'

Observe the same sentence without **vada**:

Raẅalu wik, lag co losu, co pa usa.
beyond week wind 3S:I (tempest) 3S:I SEQ rain
'Next week, there will be a hurricane, and it will rain.'

The next example interestingly combines the two conjunctions **vada** and **co de**, in two embedded hypotheses:

VADA o vari-a hadiv ro sivo o plan-i-a lo rasi,
when 2S:I hold-3S rat SUG down 2S:I throw-TR-3S LOC sea

CO DE re huira co roho ro raholo lo cada di,
1IN:I say some octopus 3S:I stay PRG straight LOC place ANA

o lesi-a huira co sa kia co taur-i-a co vari-a.
2S:I see-3S octopus 3S:I go.up there 3S:I seize-TR-3S 3S:I hold-3S
'Suppose you throw a rat into the sea: if there is an octopus right in the same place, you will see the octopus jump to it, seize it and shake it ...'

[174] **Vada** is especially attested as a complementiser with volitional verbs: see §5.2.2.2 p.111.

7.2.2.4. The concessive conditional ***napdogo vada*** *'even if'*

Finally, the combination of <**napdogo** 'although' (+ **vada** 'when') + Irrealis> codes for a concessive conditional.

Napdogo	**(vada)**	**co**	**usa,**	**pla-m**	**pera**	**co**	**ce**	**levse**	**m̈audu.**
although	when	3S:I	rain	ECON-2S	taro	3S:I	NEG	know	live

'Even if it rains, your taro won't be able to grow properly.'

The marking of modality in the latter sentence can be compared with the next one, in which < **napdogo** + Realis > code for a concessive (non-conditional) clause:

Napdogo	**mo**	**usa,**	**pla-ku**	**pera**	**mo**	**ce**	**m̈audu.**
although	3:R	rain	ECON-1S	taro	3:R	NEG	live

'Although it rained/it is raining, my taro is not growing.'

The distribution of Irrealis v. Realis moods here are consistent with the semantic status of the event: with Irrealis, the rain is only a future possibility; but with Realis mood, it is an actual event which has already happened.[175]

7.2.2.5. Summary: condition and modality

In *Table 7-49*, we sum up the syntactic behaviour of these four conditional conjunctions, with regard to modality: some are attested only with one mood, others with both Realis or Irrealis, with no obvious explanation. The two columns on the right show that the opposition between counterfactual hypothesis (for example 'If I went/had been there') and future-possible conditional (for example 'If I go there') is not grammaticised in Araki; or at least, this semantic contrast does not match systematically the morphological split between Realis and Irrealis.

Table 7-49 Conditionals and modality: summary

	+ Realis	*+ Irrealis*	*counterfactual*	*possible event*
co de	–	'if'	+	+
aru	'if'	–	+	+
vada	'if'	'if'	–	+
napdogo	'although'	'even if'	–	+

[175] The same semantic consistency is found with Spanish *aunque*: it means 'although' with Indicative mood (e.g. *Aunque está enfermo* 'Although he is sick ...'), but 'even if' with Subjunctive (e.g. *Aunque esté enfermo* 'Even if he was sick ...').

7.2.2.6. Brief note on **pa** *'Sequential'*

Finally, we have not yet underlined the following fact, although it is quite visible in most of the sentences we have just been mentioning. In conditional sentences of Araki, not only the protatic clause is marked with a conjunction, but the apodosis also shows very often a specific marker, that is, aspectual **pa**:

Aru mo usa, mo PA **re ai.**
if 3:R rain 3:R SEQ some/exist water
'If it had rained, we would have water.'

Co de o rag co iso, o PA **hanhan.**
1IN:I say 2S:I weep 3S:I finish 2S:I SEQ eat
'If/When you finish crying, you will have your dinner.'

This particle **pa**, glossed SEQ 'Sequential', indicates a necessary relationship, either logical or temporal, between two events.[176] According to this definition, it is easy to understand why this aspect particle **pa** appears so often – though not always – on the apodosis of a conditional system: in the implication *'if P, then Q'*, Q is the consequence of P, following what is usually a relationship of necessity.[177]

7.2.3. Time clauses

Time relations between two clauses most often resort to clause chaining, especially in the case of a simple succession between events.

Nam lahi, dan mo liṁa mo iso lag mo (pa) losu.
1S:R marry day 3:R five 3:R finish wind 3:R SEQ (tempest)
'Five days after I married, there was a hurricane.'
(lit. 'I married, days were five it finished, the wind made a hurricane')

Very often, the time relationships between two clauses are underlined by the time-focus marker **pa** (§5.3.5), without any other marking of subordination:

Na pa sna, co re usa.
1S:I SEQ come 3S:I PFT rain
'(When) I come back, it will have rained.'

When the speaker wants to refer to some time in the past, one possible strategy is to use a prepositional phrase plus a relative clause, similar to English *at the time*

---

[176] In this regard, Araki **pa** is very similar to Mandarin Chinese *jiù* 'just, precisely; then ...'. Notice that the latter is also very common to introduce the consequence of a conditional, with no other marking on the protasis: *Nǐ xiǎng mǎi, jiù mǎi ba!* /you/think/buy/then/buy/IMP/ '(if) you want to buy it, then just buy it!'.

[177] More is said about the aspect particle **pa** in §5.3.5 p.118.

we were there ... In this case, the pivot word is **dani** 'day', with a generic meaning referring to any period of time:[178]

Mo	**vari-a**	**nunu**	**lo dani**	**no-m̈am**	**ta**	**mo**	**pa**	**m̈is**	**m̈audu**	**ro.**
3:R	take-3S	shadow	LOC day	POSS-1EX	dad	3:R	SEQ	still	live	PRG

'He took the photo at the time our father was still alive.'

When-clauses which have a generic or hypothetical meaning (that is, 'when, whenever, if') usually take the same form as conditionals, with the conjunction **vada** (§7.2.2.3):

Vada	**mo**	**tapulo**	**usa**	**ro,**	**co**	**mule.**
when	3:R	start	rain	PRG	3S:I	go.home

'When it begins to rain, we shall go back home.'

We may also mention the subordinating use of **tade** 'every' (§4.5.5.2), to mean 'every time, whenever':

Tade	**mo**	**usa,**	**mada**	**vadidi**	**mo**	**avulai.**
every	3:R	rain	PERS	small	3:R	cheerful

'Every time it rains, the children are happy.'

The same sense can apparently be coded by the verb-conjunction **de** (§7.2.5.2). Observe the following sentence:

Rasi	**mo de**	**mo**	**m̈a**	**mo**	**nak-i-a**	**mo**	**posi**	**mo**	**vidiha**	**mo**	**lulu.**
sea	3:R	say	3:R	come	3:R	hit-TR-3S	3:R	change	3:R	black	3:R	white

'Every time the waves hit him (Octopus), he would change from black to white.'
lit. The sea wanted to come and hit him, he changed ...

In a rather strange but interesting way, the verb **de** 'say, want' has sort of grammaticised into a time conjunction. The cognitive assimilation involved here lies between, on the one hand, the virtuality of a subject's will, and on the other hand, the virtuality of an action being repeated several times.[179] This iterative meaning is then combined with a clause-chaining strategy, and results in a subordinating function.

---

[178] Cf. the adverb **n-re-dan** 'on some day > sometimes' (p.63), and its use in negative sentences, to translate English 'never' (p.163).

[179] Although Araki looks quite exotic on this point, it does recall a similar path of grammaticisation in ... English: verb *will* 'want' > aux. *will* 'Future' > past form *would* expressing repetition, e.g. *Twenty years ago the streets would be empty on Sundays.*

7.2.4. Sentential objects

There are two types of verbs which are normally followed by a clausal object.

- 'implicative' verbs (for example **vadai** 'say that', **levsei** 'know that', **lesi** 'see that' ...) are normally followed by a REALIS clause;
- 'non-implicative' verbs (for example **vadai** 'tell [s.o. to do]', **poe** 'want', **sovi** 'wait for [s.th. to happen]') are followed by an IRREALIS clause.[180]

Except for the marking of modality, the subordinating strategies are similar between these two sets of verbs. Here they are summarised:

- Simple *clause chaining*, without any subordinating morpheme:

Vida haviha nam levsei-a <mo hada>.
flower Syzygium 1S:R know-3S 3:R red
'The flower of the Malay apple-tree, I know it is red.' REALIS

Nam dogo <na sile-ko n-re presin>.
1S:R feel 1S:I give-2S OBL-some present
'I feel like giving you a present.' IRREALIS

O vadai-a <co roho mälum>!
2S:I tell-3S 3S:I stay quiet
'Tell him to keep quiet!' IRREALIS

- Use of the subordinator **mära** ('because'):

Kam kila ro <mära n-re pogi o pa le mä Daki>.
1EX:R look PRG because OBL-some day 2S:I SEQ again come Araki
'We hope that one day, you will come back to Araki.' IRREALIS

- Use of the subordinator **vada** ('if, when ...'):

Mo vei-a va <vada uluvo mo le smat>.
3:R do-3S go when young 3:R again smart REALIS
'He went on (rubbing) until the young man became handsome again.'

Kam poe-i-a <vada vulu-mam co hada sohe-na>!
1EX:R like-TR-3S when hair-1EX 3S:I red like-3S
'We want our hair to be red like that!' IRREALIS

[180] The role of modality in interclausal relationships was developed in §5.2.2 p.109.

Nam sovi naivou-ku ro <vada co sle naru-na lo hanhan>.
1S:R wait wife-3S PRG when 3S:I give child-3S OBL food
'I am waiting for my wife to feed the children.' IRREALIS

- Use of the verb-conjunction **de** ('say' ...). This morpheme is so important in Araki, that it deserves being studied on its own: examples of sentential objects introduced by **de** are presented in the next paragraph.

7.2.5. The verb-conjunction de

There are several reasons for dedicating a whole paragraph to the word **de**. First, it is the second most frequent word in Araki;[181] second, the variety of its lexical meanings as a verb ('say, mean, want, etc.') is impressing;[182] third, many types of subordinate structures use **de** as their conjunction, in a construction which is rare typologically.

7.2.5.1. Presentation of de

That a verb meaning 'say' extends its use until it becomes a complementiser, is quite a common process among languages; this grammaticisation pattern is witnessed in Bislama *se* (< English *say*), which has calqued corresponding structures in several Melanesian languages, thus undertaking several subordinating functions. However, a more original feature of Araki **de**, is that this verb continues to behave as an ordinary verb synchronically, at the very same time as it takes the function of a complementiser.[183]

This does not only imply that **de** is sometimes a verb ('say, think, want ...') and sometimes a conjunction ('that'). It also means that **de** behaves syntactically like any verb, even when it is used as a subordinator: that is, it is systematically preceded by a subject clitic, which varies in person and modality.[184] An appropriate tag for this word would be 'conjugated complementiser'.

---

[181] See fn.189 p.189.

[182] These semantic values were presented in §5.2.2.3 p.112; the reader is reported to that paragraph in order to get an overall view of how the verb-conjunction **de** actually works in Araki.

[183] See also the 'verb-like complementizers' of To'aba'ita, Solomon Is. (Lichtenberk 1991:66).

[184] As far as transitivity marking is concerned, **de** belongs to a set of /e/-ending radicals which cannot be suffixed (§5.4.2 p.132).

7.2.5.2. Subordinating uses of **de**

That **de** be the second verb in a clause-chaining pattern does not necessarily imply that it is a subordinator. If the preceding verb is neither a verb of utterance nor a volitional/manipulative verb taking a sentential object, then **de** must be understood with (one of) its verbal meaning(s):

Nam	**dogo**	**leo-m**		***nam***	***de***	**pana**	**re**	**racu**	**cu.**
1S:R	hear	voice-2S		1S:R	say	maybe	some	man	handsome

'When I heard your voice, *I thought* this was some nice man.'

But **de** behaves as a subordinator when it follows certain types of verbs which take sentential objects. The structure of the whole sentence is always the same as in *Table 7-50*. Almost systematically, $Subject_2$ agrees in person and mood with $Subject_1$; as for the modality on the following clause, it may be Realis or Irrealis, according to the semantics of $Verb_1$ (§7.2.4).

Table 7-50 Syntax of the verb **de** 'say' used as a complementiser

<$Subject_1$ + $Verb_1$>	< $Subject_2$ + **de** >	< $Subject_3$ + $Verb_3$ ...>
MAIN CLAUSE	COMPLEMENTISER	SENTENTIAL OBJECT
<Nam po-i-a >	**<nam de >**	**<na in re hae >.**
1S:R like-TR-3S	1S:R say	1S:I drink some kava
'I would like to drink some kava.' (lit. 'I want *I say* I'll drink ...')		

Here comes a list of the different verbal contexts in which **de** can be used this way. Notice that when $Verb_1$ is **de** used as a verb ('say', 'think', 'want' ...), this construction is impossible: that is, we never have ***Nam de**$_1$ ***nam de**$_2$ **na in** 'I want (**de**$_1$) that (**de**$_2$) I drink' In this case, the construction is always a direct one (§5.2.2.3).

❖ Utterance verb + **de** + reported speech:

Verbs of utterance include **sodo** 'talk', **vadai** 'tell', **rigo** 'ask', **rov** 'call', **ulo** 'shout', **vavere** 'sing'. **De** introduces the reported speech, direct or indirect:

Kam	**vadai-a**	**ni-a**	**kam de**	**"O**	**polo**	**re**	**hap**	**lapa!"**
1EX:R	tell-3S	OBL-3S	1EX:R say	2S:I	light	some	fire	big

'Then we told him "Light a big fire!"'

Va	**maci**	**mo le**	**vavere**	**mo de**	***"Tata mae ha vitia hinia"***
the	bird	3:R again	sing	3:R say	(... *song* ...)

'The birds went on singing "*Tata mae ha vitia hinia*"'

Raṁare hosu, Daki mo rov-i-a mo de "Asvohinao".
devil that Araki 3:R call-TR-3S 3:R say A.
'In Araki, this devil is called "Asvohinao"'.

❖ Cognition verb + **de** + Realis object clause:

Cognition verbs include **coṁcoṁ** 'think', **levsei** 'know', **dogo** 'feel/hear', **lesi** 'see'.

Nam coṁcoṁ-i-a nam de mo ce suiha.
1S:R think-TR-3S 1S:R say 3:R NEG strong
'I thought (that) he was not strong.'

Mo levsei-a mo de raṁare mo hani-a.
3:R know-3S 3:R say devil 3:R eat-3S
'He understood that the devil had devoured (his fellow).'

Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo ṁarahu.
Rat 3:R feel 3:R say 3:R afraid
'The rat felt (that he was) frightened.'

❖ Volitional verb + **de** + Irrealis object clause:

Volitional verbs include **dogo** 'feel like', **poe** 'like, want':

Vinano nida mo poe mo de ha vëlesi-a ṁaudi-da.
stranger 3P 3:R like 3:R say 3P:I try-3S life-3P
'The strangers want to test their destiny.'

Remarkably, the modality associated with **de**, which should agree with that of the main verb, is sometimes 'attracted' to the Irrealis mood of the following clause.[185] For instance, these two sentences have **o** (2SG:IRR) and **co** (3SG:IRR), instead of the expected Realis forms **om** (2SG:REA) and **mo** (3SG:REA) respectively.

Om poe-i-a *o* d' o pa racu laṗa?
2S:R like-TR-3S 2S:I say 2S:I SEQ man big
'Do you want to become an important person?'

[185] This kind of *mood attraction* is typically well known in Latin: under the scope of an Irrealis (subjunctive) clause, a verb which is semantically Realis is attracted to the adjacent Irrealis marking. In the next sentence from Plautus, the first clause has a subjunctive (*ag-a-s* 'you do + IRREALIS') instead of an indicative (*ag-i-s* 'you do + REALIS'), because it is attracted to the mood of the main clause: *Quod ag-a-s, id ag-a-s!* 'What you are *doing*, just do it!'.

Ta mo ce opo-i-a co de na ̈va.
Dad 3:R NEG like-TR-3S 3S:I say 1S:I go
'Dad does not want me to go out.'

❖ Manipulative verb + **de** + Irrealis object clause:

Manipulative verbs include **vadai** 'tell (s.o. to do s.th.)', **̈ve-lesi** 'try', **̈vei** 'do, make':[186]

Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha ̈va hoco lim̈a-m̈im!
1S:R tell 2P 1S:R say 2P:I go wash hand-2P
'I told you to go and wash your hands!'

Mo ̈ve-lesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a, mo ce levse nak-i-a nredan.
3:R do-see-3S 3:R say 3P:I kill-TR-3S 3:R NEG know kill-TR-3S sometimes
'They try to kill him, but they never succeed .'

Nam de na ̈vei-a na de nko o hani-a ha-m hina!
1S:R say 1S:I do-3S 1S:I say 2S 2S:I eat-3S FOOD-2S thing
'I want to have you eat your dinner!'

❖ Action verb + **de** + Irrealis purpose clause:

Nam lug-i-a lim̈a-ku nam de na ̈valum isa-m.
1S:R clenching-TR-3S hand-1S 1S:R say 1S:I fight with-2S
'I am clenching my fists (because I want) to fight with you.'

Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau.
man NUM two 3:R go.down R. 3:R say 3P:I seek:DUP (crab)
'Two men went to Rahuna (intending) to look for coconut crabs.'

Mo ran-i-á mo de na covi.
3:R push-TR-1S 3:R say 1S:I fall
'He pushed me to make me fall down.'

❖ Other subordinating uses

Apart from these uses of **de** as a complementiser for utterance-cognitive-manipulative verbs, some other subordinating effects have been acknowledged for the same morpheme. This concerns the following structures:

[186] See §5.4.4.3 p.146 for a presentation of causative constructions.

- hypothetical clauses with **co de** 'let's say → if' (§7.2.2.1):

Co de na m̈aci, na pa avu.
1IN:I say 1S bird 1S:I SEQ fly
'If I were a bird, I would fly.'

- combination of **de** with the conditional conjunction **aru** 'if' (§7.2.2.2):

Aru mo de mo usa, mo pa re ai.
if 3:R say 3:R rain 3:R SEQ some/exist water
'If it had rained, we would have water.'

- combination of **de** with the time subordinator **vada** 'when' (§7.2.2.3) → **vada mo de** 'whenever':

Viha hosun, vada mo de mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo ...
tree that when 3:R say 3:R rain drop-3S 3:R fall 3:R go.down
'Whenever it would rain, drops would fall down from this tree ...'

- use of (**mo**) **de** as a time subordinator 'whenever' (§7.2.3):

Rasi mo de mo m̈a mo nak-i-a mo posi mo vidiha mo lulu.
sea 3:R say 3:R come 3:R hit-TR-3S 3:R change 3:R black 3:R white
'Every time the waves hit him (Octopus), he would change from black to white.'
lit. The sea wanted to come and hit him, he changed ...

7.2.5.3. Conclusion about de

From the abundant evidence above, it is obvious that Araki has developed an original structure in which a verb, though always behaving morphologically as a verb, has undertaken all the functions of a complementiser, and even more. The verb-conjunction **de**, despite keeping its basic meaning as a verb of utterance ('say'), has extended its use in both directions:

- from the semantic point of view, the relation between a speaker and his speech (for example 'he said X') was extended to any relation between a subject and his mental representation of an event (for example 'he thought X, he wanted X, he tried to X')
- from the syntactic point of view, the verbal status of **de**, which is still perfectly alive in synchrony, has been extended to the status of a general

linker (subordinator) between any cognition/manipulation verb[187] and its target clause.

In a way typical of Araki clause-chaining strategies, the equivalent of what is coded in English as a single verbal relation (for example 'I *know* it is late.') is analysed here into two different verb phrases (lit. 'I know I *say* it is late'), with a systematic mood-and-person agreement between both subjects.

7.3. Clause chaining

7.3.1. Definition of clause chaining

Several times throughout this grammar description of Araki, it has been acknowledged what crucial role is being played, in the construction of sentences and discourse, by strategies of clause chaining. Not only is this device more developed, as a clause linker, than coordination or subordination; but it can even be recognised within the limits of what used to be a series of clauses, but is now a single one.

We define clause chaining as the combination of at least two clauses (C_1 and C_2), without any coordinator, subordinator, or any other kind of overt link between them. On prosodic criteria, no pause is audible at their boundary, at least no such pause as between two autonomous sentences. Contrary to verb serialisation (§5.5), every verb must be preceded by its own subject clitic,[188] whether or not it refers to the same subject as the preceding verb.

A sentence like this one is perfectly common in Araki speech:

Racu	**mo vari-a**	**sule**	**mo plan-i-a**		**mo sa**	**mo covi**	**mo sivo.**
man	3:R hold-3S	stone	3:R throw-TR-3S		3:R go.up	3:R fall	3:R go.down

'A man takes a stone and throws it (so that it goes) up and falls down (again).'

Notice the ambiguity of this sentence: only the context makes it clear that what falls down is actually the stone, not the man. The high frequency of such clause-

[187] For a semantic representation of these verbs as forming a cognitive scale, see Givón (1990:515-519).

[188] The contrast we draw between 'verb serialisation' and 'clause chaining' matches quite well the now classic division which Foley and Olson (1985:33–38) named respectively 'nuclear-layer serialisation' and 'core-layer serialisation'; this terminology was adopted by Crowley (1987) in his description of serial verbs in Paamese, as well as Early (1993) for Lewo and Sperlich (1993) for Namakir. Although these terms would fit Araki data as well, we personally prefer to separate neatly both structures; thus the tag *clause chaining* seems to correspond better to the high syntactic completeness of each clause, and their relative independency.

chaining constructions makes this clitic **mo** (Third person Realis, singular or plural) by far the word most frequently met in actual discourse.[189]

7.3.2. Typology of interclausal relations in clause chaining

Despite the very high frequency of clause chaining in Araki – it is hard to find a sentence with only one clause – it is possible to set up a typology of interclausal relations involved in this pattern. All the illustrative sentences below are taken from our oral literature corpus, and do not proceed from elicitation; thus they reflect the most spontaneous speech. Our whole corpus was carefully scanned to build this typology, in such a way that we claim it to be comprehensive, as much as it can be.

7.3.2.1. Syntactic and semantic symmetry

At first sight, clause chaining consists in putting together elements on the same level, both from the syntactic and semantic viewpoints, just like in the case of coordination. In fact, this is only true for certain cases of chaining, but not for all; we will examine first those patterns which are symmetrical.

❖ Time succession and consequence

The simplest pattern of clause chaining is a time succession, that is, when the event coded by C_1 is followed by that of C_2 in the real world: the order of the clauses is an obvious case of iconicity[190] between reality and its linguistic coding. This can correspond to a series of actions performed by the same subject:

Mo	**vari-a**	**levu**	**di**	|	**mo**	**huden-i-a**	**lo**	**vipue**	|
3:R	hold-3S	breadfruit	·ANA		3:R	put.in-TR-3S	LOC	bamboo	

mo	**run-i-a**	|	**mo**	**vari-a**	|	**mo**	**hani-a.**
3:R	cook-TR-3S		3:R	hold-3S		3:R	eat-3S

'They take the breadfruit, put it in a bamboo,
cook it, (and finally) they take it and eat it.'

or to a succession of actions with different subjects:

---

[189] Our oral literature database shows up to 830 instances of this word **mo**, while the second most frequent word is **de** ('say, want') with only 123 items, the third word **lo** (preposition 'in') with a figure of 97. Since our corpus has 3990 words, this means that **mo** occurs once every fifth word (20%)!

[190] 'The most *iconic*, natural way of coding, in narrative, a sequence of events that are thematically coherent as sub-parts of a single episode, is by presenting the events – each coded by a clause – in the time-sequence in which they originally occurred' (Givón 1984:282).

Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi | mo si | mo colo.
3:R hit outright the woman that 3:R go.down 3:R sink
'He hit outright that woman, who fell down and sank (in the sea).'

Quite often, C_2 is not just posterior to C_1, but is a consequence of it. Consider last example, and also:

Nam lito-vi-a | mo le mle.
1S:R spit-TR-3S 3:R again go.back
'I insulted him (in such a way that) he went away.'

❖ Two phases of a single complex action

What we have just mentioned above are series of distinct events. But clause-chaining sequences often consist in the analysis of (what can be viewed as) one single event,[191] which is being split into two or more of its facets. For example, the next sentence distinguishes the act of watching and that of seeing:

P̈ira mo le sihir | mo si | mo kla si | mo lesi-a.
woman 3:R again run 3:R go.down 3:R watch down 3:R see-TR
'Once again, the woman ran down, (watched) and saw him.'

With two distinct subjects, the act of killing (**nak** 'hit/kill')[192] and dying (**m̈are**) are often distributed into two adjacent clauses:

Racu nohosu, ha pa nak-i-a | co m̈are.
man that 3P:I SEQ kill-TR-3S 3S:I die
'That man will be killed. (lit. They will kill him he will die.)'

A typical case when a single event is being split into its facets, is when the valency of a single verb is too low to receive too many arguments at a time, or when functional constraints such as information hierarchy makes it awkward to concentrate all elements within one single clause.[193] A very frequent strategy is to introduce one of these arguments – either an object or an instrument – in a preceding clause C_1, by means of the verb **vari** 'take'.[194] In this case, the object of **vari** is normally cross-referenced, in the next clause, as the object or as an instrument:

---

[191] See Givón (1991).

[192] It is not always possible to analyse such a sentence as a succession of two events *X hits Y* + *Y dies*: in some contexts, including for this example, the verb **nak** does not mean anything but *kill*, i.e., give death to, regardless of the action involved (e.g. poisoning or black magic).

[193] For an extreme presentation of this idea, see the 'one-chunk-per-clause principle' of Givón (1984:258).

[194] This is also true of many other languages, e.g. Mwotlap (François 2000:31). For a typological-functional insight on this issue, see Givón (1984:179) and Lemaréchal (1998:207).

Mo vari-a haṗasi via | mo rai-a aka ini-a (...)
3:R take-3S stem (taro) 3:R cut-3S canoe OBL-3S

mo vari-a | mo sua | mo ṿa.
3:R take-3S 3:R paddle 3:R go

'He took a stem of wild taro, and cut a canoe out of it (...)
Then he went to paddle with it [the canoe].' (lit. He took it he paddled)

In some cases, the multi-event interpretation (that is, *X took Y and then ...*) is not only awkward, but semantically impossible:

Mo vari-a p̈isu-na | mo huden-i-a | mo sivo lo haṗasi via.
3:R take-3S finger-3S 3:R put-TR-3S 3:R go.down LOC stem (taro)

'(Hawk) clenched his claws into the taro stem.'
(lit. he took his claws and put them into ...)

And a very common pattern, both in Araki and typologically, is when the same verb 'take' is associated to a verb of movement, to translate such ideas as to 'bring' (*X takes Y + X comes*) or 'take away' (*X takes Y + X goes*):

Ha vari-a | ha m̈a!
2P:I take-3S 2P:I come

'Bring it here!' (lit. Take it and come!)

❖ Simultaneity of two events

Several instances of clause chaining do not refer to a series of successive events, but to actions which are performed simultaneously. In this case, the order C_1-C_2 is not iconic of time succession, but rather follows rules of discourse strategy (pragmatics, information structure):

Nam dogo leo-m | nam dogo mo holo-ho.
1S:R feel voice-2S 1S:R feel 3:R good-INT

'(While) I was hearing your voice, I was feeling so good!'

Mo vavere | mo sua | mo ṿa ro.
3:R sing 3:R paddle 3:R go PRG

'He was singing and paddling at the same time.'

7.3.2.2. Syntactic symmetry, semantic asymmetry

Many cases of chaining C_1-C_2 can still be analysed, from the syntactic point of view, as a sequence of two same-level clauses – that is, they share the same modality, the same truth value, generally the same subject. But semantically/pragmatically speaking, such patterns present a rather strong asymmetry, for example because only one of these two clauses (generally C_1) clearly provides the main

information, while the other (C_2) is little more than a comment about this main clause.

More than in the preceding paragraph, the twofold structures involved here systematically refer to single events, and almost always correspond to single-clause sentences in European languages. Thus in English, the information given by Araki C_2 will be coded by an adverb, a prepositional clause, or some other clause-internal element.

❖ Commenting on an action

C_2 can indicate the manner in which C_1 is being performed. This case recalls that of simultaneous actions, although what is involved here are stative rather than active verbs.

Nam suiha | nam ceu-ko.
1S:R strong 1S:R surpass-2S

'I am stronger than you.' lit. I am strong I beat you.

This structure is particularly usual with the adjective **holo(-ho)** 'good', which has an intensifying effect on the preceding clause.[195] Once again, Araki uses two clauses, while other languages prefer to modify a single predicate with an adverb:

Spoemalao nia racu mo hese | mo levosai | mo holo-ho.
S. 3S man 3:R one 3:R clever 3:R good-INT

'Spoemalao is a *very* cunning man.' (lit. he is wily it is good)

(Ha ku re ai) | co val | co holo-ho!
2P:I cook some water 3S:I boil 3S:I good-INT

'(Cook some water) it shall be really boiling!' (lit. It shall boil it shall be good)

❖ Spatial dynamics

Among the set of semantically asymmetrical sequences C_1-C_2, a very frequent structure is when C_2 is a verb of movement, and indicates the spatial direction of C_1. Movement verbs[196] include **ẅa** 'go', **saha ~ sa** 'go up', **sivo ~ si** 'go down', **sna/ m̈a** 'come', **mle** 'go back':

Nam covi | nam <u>sivo</u>.
1S:R fall 1S:R go.down

'I fell down.'

---

[195] We showed how negation can interfere with mood-marking in such structures (§6.3.5 p.166).

[196] Since they take subject clitics, these verbs differ syntactically from directional adverbs, though they share the same forms (§6.2.1.2 p.157). Notice that the verbal construction is much more frequent than the adverbial one, with respectively 215 v. 17 items in our corpus (i.e., 93 v. 7 %).

O mle | o sna!
2S:I go.back 2S:I come
'Come back here!'

Ale, Daki mo pa cuha | mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na.
so Araki 3:R SEQ move 3:R go.down LOC deep.sea because-3S
'Then Araki island decided to shift southward (lit. down), towards the ocean.'

– and with two different directional verbs:

Nia mo dovo | mo mle | mo sa lo ima.
3S 3:R run 3:R go.back 3:R go.up LOC house
'He ran back up to his house.'

Mo ravu | mo sihir | mo sivo | mo sa.
3:R get.up 3:R run 3:R go.down 3:R go.up
'Suddenly she started to run down and up (the hills).'

Sometimes, the subject of C_2 is the object of C_1:

Mo sohan-i-a sodo sohe-na | mo sa Sakpei, Okava, Potlore.
3:R send-TR-3S talk like-3S 3:R go.up (place-names)
'He sent the same message (it went) up to Shark-Bay, Hog-Harbour, Port-Olry.'

As far as semantics are concerned, most movement verbs refer not only to immediate location, but also have a geographical meaning. Our corpus shows the following meanings:[197]

- **sivo ~ si** 'go down' = 'go seaward, towards the open sea';
  'go westward (within the island)', for example from Sope to Rahuna;
  'go southward (outside the island)', for example from Araki to Malekula, to Vila;
- **saha ~ sa** 'go up' = 'go inland, uphill';
  'go eastward (within the island)', for example from Misin to Sope;
  'go northward (outside)', for example from Araki to Santo, to the Banks;
- **v̈a** 'go' = 'go forward; follow a direction which is neither north nor south'; for example from Santo to Maewo.

The latter verb **v̈a** 'go forward' also expresses the duration of an action (English *go on*):

Mo vavere | mo v̈a ro.
3:R sing 3:R go PRG
'He went on singing.'

[197] This points deserves further research.

Mo ÿa | mo dogo leo-do | mo ÿa | mo ÿa | mo ra hetehete.
3:R go 3:R hear voice-3P 3:R go 3:R go 3:R RES small

'As they were going on (dancing), their voices could be heard;
but as time went on again, it began to diminish.'

Finally, notice that a movement verb expresses the direction of another action only if it occurs after it in the sentence (C_2). Otherwise, if C_1 refers to a movement and C_2 to an action, then they normally correspond to a series of two distinct, successive events. Thus compare:

Mo nud | mo sivo lo rasi.
3:R dive 3:R go.down LOC sea

'He dived (down) into the sea.' ONE EVENT

Mo sivo | mo nud lo rasi.
3:R go.down 3:R dive LOC sea

'He went down (for example walking) and then dived into the sea.' TWO EVENTS

❖ Temporal dynamics

Similar to spatial movement, and sometimes resorting to the same verbs, some instances of clause chaining consist in locating the preceding clause in time. This is quite different from our first category of 'time succession', since C_2 does not refer to any event distinct from C_1, but rather to its progress in time. Consider the next example:

Mo roho | mo sna kes nahade.
3:R stay 3:R come now today

'(Araki) has remained there *until today*.' (lit. it stayed it reached the present)

Mara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da | mo sna nahade.
from period that 3:R see bad OBL-3P 3:R come today

'Since that moment, they have been hating each other *until today*.'

And the reader should remember that the same clause-chaining structure is the strategy used by an aspectual marker, that is, **iso** 'finish'. As it was underlined earlier (§5.3.7), the subject in C_2 is not the same as in C_1, but refers to the event itself:

Nam re goro | mo iso.
1S:R PFT sleep 3:R finish

'I have finished sleeping.' lit. I have slept it finished

7.3.2.3. Syntactic and semantic asymmetry

Despite the surface aspect of a linear string of clauses, the strategy of chaining does not always involve elements on the same level. Other facts than just linkers can create a syntactic asymmetry, such as subordination, between two clauses:[198] that is, valency of the preceding verb (→ sentential complements), foreground v. background information (→ relative clauses), internal structure of the surrounding constituents (→ numerals), and so on.

❖ Sentential objects

There are many verbs taking sentential complements, and they do not always take the complementiser **vada** (§7.2.4). The two most usual ways of linking a verb to its sentential objects correspond to clause-chaining strategies:

- use of the verb-conjunction **de**, in a clause which is inserted between the verb and its complement (see §7.2.5). Although it can ultimately be viewed as a subordinating device, this pattern increases the effects of clause chaining – that is, a series of clauses in Indian file:

Hadiv	**mo**	**dogo**	**mo de**	**mo**	**mäarahu.**
Rat	3:R	feel	3:R say	3:R	afraid

'The rat felt (that he was) frightened.'

- use of direct clause chaining, that is, *zero* subordinator, between the verb and its complement.

Vida	**haviha**	**nam**	**levsei-a** |	**mo**	**hada.**
flower	Syzygium	1S:R	know-3S	3:R	red

'The flower of the Malay apple-tree, I know it is red.'

Co	**lesi-a** |	**se**	**co**	**pa**	**vänovano**	**vila.**
1IN:I	see-3S	who	3S:I	SEQ	walk:DUP	fast

'We shall see who will go faster.'

The same direct pattern occurs twice in the next sentence; notice that (**mo**) **de** here is *not* used as a complementiser – which would not fit the preceding verb – but as a plain verb:

---

[198] These cases of syntactic and semantic asymmetry, more often than others, are likely to correlate with variation in modality marking (i.e., Realis v. Irrealis); this point was already discussed and illustrated in §5.2.2 p.109.

Cam lesi-a ro | mo lulu | mo de | Daki mo nak-i-a.
1IN:R see-3S PRG 3:R white 3:R say Araki 3:R hit-TR-3S
'We can see that (the mountain) is white: this recalls how it was struck by Araki.'

This proves that a chain of clauses can belong to several sentence levels, following a syntactic hierarchy which is not obvious at first sight. For example, the latter sentence is not just a string of four clauses C_1-C_2-C_3-C_4, but answers to a more complex functional structure:

Cam lesia ro [**mo lulu**]	**mo de** [**Daki mo nakia**].
TOPIC	COMMENT

❖ Relative clause

The same kind of *zero*-subordination can be observed with some relative clauses without relativiser (§7.2.1.2):

Nam de | na tovo leta [nam vari-da].
1S:R say 1S:I read letter 1S:R hold-3P
'(lit.) I want to read the letter I received them.' (i.e., ... which I received)

Notice that even those relative clauses which take a relativiser (§7.2.1.1) probably originate in a clause-chaining structure, involving a demonstrative.

❖ Numeral phrase

The last case of clause chaining concerns numerals. Contrary to adjectives, numerals do not lose their subject clitic when they are used as noun modifiers (for example 'one boy', 'two boys'), in a way which strongly recalls a chain of clauses.

Nam vari-a dově | mo vëri.
1S:R hold-3S plate 3:R four
'I am holding four plates.' (lit. I'm holding plates they are four)

As was discussed earlier,[199] it would be tempting, and perhaps more accurate, to consider these numerals have 'grammaticised' with their clitic subject; at any rate, considering them as clauses on the same level might well be an optical illusion.

In the next example, the numeral phrase **mo hese** 'one' is embedded inside a NP, following a word order which is not the more regular,[200] and is instructive of the kind of 'grammaticisation' we suggest. Indeed, it becomes difficult to interpret this sentence as a chaining of two clauses on the same level:

[199] The syntax of numerals was seen in §4.5.4.3 p.82, but the issue of clause chaining was more specifically addressed about **mo hese** ('a/one'), in §4.3.5.3 p.57.

[200] See §4.8 p.101.

Na lpo lesi-a [racu <mo hese> hosun].
1S:I try see-3S man 3:R one that
'I want to go and have a look at that (one) man over there.'

7.3.3. Clause chaining and the building of discourse

Despite the great number of possible (syntactic and semantic) relations between chained clauses, the typology we have just proposed shows they are not infinite nor random. Provided clause chaining is defined, rather strictly, as a sentence-internal string of clauses not separated by any linker nor significant pause, then we claim that the range of interclausal relations coded by this device is more limited than one would think at first sight, and anyway much more limited than the semantic and pragmatic relations between *sentences* can be.

We believe there are at least five units of integration in the construction of discourse in Araki. Each unit is embedded in the following, like Russian dolls:

(1) two verb roots (seldom more) can *serialise* inside the nucleus of a VP, which forms one type of *predicate* phrase;

(2) one *predicate* phrase (either NP-like or VP-like, including serial verbs), plus its subject and adverbial complements, forms a *syntactic clause*;

(3) a series of *syntactic clauses* put together by clause chaining (that is, no linker no pause) forms a *prosodic super-clause*;

(4) several *super-clauses* can be linked together by coordination, subordination, or even parataxis (that is, with a pause), to form a *sentence*;

(5) bunches of *sentences* form the *discourse* – with the possibility of drawing other boundaries and units inside the discourse (for example paragraph).

What is most original with Araki,[201] is the distinction between levels 1, 2 and 3: most of the known languages in the world, including among Oceanic languages,

[201] On this regard, Araki is reminiscent of other clause-chaining/serialising languages like Mandarin Chinese (Chao 1968) or some Central American languages (Longacre 1985). Closer to Vanuatu languages, and perhaps influent on their Proto Oceanic ancestor, several Papuan languages (Foley 1986:175; Longacre 1972) are famous for their clause-chaining/serialising patterns, in a way similar to Araki. This is the case of Chuave (Givón 1984:310) and Kalam (Pawley 1987; 1993); but notice that Araki, contrary to these languages, has no such rule as switch-reference, and associates each clause with its own mood-and-person marking. We have proposed a typological reflection about these issues of *unmarked subordination and forms of interclausal dependency* (François 1997); at that time we were not aware that Araki was so fascinating on this regard!

directly integrate their verbs into predicate structures, and the latter into prosodic (super-) clauses, without employing any clause-chaining strategy; instead, they prefer to make use of subordination, nominalisation, adverbial phrases, and so on.

7.3.4. The architectural complexity of sentences

The reader will have understood what a crucial role is being played by clause chaining in Araki. More than a strategy for linking existing clauses, it is a device for analysing complex events into several of its facets, whether these facets correspond to different moments in time, different aspects of an action, or different depths in the informational or cognitive structure of that event.

This powerful linguistic device is being used and overused by Araki speakers, in such a way that it is hard to find a sentence without a chain of clauses. The examples we have been providing in the last paragraphs, to illustrate such and such specific interclausal relation, were often chosen short or shortened for the sake of brevity. But it must be kept in mind that such sequences of clauses can be extremely long in this language, especially in narrative discourse; and before ending this chapter on clause chaining, it can be useful to give at least one example of a whole sentence.

The following sentence was taken randomly from our corpus, and is not exceptionally long.[202] It belongs to a customary narration about how a village (now Sope) in Araki was released from the spell of a devil, by a Christian Pastor called Sope. This devil used to hide in a hollow tree close to the road, and would kill people by just dropping some of his poisonous rain water kept in the tree.[203]

Pani viha HOSUN ***mo*** **rudu lo sala** ||
but tree that 3:R stand LOC road

'But that tree which was standing in the middle of the road, ...

VADA ***mo*** **de** | ***mo*** **usa** || **tudusi-na** ***mo*** **covi** | ***mo*** **sivo** |
when 3:R say 3:R rain drop-3S 3:R fall 3:R go.down

... every time it rained, a few drops of its water (in the hole) would fall down ...

mo **rkel-i-a racu** | ***mo*** **hese** | ***mo*** **doco** | ***mo*** **mare.**
3:R reach-TR-3S man 3:R one 3:R sick 3:R dead

... and touch someone, who would then become sick to death.'

This sentence has no less than nine (potential) clauses, as evidenced by the nine occurrences of the subject clitic **mo**. However, these nine elements are by no

[202] For another sentence with up to nine clauses, see p.179.

[203] The whole story is given in §8.1.2 p.205.

means on the same syntactic or semantic level; rather, they form a complex architecture, as is suggested by our typology of interclausal relationships.

First, notice that the whole citation starts with a coordinator (**pani**), which links it pragmatically to the preceding part of the discourse. The sentence itself folds into three main parts, delimited by oral pauses (here '‖'), and corresponding to our *prosodic super-clauses*. Syntactically, the first part is a topic NP, which contains a relative clause introduced by the relativiser **hosun**; the second part is a topical time clause, marked by the subordinator **vada**; finally, the third part is the main (super-) clause, as well as the comment of both these topical phrases.

Now, what makes Araki typologically original, is that the super-clause level can in turn be analysed into several *syntactic clauses* (separated by '|'). Their exact relations will not be detailed here again, but can easily be checked in the typology above: for example **mo de** has a subordinating value with **vada** (§7.2.5.2 p.187); **sivo** indicates the direction of **covi**, and does not refer to a separate event (p.193); **mo hese** is in fact an indefinite, specific article which must probably be assigned to the NP **<racu mo hese>** 'a man' (p.197); and so on.

The sentences of Araki, although they apparently consist in a linear series of chained clauses, form in fact a complex hierarchy of predicates into which the speaker analyses and organises his mental representations, according to cognitive capacities and functional constraints.

8. *Texts from the oral tradition*

In this chapter, we will present a selection of texts from the oral tradition of Araki. Out of the fifteen texts we recorded on the field, ten were translated with native speakers. Among those ten texts, we present four which we find of most interest, from linguistic, literary and anthropological points of view.

Two of these texts were told by the late Chief Lele Moli, in November–December 1997, in his house in Luganville; they were translated and commented upon by the narrator Lele, together with his son Graham. The two other texts were recorded on the island of Araki, in April 1998, from two elder speakers of the language, Chief Sohe Moli and Ropo; Vevuti, daughter of Lele Moli, helped us understand them. Our transcription is respectful of the oral recordings, as much as it is possible.

The oral tradition of Araki distinguishes several categories or genres. Narrative prose is different from poetic songs, including in the language they use;[204] but prose narrations often include a short song, which plays a dramatic role in the story, and is generally sung several times throughout the text – an example of this frequent literary pattern appears in the tale *The Rat and the Octopus*.

Within the categories of narrative prose, there is a crucial boundary, according to us, between two vernacular sorts of texts, according to their 'pragmatic' value. On the one hand, *myths, legends and real stories* are believed to be 'true', or at least presented as such: that is, these texts are supposed to say something about the real world, for example how Araki came to existence, or how the Gospels arrived in a village. On the other hand, *tales* never pretended to be true, but are presented as an entertainment or reflection, and so on. Not only is this distinction (legends v. tales) typologically well represented in the world, but we observed its importance in the specific cultural area of Vanuatu; this is why we divided our texts into those two categories. Finally, a fine-tuned study with a bigger corpus could define other genres, such as stories of animals v. stories of devils, and so on.

[204] See fn.211 p.215.

8.1. Legends and true stories

8.1.1. Myth of Araki

The following myth was told to us by *Lele Moli,* in Luganville (Santo), in November 1997. It tells how the island of Araki, which used to be near Hog Harbour/os decided once to migrate along the coast of Santo island, and eventually came to settle in its current day location.

According to this myth, the island took with it the women of Hog Harbour; this is an interesting clue towards interpreting this story on historical grounds. The modem population of Araki is represented as descending from a former human group who would have lived on (or closer to) the eastern coast of Santo; after some period of good political relations, and especially women-exchanging traditions, with the people of Hog Harbour, that group would have left the mainland, and eventually populated the island of Araki. Other interpretations are possible, however, and the question may well be solved with the help of historical linguistics or archeology.

A long time ago, the steep island of Araki (right) *pulled away from the bay of Hog Harbour, and moved till it reached the southern shores of Santo 1., from where it can still be seen nowadays. On its way towards the deep sea, Araki went past the small islet of Elia* (left).

205 Hog Harbour is situated on the eastern coast of Santo, about 80 Ian north-east of Araki *(Map 3* p.3).

This myth is not only very famous on Araki itself, but also on Santo. Chief Kuvu Kevin, who is precisely from Hog Harbour, told us the same story about Araki [ɹe'k] leaving his own land in East Santo; the two versions of the myth were amazingly similar, except that Lele takes the viewpoint of Araki, while Kuvu sees the event from Hog Harbour. Moreover, a popular belief on Santo considers the two languages Araki and Sakao to be close to one another, or at least equally remote from the two dozen other languages on Santo; although this does not seem to be true, it is instructive of the association which is made between these two populations, despite the distance between them, both geographically and socially.

1. **Ruai, Daki mo roho ro ̈vaha-sun Okava.**
   before Araki 3:R stay PRG over.there Hog-Harbour
   'In the olden days, Araki used to be situated over there, in (front of) Hog Harbour.'

2. **Mo de lo dan mo hese, mo ̈vei-a hanhan mo hese Daki.**
   3:R say LOC day 3:R one, 3:R do-3S food 3:R one Araki
   'As legend has it, one day, they were giving a party in Araki.'

3. **Mada Naura-laṗa mo sivosivo mo velu ro kia.**
   PERS Mainland 3:R go.down:DUP 3:R dance PRG there
   'The (women) from the Mainland went there and started dancing.'

4. **Mo velu, dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-laṗa mo dogo leo-do ro.**
   3:R dance PL REL 3:R stay PRG Mainland 3:R hear voice-3P PRG
   'As they were dancing, those who had stayed on the Mainland could hear their voices.'

5. **Mo ̈va, mo dogo leo-do, mo ̈va mo ̈va, mo ra hetehete.**
   3:R go 3:R hear voice-3P 3:R go 3:R go 3:R RES small
   'They went on and on, and their voices could still be heard; but as time went by, the sound grew faint.'

6. **Mo ce le dogo otoṁe.**
   3:R NEG again hear properly
   'They could not hear properly any more.'

7. **Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki.**
   3:R SEQ again get.up LOC morning 3:R NEG again see Araki
   'When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.'

8. **Mo coṁi naivou-da ṁara nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro.**
   3:R sad:TR wife-3P because 3P 3:R go 3:R GLOB 3:R dance PRG
   'They were upset that their wives had left them
   and were now dancing together with (other men).'

9. **Daki mo ta kia mo ṁa mo ṁa ne Saot-Santo.**
   Araki 3:R go.off there 3:R come 3:R come here South.Santo
   'Araki had quit there, and was slowly coming closer to here, in South Santo.'

10. **Mo ṁa mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia.**
    3:R come 3:R stay there 3:R say 3S:I stay Tangoa down Elia
    'As soon as it got there, it stopped, prepared to settle between Tangoa
    and Elia.'

11. **Pani Tumepu mo de mo ro hodo ṁara-na;**
    but Tumepu 3:R say 3:R stay block eye-3S
    'The trouble is, Mount Tumepu started to complain about Araki
    blocking its view;'

12. **ale, mo v̈alum nida-ni Tumepu.**
    then 3:R fight with-3S Tumepu
    'so (Araki) struggled with Tumepu.'

13. **Om lesi-a sule mo lulu sivo-su lo cuhu-n Daki,**
    2S:R see-3S stone 3:R white down.there LOC backside-CST Araki
    'You can see the rock is white behind Araki, down there:'

14. **hosun mo de Tumepu mo nak-i-a.**
    that 3:R say Tumepu 3:R hit-TR-3S
    'this recalls how it was struck by Tumepu.'

15. **Om lesi Tumepu mo lulu lo ravv̈alu-na;**
    2S:R see Tumepu 3:R white LOC beyond-3S
    'You can see Tumepu, how it is white on the other side;'

16. **cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a.**
    1IN:R see-3S PRG 3:R white 3:R say Araki 3:R hit-TR-3S
    'this white colour we see recalls how it was struck by Araki.'

17. **Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo ṁasav̈a ṁara-na.**
    then Araki 3:R SEQ move 3:R go.down LOC deep.sea because-3S
    'This is why Araki decided to shift southward, towards the ocean.'

18. **Mo roho mo sna kes nahade.**
3:R stay 3:R come now today
'And it has remained there until today.'

19. **Ham mece.**
2P:R thanked
'Thank you.'

8.1.2. How Pastor Sope released the spell of a Devil

The next text was recorded in Sope (Araki) in April 1998; it was told by *Chief Sohe Moli*, and Vevuti Lele Moli helped us transcribe it.

This holy story tells how Pastor Sope set the village free from a dreadful devil hidden in a hollow tree.[206] This early missionary, who belonged to the TTI Bible college[207] on Tangoa, was one of the first Presbyterians who came to Araki to fight the 'dark ages' of paganism, at the end of the nineteenth century. He freed the place from its heathen fears and taboos, bringing the Christian word of God. The village of Sope was named after him.

1. **Lo Sande mo hese, Pasta Sope mo roho ro Titiai ruai.**
LOC Sunday 3:R one Pastor Sope 3:R stay PRG (place) before
'On a Sunday, Pastor Sope was staying in TTI Bible college – a long time ago.'

2. **Mo sna ne Daki, mo dogo kam vadai-a ni-a kam de:**
3:R come here Araki 3:R hear 1EX:R tell-3S OBL-3S 1EX:R say
'When he came here in Araki, he heard us tell him (the following story).'

3. **Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala mo ruguha.**
tree 3:R one down-there 3:R stand LOC road 3:R hollow
'There is a tree down there, in the middle of the road, a hollow tree'

---

[206] See the presentation we gave of this story in §7.3.4 p.199.

[207] The Tangoa Training Institute – TTI, **Titiai** in the text – was founded by Reverend Dr. Joseph Annand in 1887, in order to train Bible teachers and future priests in the Presbyterian church. Its influence was always drastic upon the South Santo area, and is still today; it became the Presbyterian Bible College in the 1970s, and more recently the Talua Ministry Centre (Bogiri-Vari 2000). Our main informant Lele Moli, as well as Varisipiti Livo, received the major part of their education there. The church activities of TTI, especially the Bible translations they carried out in the language of Tangoa, were fatal to the language of Araki (see §1.2.2.2 p.7).

4. **Pani viha hosun mo rudu lo sala**
but tree that 3:R stand LOC road
'But that tree which is standing in the middle of the road, ...'

5. **vada mo de mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo**
when 3:R say 3:R rain drop-3S 3:R fall 3:R go.down
'... every time it rains, a few drops of its water (in the hole) fall down ...'

6. **mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo m̈are.**
3:R reach-TR-3S man 3:R one 3:R sick 3:R dead
'... and touch someone, who then falls sick and dies.'

7. **Pan viha hosun, viha hetehete, mo roho pan mo koho,**
but tree that tree small 3:R stay but 3:R hollow
'Now, that tree is just a small tree, it's just standing there, but it is hollow ...'

8. **ai mo tup lolo-no.**
water 3:R full inside-3S
'... and this hole is full of water.'

9. **Ale, mo m̈are mo rud lo p̈aisa sala,**
then 3:R dead 3:R stand LOC side road
'So there was that dead tree standing by the roadside,'

10. **mo rudu lo p̈aisa sala sohe-na.**
3:R stand LOC side road like-3S
'just standing by the roadside like that."'

11. **Ale, Pasta mo sna kam vadai-a ni-a**
then Pastor 3:R come 1EX:R tell-3S OBL-3S
'These are the words we told the Pastor when he came here ...'

12. **lo Sande, kodogo so-n kesi.**
LOC Sunday maybe like-CST now
'... on a Sunday, probably like this one today.'

13. **Kam skul m̈alue kam sivo, kam sivo kam vadai-a ni-a.**
1EX:R pray go.out 1EX:R go.down 1EX:R go.down 1EX:R tell-3S OBL-3S
'As we were going out of the church, we went down there and explained everything to him.'

14. **Mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun, ai mo roho kia.**
3:R hold.out go.down LOC hole-CST tree that water 3:R stay there
'Then he stretched out his arm into the hollow tree,
where the water was.'

15. **Mo dogo haẅe mo hese mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun;**
3:R feel crab 3:R one 3:R stay there inside-CST tree that
'He felt a crab, which was there inside that tree.'

16. **mo vari-a mo plan vahuden-i-a**
3:R hold-3S 3:R throw take.off-TR-3S
'then he grabbed it and threw it away'

17. **mo de "Niko hosun om nak-i-a racu ro?**
3:R say 2S that 2S:R kill-TR-3S man PRG
'and said "Are you the one who has been killing people? ...'

18. **Kesi no-m dan mo isoiso kesi!"**
now POSS-2S day 3:R end:DUP now
'... This is your very last day today!"'

19. **Ale, kam sna wik mo hese, viha hosun mo kodu,**
then 1EX:R come week 3:R one tree that 3:R burnt
'Okay; then we let a week go by, and the tree got burnt!'

20. **viha hosun mo ciha.**
tree that 3:R disappear
'It just disappeared!'

21. **Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia, mo re ce re no-no paua.**
now place that man 3:R stay there 3:R PFT NEG some POSS-3S power
'Nowadays, that place is inhabited, it has lost all of his (the devil's) power.'

22. **Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan.**
power POSS-CST God 3:R surpass-3S 3:R surpass-3S power POSS-CST Satan
'The power of God is superior, it is superior to the power of Satan.'

23. **Niosun mo iso.**
that 3:R finish
'This (story) is finished.'

8.2. Tales of devils and animals

8.2.1. The Coconut Crab

The next tale was recorded by us in the village of Sope (Araki), in April 1998, and transcribed with the help of Vevuti Lele Moli; the narrator is *Ropo*, a man of many stories who was born in 1921.

It is the story of an evil spirit (**raṁare**), who changed himself into a coconut crab, and played a bad trick on a couple of men precisely looking for coconut crabs; that is when the hunter becomes the prey. Following widespread beliefs in the area, the worst thing with devils is their ability to transform themselves into anything they like, either a person or an animal, to get closer to their victims; this is how they 'lie' (**kode**, #18) to people.

The scene takes place in Rahuna, a spot in the western bush of Araki, where coconut crabs abound. This hunting activity is still popular on the island, since this animal is renouned for its taste.

1. **Kesi nam po-i-a vada na pa store store-ni cau.**
   now 1S:R like-TR-3S when 1S:I SEQ tell story-CST coconut.crab
   'Right now, I would like to tell the story of the coconut crab.'

2. **Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau.**
   man NUM two 3:R go.down R. 3:R say 3P:I seek:DUP (crab)
   'Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs.'

3. **Mo sivo mo vari-a ai, mo vari-a as,**
   3:R go.down 3:R hold-3S water 3:R hold-3S rope
   'They had taken water, they had taken ropes,'

4. **ṁara vada mo dogo re cau lo pede viha kaura,**
   because when 3:R hear some (crab) LOC top tree above
   'so that, if (one of them) heard a coconut-crab at the top of a tree,'

5. **lo pede vinini, co pa vëi-a ai co wet-i-a as**
   LOC top palmtree 3S:I SEQ do-3S water 3S:I wet-TR-3S rope
   '... at the top of a palmtree, he could wet the rope with the water ...'

6. **co pa sihevi ni-a co sa lo pede vinini**
   3S:I SEQ climb OBL-3S 3S:I go.up LOC top palmtree
   '... and use it to climb up to the top of the palmtree,'

7. **co pa vari-a cau kia.**
3S:I SEQ take-3S (crab) there
'... and seize the crab up there.'

8. **Ale, mo rapudo dua mo vänovano mo sivo,**
then 3:R HUM.NUM two 3:R walk:DUP 3:R go.down
'So, as the two fellows were walking along,'

9. **mo ce les re cau lo leṗa.**
3:R NEG see some (crab) LOC ground
'they did not see any crab on the ground.'

10. **Va racu mo tapdogo lo laho vinini mo dogo**
the man 3:R listen LOC trunk palmtree 3:R hear
'One man listened carefully to the trunk of a palmtree, and heard ...'

11. **racu mo hese mo kadum-i-a laho vinini,**
man 3:R one 3:R scrape-TR-3S trunk palmtree
'... somebody scraping the trunk of the palmtree!'

12. **mo de pana cau.**
3:R say maybe (crab)
'he thought it could be a coconut crab.'

13. **Ale, mo vadai raṗala-na mo de:**
then 3:R tell friend-3S 3:R say
'So he said to his friend:'

14. **"O roho ro! Cau mo hese mo re sihevi mo sa kaura.**
2S:I stay SUG (crab) 3:R one 3:R PFT climb 3:R go.up above
'"Don't move for a second! A coconut crab's climbed up there.'

15. **Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna,**
1S:I SEQ go.up 1S:I SEQ catch-TR-3S 1S:I SEQ throw-TR-3S come
'I will climb up, catch it and throw it to you here.'

16. **inko o pa polo hap o pa taur-i-a!"**
2S 2S:I SEQ light fire 2S:I SEQ hold-TR-3S
'As for you, you will light a fire, and roast the crab.'

17. **Ale, raṗala-na mo sihevi mo sa, mo sihevi mo sa sa sa.**
then friend-3S 3:R climb 3:R go.up 3:R climb 3:R go.up up up
'So his friend began to climb up, up and up and up ...'

18. Ramare roo kode!
devil 3:R lie
'But this was the trick of a devil!'

"Two men went to Rahuna
to look for coconut crabs ... "
(Araki, April 1998)

19. Mo vari va racu roo sa kaura, roo han povi-a visiho-no!
3:R hold the man 3:R go.Up above 3:R eat all-3s meat-3S
'He caught the man, took him to the top, and devoured him to the marrow!'

20. Mo mare, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na.
3:R dead skin-3s only with-3s bone-3s
'He was dead, with nothing more than his skin on his bones.'

21. **Mo vadai raṗala-na mo de "Ee! O polo re hap laṗa!"**
3:R tell friend-3S 3:R say hey 2S:I light some fire big
'(The devil) shouted to his fellow "Hey! You should light a huge fire!"'

22. **Mo vari-a dau vinini mo m̈a mo hasan-i-a mo ug laṗa.**
3:R take-3S leaf palmtree 3:R come 3:R light-TR-3S 3:R burn big
'He took a palm-leaf of the palmtree, and made a big fire with it.'

23. **Mo dogo paru-n raṗala-na mo daṗas kaura**
3:R hear head-CST friend-3S 3:R bounce above
'Suddenly he heard the head of his friend bounce onto the branches ...'

24. **mo sivo mo vcan-i-a.**
3:R go.down 3:R bump-TR-3S
'... fall down and bump on the ground.'

25. **Mo klaṽas mo les paru-n / naho-n raṗala-na.**
3:R watch 3:R see head-CST face-CST friend-3S
'He watched and recognised the face of his friend;'

26. **Mo levsei-a mo de raṁare mo hani-a**
3:R know-3S 3:R say devil 3:R eat-3S
'He understood that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil.'

27. **mo sut mo dovo, mo dovo mo mle, mo sa lo ima.**
3:R flee 3:R run 3:R run 3:R go.back 3:R go.up LOC house
'So he fled without further ado, running back up to his home.'

28. **Mo m̈arahu m̈ara raṁare mo re hani-a raṗala-na mo iso.**
3:R fear because devil 3:R PFT eat-3S friend-3S 3:R finish
'He was terrified because his friend had just been devoured by a devil.'

29. **Mo ravur mo sa**
3:R get.up 3:R go.up
'He fled straight away ...'

30. **mo ce coṁcoṁ raṗala-na mo re m̈are mo iso.**
3:R NEG think friend-3S 3:R PFT dead 3:R finish
'... without thinking any more about his friend's death.'

31. **Nia mo ravur mo dovo mo mle mo ce le elele cau.**
3S 3:R get.up 3:R run 3:R go.back 3:R NEG again seek:DUP (crab)
'Yes, straight away he fled, without looking any more for coconut crabs!'

32. **Mo mle mo sa mo rkel-i-a ima.**
3:R go.back 3:R go.up 3:R reach-TR-3S house
'And finally he managed to go all the way back home.'

8.2.2. The Rat and the Octopus

The following tale was told to us by *Lele Moli*, in December 1997, in his house in Luganville (Santo). It is a long, pleasant narration of Mr Rat's misadventures with his fellow creatures: first, with animals of the air and especially the Hawk (*Circus approximans*); and then animals of the sea, above all the Octopus.

This story consists of several parts:

- 1-30: the Rat is paddling in his canoe, but several birds harass him, wanting to embark with him (this gives the tale its song); the boat nearly sinks.
- 31-57: while on the boat, the Rat steals a piece of yam belonging to the Hawk; the Hawk takes his revenge by making the boat sink.
- 58-94: the Rat swims to escape death, and asks for the help of a shark, of the Turtle, of the Dolphin, and finally the Octopus accepts to carry him. But when the Octopus realises the Rat is laughing at him, he tries to kill him.
- 95-104: the last part is an etiological reflection about how this story accounts for nowadays rats and octopuses.

We believe this version probably mingles more than one traditional plot: in particular, the first part (1-30) is a crescendo which should naturally result in the boat sinking, but the episode of the hawk (31-57) brings in a new suspense; on the other hand, the story with the octopus could form a whole tale *per se*.[208]

The result of this assortment is a pleasant, poetic and lively tale, in which each animal is endowed with its own human-like psychology and world. The personification of animals is patent in the many details of the story (for example the rat is going to have lunch with his Mum, or the birds threaten him with telling everything to their Dad when he comes back home), but it is also visible linguistically, through their genitive and object marking.[209] Our translation follows carefully these rules, as is shown by the English pronouns ('he' v. 'it'), the uppercase letters (for example 'the Octopus' v. 'the octopus') and the use of articles (for example v. 'the Turtle' v. 'a shark').

---

[208] This third part of the tale is very similar to a tale which was recorded in Ura, a dying language of southern Vanuatu (Crowley 1999:95–97): a rat lost in the sea is being helped by a turtle; but he defecates on the back of the turtle, who does not really appreciate it.

[209] See §4.7.1 p.97 and §5.4.3.4 p.138.

1. **Na pa sodosodo mẅara-ni Hadiv nida-ni Huira.**
   1S:I SEQ talk:DUP because-CST rat with-CST octopus
   'I am going to talk about the Rat and the Octopus.'

2. **Hadiv nida-n Huira: lo dan mo hese, Hadiv mo de**
   rat with-CST octopus LOC day 3:R one rat 3:R say
   'So, the Rat and the Octopus... One day, the Rat said:'

3. **"Na ẅa na hanhani lo peli-n pua".**
   1S:I go 1S:I eat LOC place-CST Mum
   '"I am going to have lunch at my Mum's!"'

4. **Ale, mo rai-a aka-na: mo vari-a hapẅasi via,**
   then 3:R cut-3S canoe-3S 3:R take-3S stem wild.taro
   'So he started to cut himself a boat: first he took a stem of wild taro ...'

5. **nohoni mo roho ro lo hudara,**
   that 3:R stay PRG LOC bush
   '... the one which grows in the bush, you know,'

6. **via ẅalalapẅa dau-na ra ẅalalapẅa.**
   (taro) big:many leaf-3S RES big:many
   '... those huge taros with huge leaves.'

7. **Mo vari-a mo rai-a aka ini-a, mo ẅe otoẅe sohe aka.**
   3:R take-3S 3:R cut-3S canoe OBL-3S 3:R do well like canoe
   'He cut his boat out of it, doing everything just like for a real canoe.'

8. **Mo vari-a mo sua mo ẅa,**
   3:R take-3S 3:R paddle 3:R go
   'Finally he put it out and started to paddle his way,'

9. **mẅaci re mo lesi-a mo de "Nica dua!".**
   bird some 3:R see-3S 3:R say 1INC two
   '... when some birds saw him and cried out "Let's go together!"'

10. **Mo vadai mo de "Ha dua!"; mo dua mo vari-a mo ẅa.**
    3:R tell 3:R say 2P:I two 3:R two 3:R take-3S 3:R go
    '"That's OK for the two of you", said he, and both took their seat in the boat'

11. **Mo les re mo vari-a mo ̈va mo les re mo vari-a ...**
3:R see some 3:R take-3S 3:R go 3:R see some 3:R take-3S
'Should he see one (bird), he would take him aboard;
should he see another one, he would take him too ...'

12. **Mo vari-da mo ̈va aka-na mo ra hetehete,**
3:R take-3P 3:R go canoe-3S 3:R RES small
'He took so many of them, that his boat became small:'

13. **aka-na mo colo.**
canoe-3S 3:R sink
'his boat was sinking!'

14. **Re m̈aci vavono mo le rigo mo de "Co dua!"**
some bird other 3:R again ask 3:R say 1IN:I two
'Other birds came to ask "Let's be together!"'

15. **mo de "Aka-ku mo moru!"**
3:R say canoe-1S 3:R (narrow)
'but he exclaimed "Too narrow[210] is my boat!"'

16. **Mo sodo sohe-na "Aka-ku mo moru."**
3:R talk like-3S canoe-1S 3:R (narrow)
'And he would go on saying "Too narrow is my boat!"'

17. **M̈aci mo de "Nko ̈va! Na, ta co mule na pa vadai-a ni-a."**
bird 3:R say 2S go 1S Dad 3S:I be.back 1S:I SEQ tell-3S OBL-3S
'"Very well", said the birds, "Go on your way!
As for me, when Dad comes back, I will tell him everything!"'

18. **Mo vavere sohe nene mo de:**
3:R sing like this 3:R say
'And they began to sing like this:'

19. *Tata ha mae ~ ha vitia hinia*
ha re lici horo lag ~ horo lag
tam re mae ~ tam re mae

[210] According to the narrator, this word **moru** 'small, narrow' is only known in this particular tale, and in this famous sentence of the rat **Aka-ku mo moru**.

'Dad shall come ~ I shall tell him
let the wind blow ~ the wind blow
and when you go back ~ when you go ...' [211]

20. **Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo m̈arahu**
rat 3:R feel 3:R say 3:R fear
'The Rat felt seized with fear'

21. **mo de "Ale! Codo o sna, codo o sna o vici!"**
3:R say alright okay 2S:I come okay 2S:I come 2S:I embark
'and exclaimed "Okay! It's alright, come in, you may come aboard!"'

22. **Mo lig-i-a mo vari-a mo v̈a**
3:R embark-TR-3S 3:R take-3S 3:R go
'Takes them on board, carries them along ...'

23. **mo lesi-a m̈aci vavono mo de "Co rolu!"**
3:R see-3S bird other 3:R say 1IN:I three
'Then he saw other birds again shouting at him "Let's all be together!"'

24. **Hadiv mo de "Aka mo moru".**
rat 3:R say canoe 3:R (narrow)
'And the Rat repeated once again "Too narrow is my boat!"'

25. **Mo v̈a; va m̈aci mo le vavere mo de:**
3:R go the bird 3:R again sing 3:R say
'and they went on like this ... The birds started to sing again:'

26. *Tata ha mae ~ ha vitia hinia*
ha re lici horo lag ~ horo lag
tam re mae ~ tam re mae

'Dad shall come ~ I shall tell him
let the wind blow ~ the wind blow
and when you go back ~ when you go ...'

[211] Like in many other islands of the area, the songs which are found in tales are seldom sung in the modern, local language (i.e., Araki as it is described in this book). Sometimes called a 'song dialect', it is a mixture of conservative forms and words from surrounding dialects, in a way similar to the Greek of Homer. In the present tale, Lele Moli hypothesised that the song was in the language of Malo, another island south of Santo; as usual in Vanuatu, the singer himself was uncertain what the words meant exactly.

27. **Hadiv mo de "Codo o sna! O vici co rolu!"**
rat 3:R say okay 2S:I come 2S:I embark 1IN:I three
'So the Rat replied: "It's alright, come aboard!
Come in, we shall be together!"'

28. **Mo si mo rolu, mo vei-a sohe mo va,**
3:R go.down 3:R three 3:R do-3S like 3:R go
'So they went down to join the others; they did so again and again ...'

29. **aka mo ra hetehete.**
boat 3:R RES small
'... until the boat became really too small for them all.'

30. **Mo vari-a mmaci mo de mo rahol mo vari-a mo va ...**
3:R take-3S bird 3:R say 3:R straight 3:R take-3S 3:R go
'When he invited a new bird, he would pretend everything was fine,
and would just take them aboard ...'

31. **Mo va mo hanhan, mo va mo sua mo va lo mmasava,**
3:R go 3:R eat 3:R go 3:R paddle 3:R go LOC open.space
'They were having their lunch on board,
and were paddling on and on until they went out into the open sea.'

32. **hina... Hadiv mo de "Re co pele sna co holo aka!**
thing rat 3:R say some 3S:I in.turn come 3S:I straighten canoe
'Now ... the Rat said "Let someone replace (me) to man the boat! ...'

33. **Na na sa na hanhan."**
1S 1S:I go.up 1S:I eat
'... As for me, I am going to have lunch."'

34. **Mmala mo de "Na na sa na pele vari-a cada-m!"**
hawk 3:R say 1S 1S:I go.up 1S:I in.turn take-3S place-2S
'The Hawk answered "*I* can come and take your post!"'

35. **Mmala mo sivo mo pele holo aka,**
hawk 3:R go.down 3:R in.turn straighten canoe
'So the Hawk went down to man the boat,

36. **Hadiv mo sa mo de co hanhan.**
rat 3:R go.up 3:R say 3S:I eat
'and the Rat went up to have lunch.'

37. **Mo sa mo lesi cam ha-ni M̈ala, mo hani-a.**
3:R go.up 3:R see yam FOOD-CST hawk 3:R eat-3S
'But as he went, he saw a piece of yam belonging to the Hawk, and ate it.'

38. **Mo hani-a pani... cam di cam hahada.**
3:R eat-3S but yam ANA yam red
'Yes, he ate it. But the trouble is, this yam was red yam.'

39. **Mo hani-a mo han povi-a, mo le sna mo de**
3:R eat-3S 3:R eat all-3S 3:R again come 3:R say
'Once he had eaten it all, he came back saying:'

40. **"Na na le sna na vari-a cada-ku!"**
1S 1S:I again come 1S:I take-3S place-1S
'"Let us come back and take my post again!"'

41. **M̈ala mo de "Ale o sna, o pele o le vari-a cada-m,**
hawk 3:R say okay 2S:I come 2S:I in.turn 2S:I again take-3S place-2S
'The Hawk said "Perfect! You come back and take your post ...'

42. **na na si na pele hanhan."**
1S 1S:I go.down 1S:I in.turn eat
'... for now it is my turn to have lunch!"'

43. **M̈ala mo sivo mo lesi-a ha-na hina mo re ciha.**
hawk 3:R go.down 3:R see-3S FOOD-3S thing 3:R PFT disappear
'The Hawk went down and realised his food had disappeared.'

44. **Mo de "E! Dai m̈aci mo hani-a ha-ku hina!"**
3:R say hey PL bird 3:R eat-3S FOOD-1S thing
'He went "Hey! The birds have eaten all my food!"'

45. **Nda povi mo de "Kam ce levsei se mo hani-a."**
3P all 3:R say 1S:R NEG know who 3:R eat-3S
'They replied all together "We do not know who ate it!"'

46. **Mo de "Ale, kam̈im po ha gigisa, ha gigisa na lesi hoco-m̈im,**
3:R say okay 2P all 2P:I smile 2P:I smile 1S:I see teeth-2P
'He replied "Come on, all of you, smile! Smile so that I can see your teeth,'

47. **vada se mo hani-a ha-ku hina".**
if who 3:R eat-3S FOOD-1S thing
'(and know) who ate my food.'

48. **M̈ara cam di cam hahada.**
because yam ANA yam red
'This is because this yam was red yam.'

49. **Mo gigisa nida povi; Hadiv mo de co gigisa.**
3:R smile 3P all rat 3:R say 3S:I smile
'So they all smiled, and the Rat too got ready to do so.'

50. **M̈ala mo kla v̈a mo lesi-a cam di**
hawk 3:R watch go 3:R see-3S yam ANA
'When the Hawk looked at him, he saw the yam, ...'

51. **hudahudara-n cam di mo roho ro lo hoco-no.**
dirt:DUP-CST yam ANA 3:R stay PRG LOC teeth-3S
'... small particles of the yam which had got caught in his teeth.'

52. **Mo de "Nko om hani-a ha-ku cam!**
3:R say 2S 2S:R eat-3S FFOD-1S yam
'He said "So it's you who ate my piece of yam! ...'

53. **Hede na pa p̈isu cudug-i-a aka-ca!"**
today 1S:I SEQ prick pierce-TR-3S canoe-1IN:P
'... I am going to prick and make a hole in our boat!"'

54. **Mo vari-a p̈isu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hap̈asi via,**
3:R take-3S finger-3S 3:R put-TR-3S 3:R go.down LOC stem (taro)
'The Hawk clenched his claws into the taro stem,'

55. **mo macudu, rasi mo saha lo lolo-no.**
3:R torn sea 3:R go.up LOC inside-3S
'and tore it apart, letting the sea water in.'

56. **Aka di mo colo, aka-n Hadiv.**
canoe ANA 3:R sink canoe-CST rat
'The boat was sinking! Yes, the Rat's boat!'

57. **M̈aci mo avuavu nda povi; Hadiv mo kadu.**
bird 3:R fly 3P all rat 3:R swim
'The birds flew away, all of them; and the Rat began to swim.'

58. **Hadiv mo kadu kadu kadu kadu kadu,**
rat 3:R swim swim swim swim swim
'And the Rat swam, swam, swam, swam'

59. **mo lesi-a p̈ahe mo de "P̈ahe, o com̈i-á!"**
3:R see-3S shark 3:R say shark 2S:I sad-1S
'... until he saw a shark: "Hey, Shark", said he, "take pity on me!"'

60. **P̈ahe mo de "Ham rolu v̈ev̈e hina, kam̈im rolu se?"**
shark 3:R say 2P:R three do:DUP thing 2P three who
'The shark replied "But who have you been with?"'

61. **Mo v̈a; mo le kadu mo v̈a mo les Ivua.**
3:R go 3:R again swim 3:R go 3:R see Turtle
'So on he went; and after swimming a little further, he saw the Turtle.'

62. **Mo de "Ivua, o com̈i-á!"**
3:R say turtle 2S:I sad-1S
'"Hey, Turtle", said he, "take pity on me!"'

63. **Ivua mo de "Ham rolu v̈ev̈e hina, kam̈im rolu se?"**
turtle 3:R say 2P:R three do:DUP thing 2P three who
'The Turtle replied "But who have you been with?"'

64. **Mo v̈a mo les Kue, mo de "Kue, o com̈i-á!"**
3:R go 3:R see dolphin 3:R say dolphin 2S:I sad-1S
'So he swam further on and saw the Dolphin:
"Hey, Dolphin", said he, "take pity on me!"'

65. **Kue mo de "Ham rolu v̈ev̈e hina, kam̈im rolu se?"**
dolphin 3:R say 2P:R three do:DUP thing 2P three who
'The Dolphin replied "But who have you been with?"'

66. **Mo v̈a mo les Huira, mo de "Huira, o com̈i-á!"**
3:R go 3:R see octopus 3:R say octopus 2S:I sad-1S
'So he swam further on and saw the Octopus:
"Hey, Octopus", said he, "take pity on me!"'

67. **Huira mo de "Ale, o sna sadai lo pili-ku!"**
octopus 3:R say okay 2S:I come sit LOC shoulder-1S
'"Alright" said the Octopus, "come sit on my shoulders!"'

68. **Mo sa mo sadai lo pili-na, mo vari-a mo v̈a mo v̈a.**
3:R go.up 3:R sit LOC shoulder-3S 3:R take-3S 3:R go 3:R go
'So (the Rat) sat up on his shoulders, and was carried away.'

69. **Mo lesi-a pilo-ni Huira n-re dan...**
3:R see-3S bald.head-CST octopus OBL-some day
'From time to time, he would see the bald head of the Octopus:'

70. **Ras mo de mo m̈a mo nak-i-a**
sea 3:R say 3:R come 3:R hit-TR-3S
'Every time the waves hit it ...'

71. **mo posi mo vidiha mo m̈a mo lulu mo m̈acim̈acihi-ha.**
3:R change 3:R black 3:R come 3:R white 3:R colourful-INT
'... it would change from black to white, it was full of colours.'

72. **Hadiv mo lesi-a mo m̈an p̈ala ro.**
rat 3:R see-3S 3:R laugh (at) PRG
'When the Rat saw this, he burst out laughing.'

73. **Huira mo de "Om m̈an p̈ala sa ro?"**
octopus 3:R say 2S:R laugh (at) what PRG
'"What are you laughing at?" asked the Octopus.'

74. **mo de "Nam m̈an p̈ala m̈enum̈enu honi mo sale ro lo rasi."**
3:R say 1S:R laugh at small.leaves there 3:R float PRG LOC sea
'The Rat replied "I am laughing at those small leaves which are floating on the sea."'

75. **Mo v̈a mo le v̈a v̈a v̈a m̈akomo... Mo le m̈ana mo v̈a...**
3:R go 3:R again go go go a.bit 3:R again laugh 3:R go
'As they swam a bit further on, he started to laugh again!'

76. **Huira mo de "Om m̈an p̈ala sa?"**
octopus 3:R say 2S:R laugh (at) what
'"What did you laugh at?" the Octopus asked.'

77. **mo de "Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa**
3:R say 1S:R see-3S wavelet PRG 3:R take-1INC 3:R go.up
'I am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up ...'

78. **mo sivo mo sa hosu nam m̈ana ro m̈ara-n."**
3:R go.down 3:R go.up that 1S:R laugh PRG because-3S
'... and down and up again, this is why I am laughing.'

79. **Mo de "A, mo holo-ho",**
3:R say oh 3:R good-INT
'"Well, that's alright.", said (the Octopus).'

80. **mo ӧa ӧa mo ӧa rkel-i-a tarauta mo huden-i Hadiv.**
3:R go go 3:R go reach-TR-3S shore 3:R put.down-TR rat
'And on they went again, until they finally reached the shore;
this is where the Octopus was dropping the Rat.'

81. **Hadiv mo kue mo sa mo sada lo tarauta lo sule,**
rat 3:R leap 3:R go.up 3:R sit LOC shore LOC stone
'In a single leap, the Rat went to sit on the shore, on a rock,'

82. **mo de "Huira! Om de nam m̈an p̈ala sa ro?**
3:R say octopus 2S:R say 1S:R laugh (at) what PRG
'and said "Hey, Octopus! What did you think I was laughing at ...'

83. **nahade cam m̈a ro?"**
today 1IN:R come PRG
'... while we were on our way here?'

84. **Mo de "P̈ala pilo-m! Nam lesi-a pilo-m**
3:R say (at) bald.head-2S 1S:R see-3S bald.head-2S
'and he added "At your bald head! I was looking at your bald head ...'

85. **mo posi-a m̈acihi-na mo vidiha mo lulu,**
3:R change-3S colour-3S 3:R black 3:R white
'... changing its colour from black to white.'

86. **hosu nam m̈an p̈ala-ko ro".**
that 1S:R laugh (at)-2S:R PRG
'Actually, I was laughing at you!"'

87. **Huira mo lolokodu mo de co pa naki-a.**
octopus 3:R angry 3:R say 3S:I SEQ kill-3S
'The Octopus went mad with anger, and wanted to kill him!'

88. **Hadivi mo sihiri mo sa ...**
rat 3:R run 3:R go.up
'The Rat began to run towards the bush ...'

89. **Huira mo vari-a daga vi-adu mo de co lceg Hadiv,**
octopus 3:R take-3S branch TREE-ironwood 3:R say 3S:I strike rat
'The Octopus took a branch of ironwood to strike the Rat with it,'

90. **Huira mo sihiri mo sa**
octopus 3:R run 3:R go.up
'he ran towards the bush'

91. **mo vari-a daga vi-adu mo sadi-a;**
3:R take-3S branch TREE-ironwood 3:R spear-3S
'and threw the branch of ironwood at him.'

92. **daga vi-adu di mo vcan-i-a lo cidi-n Hadiv.**
branch TREE-ironwood ANA 3:R bump-TR-3S LOC arse-CST rat
'The branch struck the Rat's backside!'

93. **Hadiv di mo vari va daga vi-adu mo sa ...**
rat ANA 3:R take the branch TREE-ironwood 3:R go.up
'Our Rat went on running, with that branch of ironwood (behind him) ...'

94. **Mo maco lo hudara.**
3:R enter LOC bush
'... until he finally entered the bush.'

95. **Om lesi-a kesi hadivi, om lesi-a vici-n hadiv**
2S:R see-3S now rat 2S:R see-3S tail-CST rat
'Nowadays, you can see rats, you can see their tails,'

96. **nohoni mo sohe daga vi-adu.**
that 3:R like branch TREE-ironwood
'how they look just like a branch of ironwood.'

97. **Mo sohe vici hadiv raholo**
3:R like tail rat straight
'This is why rat tails are so stiff:'

98. **hosu mo de Huira mo sadi Hadivi ni-a.**
that 3:R say octopus 3:R spear rat OBL-3S
'... it recalls how the Rat was speared by the Octopus.'

99. **Kesi mo dua medesai, hadiv nida-n huira mo medesai.**
now 3:R two enemy rat with-CST octopus 3:R enemy
'Nowadays, both are enemies: rats and octopuses hate each other.'

100. **Vada o vari-a hadiv ro sivo o plan-i-a lo rasi,**
when 2S:I hold-3S rat SUG down 2S:I throw-TR-3S LOC sea
'Suppose you throw a rat down into the sea:'

101. **co de re huira co roho ro raholo lo cada di,**
1IN:I say some octopus 3S:I stay PRG straight LOC place ANA
'if there is an octopus right in the same place,'

102. **o lesi-a huira co sa kia co taur-i-a co vari-a.**
2S:I see-3S octopus 3S:I go.up there 3S:I seize-TR-3S 3S:I hold-3S
'you will see the octopus jump at it, seize it and shake it.'

103. **M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da mo sna nahade.**
from period that 3:R see bad OBL-3P 3:R come today
'Since that moment, they have been hating each other until today.'

104. **Stori nohosu mo hilu hosu.**
story that 3:R end there
'This is the end of this story.'

9. *Araki – English dictionary*

9.1. Foreword to the dictionary

The following pages include a small *Araki-English dictionary*, containing 939 lexical entries and subentries. It was built out of our short corpus gathered on the field; most of its vocabulary, especially the examples, procede from our oral literature database, of which a selection was presented in *Chapter 8*. An *English – Araki finderlist* will be provided in *Chapter 10* p.320.

9.1.1. The structure of lexical entries

Although each entry will provide different kinds of information, the sample below gives an idea of how most entries are being organised, following a strict pattern of morphosyntactic and semantic description.

m̈audu ~ **m̈audi** ~ **m̈au**. *vi.* (1) alive, living, v. dead (**m̈are**). • **Mo m̈are vo mo m̈audi ro?** *Is he dead or is he still alive?*

(2) (esp) revive, come back to life. • **Ralmeap̈e nia ralme racu mo m̈are mo (le) m̈audu.** *Ralmeape is the devil for all the people who have died and who have come back to life.*

(3) [plant+] grow. • **Napdogo vada co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse m̈au.** *Even if it rained, your taro couldn't grow (because you didn't plant it properly ...).*

[*PNCV* *ma?uri '*live, life*'; *POc* *maquri(p)]

The various elements within this entry provide the following kinds of information:

m̈audu	entry form
~ m̈audi ~ m̈au	allomorphs of the same form
vi.	part of speech (here *intransitive verb*)
alive, living, v. …	semantic definition for this sub-sense
• **Mo m̈are vo …**	example corresponding to the meaning described
Is he dead or …	translation of the example
(esp)	semantic label commenting on the status of the sub-sense, especially with regard to the preceding one
[plant+]	indication on the typical *subject* associated with this meaning. Sign + means that other subjects are possible
[*PNCV* *ma?uri …]	etymology of the main entry, when known (see below)

The next sample provides other important elements, absent from the preceding:

voli *vt.* (1) buy, purchase. • **Nam de na voli-a paniavu nohoni.** *I'd like to buy this pineapple.*

(2) (esp) lit. 'buy (a woman)': [man] give money and presents to o.'s future father-in-laws, in order to acquire <a woman> as a wife; marry <a woman>. *See* **lahi** '*married*'.

[*PNCV* *voli; *POc* *poli]

voli	entry form
lit. 'buy (a woman)'	indication on the literal meaning of a phrase when it helps understand the semantics of the sub-sense
[man]	typical subject associated to this meaning
… <a woman>	indication on the typical *object* of a transitive verb
See **lahi**	cross-reference to another entry within this dictionary, when useful for understanding the structure of the semantic domain
'*married*'	meaning of the preceding reference, if useful

Finally consider the third sample:

re$_1$ *art.* marker for non-specificity of the noun phrase …

❖ *asp.* [between Subject clitic and Verb] already: aspectual marker for Perfect. Indicates a completed action … • **Mo re ce-re no-no paua.** [with negation] *Its power (of the bewitched tree) does not exist any more.* … || Combined with **mo iso**, **re** indicates that the process has reached its pre-constructed term (*English* 'already'). (*Cf.* Grammar)

re$_1$	entry form, followed by a rank number, in case of homonymous lexemes
❖	stands for the main lexical entry, but corresponding to a different part of speech
[between Subject clitic and Verb]	syntactic restrictions associated with this meaning
Mo re ce-re no-no paua.	a small word may be underlined if this helps reading the example (for example out of two '**re**', only one is concerned)
[with negation]	external information relative to the example
‖ Combined with **mo iso**, ...	secondary information, either of linguistic or anthropological interest
(*Cf.* Grammar)	the item is being more developed in the present grammar: see *Table* p.341 and *Index* p.343.

Finally, notice the use of brackets in the translation of examples: square brackets [...], with or without the label 'lit.', indicate a literal meaning, thus closer to Araki than to English expression. On the contrary, round brackets (...) give some extra information when necessary, or a more idiomatic English translation, if it helps reading the example. Thus compare:

> **Nda vacaha mo rov-i-a hica cada hosu mo de Leruvahi.** *Elders used to call [the name of] this place 'Leruvahi'.* • **Racu nohoni mo sle naru-na isa-n pïra nohoni.** *That man gave his child to that woman (he got her pregnant).* • **Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni.** *Yesterday, I heard someone else sing* [lit. *take*] *the same song (as you).*

There are a few other conventions used systematically throughout this lexicon (for example scientific name for fauna and flora ...), but they should be transparent enough for the reader to understand them without further explanations.

9.1.2. Abbreviations and phonetics

The spelling used for Araki words is the same which has been used throughout the present grammar. Below is a reproduction of *Table 2-14* (p.20):

The alphabet of Araki, with corresponding phonemes

a	***c***	***d***	***e***	***g***	***h***	***i***	***k***	***l***	***m***	***m̈***
a	ts	ɾ	e	ŋ	h	i	k	l	m	m̈
n	***o***	***p***	***p̈***	***r***	***s***	***t***	***u***	***v***	***v̈***	
n	o	p	p̈	r	s	t	u	β	v̈	

Throughout this dictionary, special abbreviations will be used as labels for parts of speech. These are presented in the following table:

adj.	adjective	*phr.*	phrase
adv.	adverb	*pl.n.*	place name
art.	article	*pos.*	possessive classifier
asp.	aspect marker	*pp.sf.*	personal possessive suffix
aux.	auxiliary	*pred.*	predicative word
conj.	conjunction	*prep.*	preposition
dem.	demonstrative particle	*ptc.*	particle
dir.	directional particle	*rad.*	radical
excl.	exclamatory particle	*rel.*	relative word
ind.pp.	free personal pronoun	*sbj.*	subject clitic
inter.	interrogative word	*sf.adj.*	suffixable adjective
mod.	modal particle	*sfn.*	suffixable (inalien.) noun
n.	(alienable) noun	*suf.*	suffix
n-pr.	noun-like preposition	*v.ad.*	adjunct to the verb
num	numeral	*vi.*	intransitive verb
obj.	personal object suffix	*v-pr.*	verb-like preposition
pf.	prefix	*vt.*	transitive verb

Other examples used in the lexical entries include semantic labels:

anc	archaic use	gen	broader (general) sense
esp	especially; narrower sense	hypoc	hypocoristic term
euph	euphemism	met	metaphorical extension
fig	figurative sense	vulg	vulgar

and other abbreviations:

Ant.	antonym	*Syn.*	synonym
Morph.	morphological analysis	*Tr.*	transitivised form (verb)
Red.	reduplicated form	hum	human (subject, possessor)

Finally, notice the convention we adopted regarding hyphenation. In current texts (examples ...), all morpheme breaks are indicated with a hyphen, for example **hasan-i-a** 'he burnt it'. In lexical entries, a hyphen indicates that the entry is an affix, either a prefix (**ha-** 'ordinal') or a suffix (**-ha** 'intensifier'). We have chosen to distinguish from these affixes, those lexemes which are radicals, but

which are *always* followed by a suffix: for example inalienable nouns, possessive classifiers, suffixable adjectives. Instead of a hyphen, we mark these words with the symbol ~ stuck to the radical: for example **ha~** 'food classifier', **raṁa~** 'father', **tilavo~** 'deprived of'. Although the tilde is also used to indicate allomorphism, these uses must be distinguished: for example **-ha**$_7$ ~ **-ho** 'intensifier', exceptionally **hini~ ~ ini~ ~ ni~** 'preposition'.

9.1.3. Semantic field wordlists

When a given word has two or three semantically related items (synonyms, antonyms ...), they are cross-referenced within the entry paragraph. But if these are more numerous, they are presented in the form of a wordlist in a box. The following index will help the reader find these wordlists, each one being in the close vicinity of the relevant entry (generally a hyperonym for the semantic field):

Title of wordlist	... under entry	
Parts of a canoe	**aka**	*canoe*
Main parts of the body	**eṗe**	*body*
Words connected with fire	**hapu**	*fire*
The four winds	**lagi**	*wind*
The hand and arm	**liṁa**	*arm, hand*
Parts of the head	**paru**	*head*
Internal organs of the body	**rali**	*guts*
Lower parts of the body	**sadi**	*leg, foot*
Verbs connected with navigation	**sua**	*paddle*
Parts of the mouth	**vava**	*mouth*
Parts of trees	**viha**	*tree*

9.1.4. A note on etymology

When it is reasonably sure, the etymology of each lexical entry is given. It appears between bold, square brackets, at the end of the entry block, immediately preceding the next entry. The proto-languages cited are generally **POc** 'Proto Oceanic' or **PNCV** 'Proto North-Central Vanuatu'; the references include Ross (1988) for POc forms, and Clark (1985, 2000) for PNCV. We have endeavoured to harmonise each author's orthography, thus adopting **g** (instead of Clark's **q**) for [ᵑg], and **ŋ** (instead of **g**) for [ŋ]. For other conventions, see the authors cited.

The meaning of the reconstructed form is given only if it is different from the Araki entry, for example

Toholau *pl.n.* east, east wind.
[*PNCV* *tokalau(r) '*northerly wind*'*]

In a few cases, modern languages from Vanuatu are cited. If we believe the Araki term is a *loanword* from this language, it appears alone:

Tahuna ~**Rahuna**. *pl.n.* south, south wind.
[*Tangoa* tahu-na '*its back = south end of the island*']

If we believe that Araki is only *cognate with*, but not *borrowed from* a word in another language, then it is preceded by the tag 'Cf.', as in:

sohon *vt.* put way, put into a bag or basket (food, object).
[Cf. *Mota* sogon '*bring together, pack, stow*';
PNCV *soko '*add, join (?)*']

This was done when the similarity between modern languages was more convincing or better established than the proto-form. References for these other languages include Ray (1926), Tryon (1976), Charpentier (1982), Clark (2000).

When no etymon can be found in our sources, but we personally have strong evidence for positing a (putative) ancient form in Pre-Araki – according to regular sound correspondences with other languages, and so on – this is done with the symbol '< °...', as in the following:

comana *ptc.* 'plus': particle used in counting ...
[< °domwa-na '*extra bit*']

Finally, *loanwords* from European languages are presented the same way as when they come from within Vanuatu. Although these words have generally transited through Bislama, we do not mention it – unless it is made important by some significant semantic change:

pedeti *n.* bread, of European origin ...
[*English* bread]

ale a polysemic discourse particle ...
[*Fr.* allez]

sut *vi.* go suddenly, hurry up ...
[*Bisl.* sut '*go off*'; *English* shoot]

9.2. Kinship terms

Before the dictionary itself, come three diagrams focussing on reference kinship terms. *Table 9-51* gives the main terms for consanguine relations across seven generations; the gender of Ego here is kept undifferentiated, except for a few terms which are marked by a specific symbol (△ for Ego male, ° for Ego female). The

two following charts give a blow-up on close consanguinity and affine relations (corresponding to the square box in the first table). Because terms differ a lot according to the gender of Ego, two distinct tables are proposed on this criterion: *Table 9-52* for Ego male, *Table 9-53* for Ego female.

All our conventions are summarised in the chart below:

▲	*Gender of item*: man (▲) – woman (●) – neutral (■)
elua-	alienable term, always followed by a possessive suffix; non-hyphenated terms (*for example* 'ta') require General Classifier **no-**.
ta $_{+}$	there are other terms for the same relationship, but we only indicate one; the others can be found elsewhere in the chart.
$^{\triangle}$ta	this term is used if EGO is male ($^{\triangle}$) v. female ($^{\circ}$)
1 v. 2	*Relative age with* EGO: born before (1) v. after (2) him
italics	kinship term used exclusively for affine relations
...	this kin relation is being developed in the following tables
*▲	relationship involved in marriage rules regarding widows (see for example entry **elua~** in the dictionary)

The three tables for kinship terms are given below, and are immediately followed by the *Araki-English Dictionary*.

Table 9-51 Kinship terms: consanguine relations

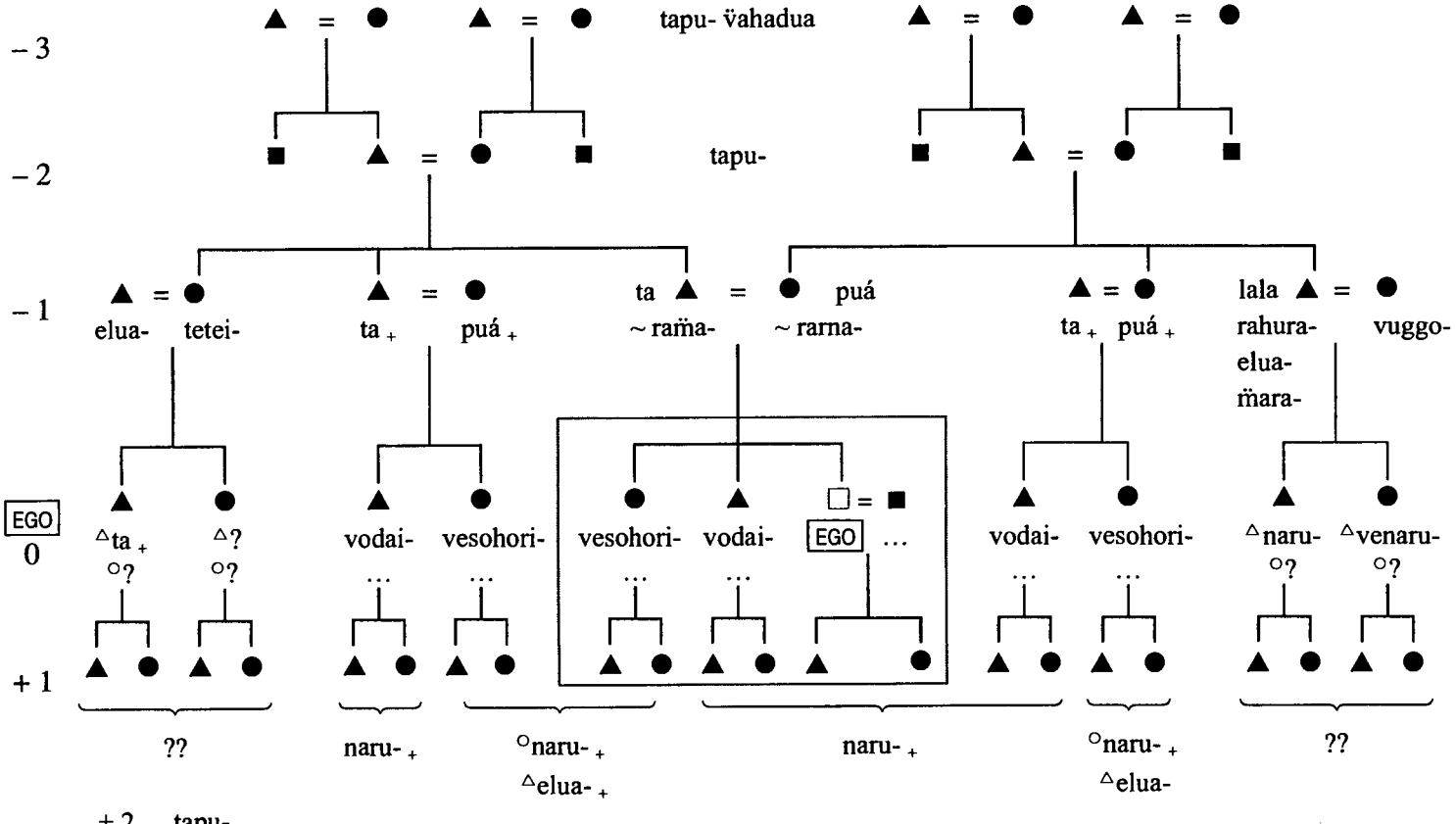


Table 9-52 Kinship terms: close consanguinity and affines – *Ego Male*

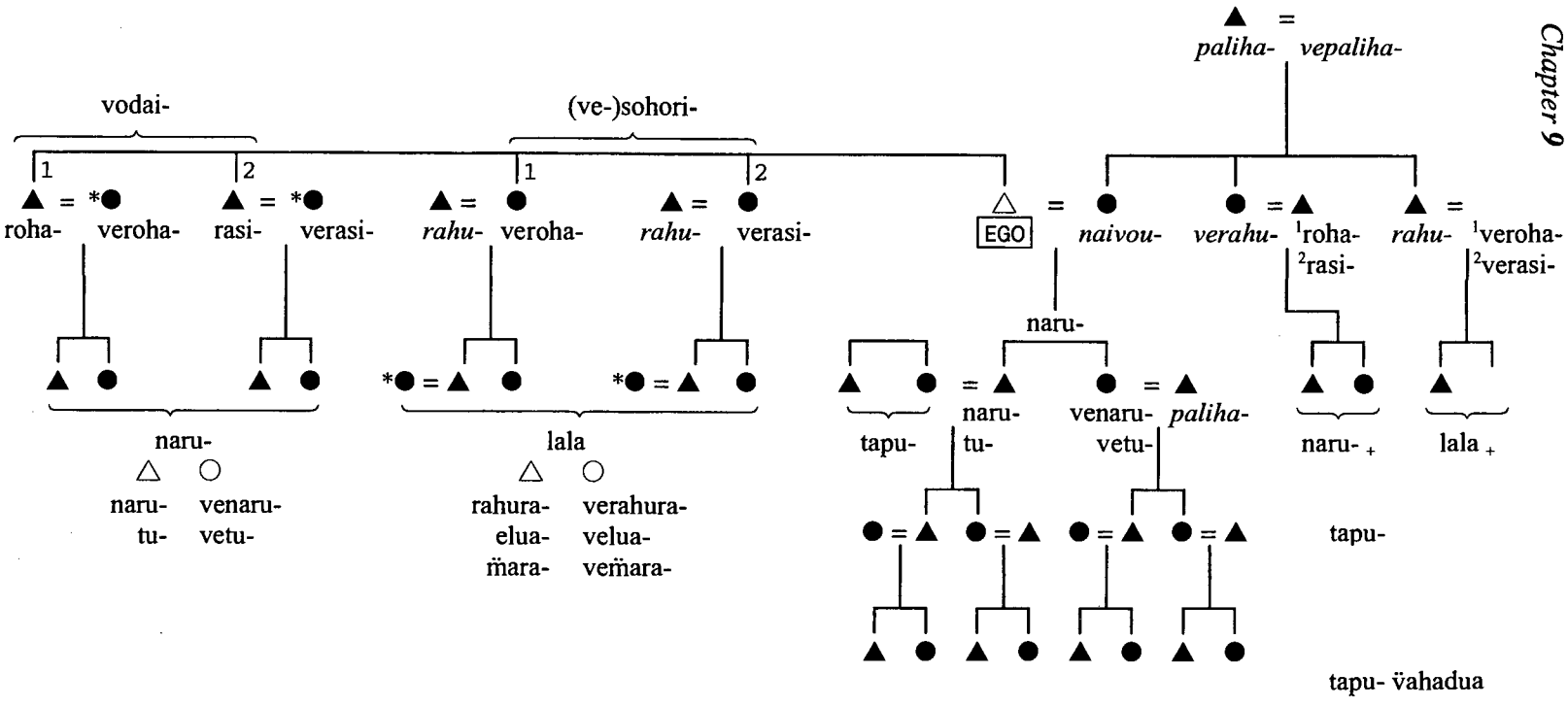
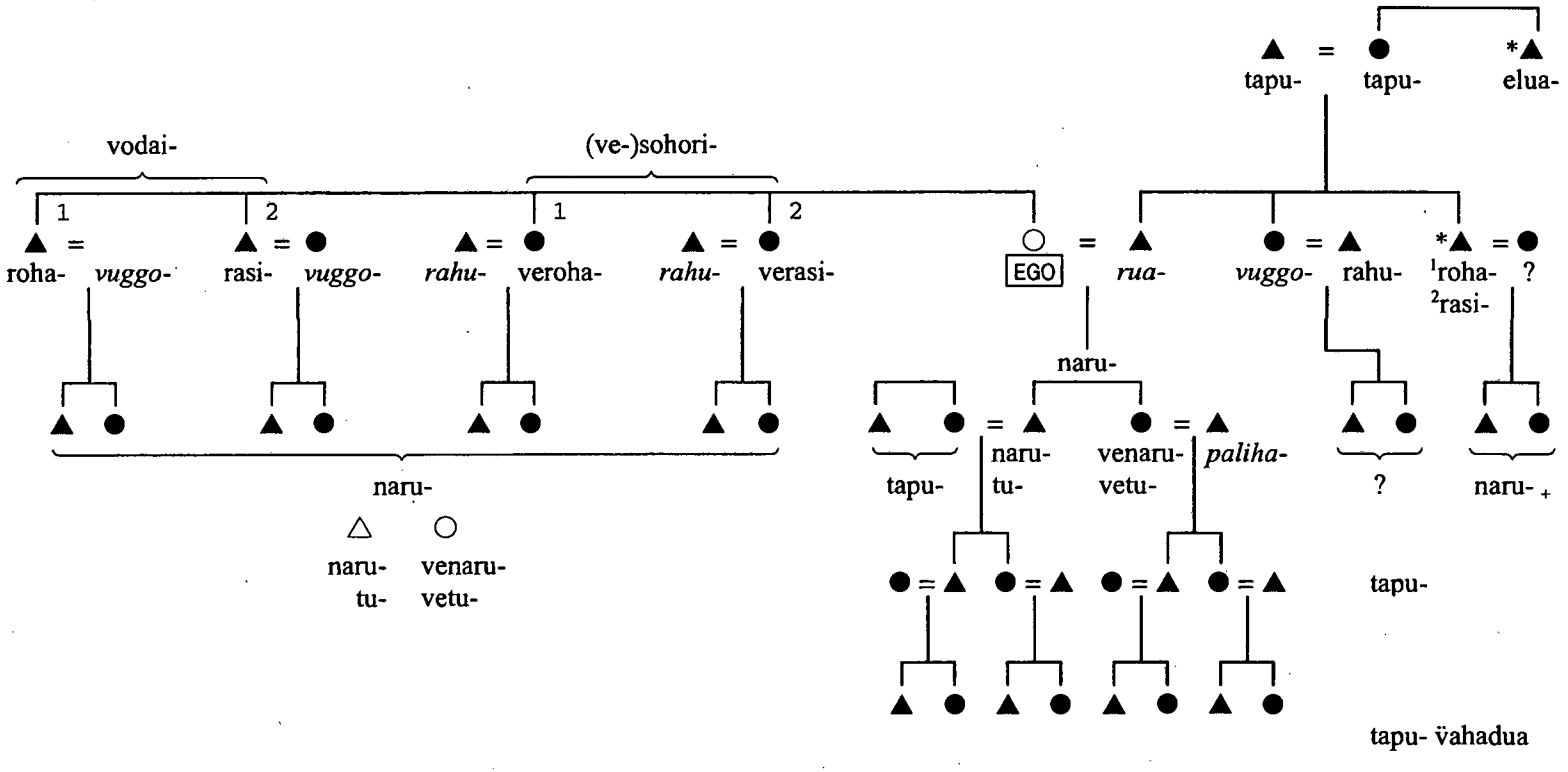


Table 9-53 Kinship terms: close consanguinity and affines – *Ego Female*



9.3. Araki – English dictionary

A - a

-a$_1$ *obj.* him, her: 3rd singular Object personal suffix. • **Mo vari-a levu di mo hani-a.** [inanimate object] *They take the breadfruit and eat it.* • **Na lpo lesi-a racu mo hese hosun.** [animate object] *I'll try and see that man.* • **Ha huden pultan-i-a paru-mim!** [plural referent] *Put all your heads together!*

-á$_2$ *obj.* me: 1st singular Object personal suffix. • **Inko hosu nanov om litovi-á?** *So it was you who insulted me yesterday?* || It is a brief stressed /a/, opp. 3rd singular unstressed suffix /-a/.

[*POc* *-au]

aco *n.* a big fish, unidentified.

aco cigo-hese *n.* lit. 'single-beak *aco*': marlin or swordfish, huge fish with a long pointed nose (**cigo**). *Xiphiidae* spp.

ai *n.* water.

(1) fresh, drinkable water, collected from rain or from rivers (v. **rasi**, saltwater). • **Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho.** *Heat some water until it is really boiling!* • **Co pa vei-a ai co wet-i-a as.** *He'll wet the rope.* [lit. *He'll make some water wet the rope*]

(2) a place with fresh water: stream, river, lake. • **Mo ro om ce opoe kadu lo ai?** *Why don't you like bathing in the river?*

ai vadug *n.* lit. 'hot water': hot drink of western origin: coffee, milk chocolate, and *esp.* tea. • **Ruai, ham levse inu ai vadug?** *In olden times, did you use to drink tea?*

ai mara~ *sfn.* lit. 'eye water': tears.

[*POc* *waiR '*water*']

aiole *excl.* yippee! great! Children's exclamation of joy. • **Aiole, aiole, vulumam co sohe-na!** *Yippee, we want red hair like him!*

aka *sfn.* (1) boat. • **Re co pele sna co holo aka!** *Someone come and man the boat!*

(2) (esp) outrigger canoe. • **Mo rai-a aka ini-a, mo ve otome sohe aka.** *He carved himself a canoe, just as if it were a real canoe.*

[*POc* *waga(ŋ)]

Parts of a canoe	
aka	the canoe
cama-na	its outrigger
evua-na	pole fixing outrigger
laku-na	pegs fixing pole
asi-na	ropes fixing pins
vose	the paddle

ale *ptc.* a polysemic discourse particle.

(1) okay, well. Expresses acceptation or resignation. • **Huira mo de 'Ale,**

o sna sadai lo pili-ku!' *'Okay', said the octopus, 'come and sit on my shoulders.'* • **'Na lpo si na lesi-a ra.' Raṁa-na mo vadai-a mo de 'Ale, o lpo si!'** *'I'd like to go and see him.' His father answered 'Okay, go and see him!'* *Syn.* **codo**.

(2) and then, later. Introduces a new event, *esp.* in a story. • **'Ta, nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku.' Ale, raṁa-na mo rai-a aka-na.** *'I'd like you to carve me a canoe.' And so his father carved him a canoe.* • **Mo huden-i-a lo paru-na, ale mo ṁa mo ṁa.** *He put (the flower) on his head, then set off.*

(3) now. Marks a logical pause in speech, introducing a new argument. • **Mo ṽa ro; ale p̈ira mo hese mo roho raṽal cigo mle ṽa.** *He went on his way; now there was a woman who lived on the other side of the cape.*

(4) so, I was saying. Reverts to an idea one had dropped temporarily. • **Ale, mo ṁare mo rud lo paisa sala ...** *So, there was (this tree) that was standing dead by the wayside.*

(5) finally, lastly. Presents the last of an enumeration, or the conclusion of a story. • **Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a caṁa-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na; ale mo rai-a vose ṁara co pa sua nia.** *He cut the ropes (for his canoe) and the outrigger, carved the poles and the little pegs; lastly he carved an oar with which to paddle.* • **Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo ṁasaṽa ṁara-na.** *And it was after these events that Araki moved out into the ocean.* • **Ale, kam sna wik mo hese, viha hosun mo kodu, viha hosun mo ciha.** *Finally, after one week, that tree ended up in flames, and disappeared.*

[*Fr.* allez]

alo *n.* sun.

aloalo *vi.* (impers) be sunny; late in the morning. • **Hede, na pa rudu co aloalo.** *Today I'll get up when the sun's up high (I'll have a lie-in).*

[*PNCV* *yalo]

alovi *vt.* beckon, wave to <s.o.>. • **Nam lesi raṗala-ku nam alovi-a.** *I saw a friend, and I waved to him.* || This is done by raising the arm horizontally, and then folding the hand downwards, towards the body; the meaning is 'Come here for a second!'.

alovi-ha~ *sfn.* (met) lit. 'waving to my food [*ha~*]': uvula. || Its name compares it with the gesture of a waving hand.

[*PNCV* *?alo-vi; *POc* *qalo(p)]

alua *vi.* go out (from a place). • **Nam alua, usa mo sivo ro.** *When I went out, it was raining.* *Syn.* **ṁalue**.

[*PNCV, POc* *lua *'out, away'*]

aparavusa *n.* Pink squirrelfish, bsl. *Redfis*: reef fish, 16 cm *Sargocentron tieroides*.

aru *conj.* if, suppose. Can have a Counterfactual value, as well as refer to a possible event in the future. • **Aru mo usa, mo pa re ai.** *If it had rained [last week], we would have water.* • **Aru mo usa, co pa re ai.** *If it rains [next week], we will have water.* *Syn.* **vada**; **co de**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

asi ~ **as.** *n.* (1) any kind of natural liana or climbing plant.

as nadenade *n.* probably a second name for **kaulu**, the 'sensitive'

grass (bsl. *Grass-Neel*). *Mimosa pudica.*

as mara *n.* lit. 'snake rope': tree liana. *Entada pursaetha.*

as Merika *n.* lit. 'American rope': k.o. liana, of quick growth. *Mikania micrantha.* || Its name recalls that it was introduced during World War Two, when the Americans had settled on Santo island.

2) rope, string, thread. • **Co pa vëi-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia.** *He will wet the rope, and then climb up to the top of the palmtree with it to catch the coconut crab.*

❖ *sfn.* (esp) rope for [canoe]: ties knotted around wooden pegs (**laku**) which hold fast the outrigger (**caṅa**) to the horizontal poles (**evua**) of the canoe (*see* **aka**). • **Mo rai-a aka, mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a caṅa-na.** *He carved a canoe, made the ropes, and then the outrigger.*

[*POc* *wasi(n)]

Auta *pl.n.* north, north wind. || Probably a place-name.

avai ~ **ava.** *n.* rayfish, stingray. *Dasyatididae* spp.

[*PNCV* *vaRi; *POc* *paRi(q)]

avu *vi. Red.* **avuavu.**

(1) [bird] fly. • **Ṁaci mo avuavu nda povi.** *The birds all took flight.*

(2) (hence) [s.th.] fly away, soar, glide. • **Vivada mo avu lag mo vari-a.** *The reed flies away, taken up by the wind.*

ṁaci avuavu *n.* lit. 'flying animal': bird, v. fish. Periphrase to distinguish between two meanings of the word **ṁaci**, both 'fish' and 'bird'.

avulai ~ **avlai.** *vi.* glad, happy. • **Nanaru-ku mo avulai ṁara vada mo usa.** *My children are happy when it rains.* • **Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko.** *I'm very glad to have met you.*

C - c

-ca ~ **-co** (*after /o-/*). *obj.* us (Inclusive): 1st plural Inclusive Object suffix. • **Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa mo sivo mo sa.** *I watch the ripples swaying us to and fro.* • **Mo sovi-ca ro.** *He's waiting for us.*

❖ *pp.sf.* our (Inclusive): 1st plural Inclusive possessive suffix. • **nnaru-ca** *our children*

[*POc* *-da]

cada *sfn.* (1) place. • **Daki, lo cada mo hese mo rov-i-a mo de Leruvahi.** ... *in Araki, in a place called Leruvahi.* • **Ras mo roho cada vono.** *The sea is far away* [*stays remote place*] • **lo cada tade** *everywhere*

(2) country, (s.o.'s) land, village. • **lo cada-m** *in your country Syn.* **peli.**

(3) (s.o.'s) post, place during an activity. • **Na na sa na vari-a cada-m.** *I'm coming to replace you* [*take your place*].

(4) place usually dedicated to

(object, action). • **cada velu** *dance area* • **cada ruvaruva** *waist* [*place to gird oneself*]

(5) designates the present situation, e.g. in weather phrases. • **Cada mo v̈adug!** *It's hot!* [*the place is hot*] • **Cada mo m̈am̈asa.** *It's dry, we're having a heatwave.*

[*PNCV* *zara '*village clearing*']

cai ~ **ca**. *sfn.* blood. • **Cai-na mo dodo.** *He's bleeding.* [*his blood is flowing*]

[*PNCV* *daRa; *POc* *draRaq]

cam$_1$ *sbj.* we (Inclusive): 1st inclusive plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. • **Cam ce levse lesi-a, pani nia mo roho ro.** *We cannot see him, yet he exists.* *See* **ca**$_1$.

cam$_2$ *n.* yam, the traditional staple food. *Dioscorea* spp. • **isa cam** *field of yams* • **M̈ala mo lesi-a huda-udara-ni cam di mo roho ro lo hoco-no.** *The hawk saw pieces of yam stuck between (the rat's) teeth.* • **Mo v̈ei-a m̈ada m̈ara mo tilavo cam.** [in case of hunger] *They prepare breadfruit-biscuit (**m̈ada**) whenever they lack yam.*

cam hahada *n.* lit. 'red yam': one of the many varieties of yam, with reddish flesh.

[*PNCV* *damu]

cam̈a *sfn.* outrigger of a canoe. • **Mo rai-a aka, mo rai-a cam̈a-na.** *He carved a canoe, then the outrigger.* *See* **aka**.

[*PNCV* *zama; *POc* *saman]

carauta ~ **tarauta**. *n.* shore, beach, bank. • **Huira mo v̈a rkel-i-a tarauta mo hudeni hadiv.** *The octopus finally reached the shore, where it left the rat.* • **Nda mo heli-a koko lo carauta.** *They dig a hole on the shore.* *See* **onono** *'sand'*.

[*Tangoa* tarauta]

cau *n.* coconut crab. *Birgus latro.* • **Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau.** *Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs.* || Anthr. This terrestrial crustacean is highly appreciated for its flesh, and traditionally hunted (*cf.* **ele**).

[*PNCV* *daweRu]

ce$_1$ *mod.* no: negation, placed between the Subject and the verb or predicate. • **Nko pa ce lahi co ce re naru-m.** *You shall not marry nor shall you have any children.* • **Vidi, racu mo ce han-i-a.** *Men don't eat dogs.* • **Mo ce na hosun nam nak-i-a racu.** (lit.) *It's not me who killed this man.* • **Lo m̈audi-ku, nam ce m̈isi han re.** [with ***m̈isi***] *I'd never eaten any before in all my life.* *See* **kan** *'Prohibitive'*. (*Cf.* Grammar)

ce$_2$ *vi.* defecate. || Instead of **Na sa ce.** 'I'm going to shit', one says more politely **Na v̈a lo hudara.** 'I'm going into the forest'.

cece *v.ad.* for good; *part.* in a negative sense. • **Sule mo ciha cece.** *The stone has disappeared for ever.* • **Nida mo m̈are cece.** *They are dead for good.*

ce-re *pred.* || Synt. Always preceded by a subject clitic, Realis **mo** or Irrealis **co**. *Morph.* **ce** + **re** (there is). (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) not be there, not exist. • **Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia ha, mo re ce-re no-no paua.** *Today that place is inhabited, because its power (that of the*

bewitched tree) no longer exists. • **Store mära mo ce-re hanhan mo hilu hosu.** *This is the end of the story about food shortage.* [lit. *the story about there-is-no food*] • **Nanovi, nam de na vä na rai re viha; mo ce-re diṗa, nam pa ce vä.** *Yesterday I wanted to go and cut some wood; but as I didn't have an axe, I didn't go.* • **Nko pa ce lahi co ce-re naru-m.** *You shall not marry nor shall you have any children.* [lit. *there won't be your child*]

(2) no. Word-sentence indicating a negative reply to a question. • **Ravälu wik, co pa usa vo co ce-re?** *Will it rain next week or not?* • **Mo ce-re!** *No!* *See* **voni**.

ceu *vt.* (1) pass by, overtake. • **Va racu Supe mo re ceu-ca mo iso!** *That man Supe has overtaken us!*

(2) outstrip, outmatch. • **Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan.** *The power of God is stronger, stronger than the power of Satan.*

(3) [after a first verb] forms the comparative. • **Nam levosai mo ceu-ko.** *I am more intelligent than you.* • **Mo suiha mo ceu nohosu nam comcom-i-a.** *He is stronger than I thought.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

cici *n.* penis. • **Cici-m mo ra laṗa!** [strong abuse to a man] lit. *You big cock!* *See* **ṗile** *'female genitals'*.

[*PNCV* *zizi]

cida *sfn.* sperm.

cida-na! *excl.* lit. 'his/its semen!': swear word uttered by men, in a situation of anger: *cf. English* 'fuck'.

cidi *sfn.* [hum, animal] bottom, backside. • **Daga vi-adu di mo vcan-i-a lo cidi-n hadiv.** *Casuarina's branch reached the rat's bottom.* *See* **ravuhi cidi** *'buttocks'*.

cigo *sfn.* (1) [animal] snout, bill. • **aco cigo-hese** *swordfish* [*single-beak fish*]

(2) (rare) [hum] mouth, *esp.* from outside. • **cigo-ku** *my mouth* *See* **vava** *'mouth (inside)'*.

❖ *n.* cape, sea promontory. • **Racu vavono mo hese mo roho kia raväl cigo.** *Another man lived over there on the other side of the cape.*

[*PNCV* *ziŋo]

ciha *vi.* (1) disappear, vanish. • **Ha-ku hina mo re ciha!** *My meal's vanished!* • **Sule mo ciha cece.** *The stone has disappeared for ever.*

(2) (euph) pass away, die. • **Nam sohani-a leta nene lo dani tapu-ku mo ciha.** *I sent this letter the day my grandfather passed away.*

cihi *n.* croton, bsl. *Nangaria. Codiaeum variegatum.*

ciliv *n.* pot, recipient; *partic.* earthenware pot still made in the west of Santo – but not in Araki. • **ciliv leṗa** *earthenware pot*

civi *n.* Rainbow Lorikeet, Coconut Lory, bsl. *Nasiviru*: k.o. multi-coloured lory flying in noisy flocks. *Trichoglossus haematodus.*

[*PNCV* *siviri]

co$_1$ *sbj.* he, she: 3rd singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • **Co pa vei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia.** *He will wet the rope, and will climb to the top of the palm tree to catch the coconut*

crab. • **Re co pele sna co holo aka!** *Let someone come and man the boat!* • **Vulu-m̈am co sohe-na!** [plural referent] *(we want) our hair to be like that! See* **mo**; **-na**.

co$_2$ *sbj.* we (Inclusive): 1st inclusive plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • **Nia deci, co ce levse dogo.** *He's far away, we can't hear him.* • **Nre dan co pa v̈anov̈ano, co lesi-a se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila.** *One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster! See* **cam**; **-ca**.

co de *conj.* lit. 'let's say': suppose, if. *See* **de**.

-co$_3$ *pp.sf.* our (Inclusive): allomorph of the possessive suffix **-ca** following a vowel /o/. • **no-co sodo** *our language (i.e. Araki)*

❖ *obj.* our (Inclusive): allomorph of the Object suffix **-ca** following a vowel /o/. • **Ta mo dogo-co vo mo ce-re?** *Did dad hear us?*

coco *n.* (1) cloud, *partic.* a dark raincloud. • **coco usa** *a cloud of rain*

(2) night. • **Lolo coco mo pa usa.** *Last night it rained*

❖ *vi.* [impersonal] be night, be dark. • **Nanov nam pa hanhan mo re coco.** *Yesterday, it was already dark/ night when I had dinner.*

❖ *adj.* black, dark. • **Mo hada coco.** *It's dark red See* **vidiha** *'black'.*

❖ *v.ad.* perform an action V until it is night (**coco**), *hence:* all day long, without stopping. • **Nanovi, mo usa coco.** *Yesterday, it rained all day long.*

[*PNCV* *dodo *'dark cloud'*; *POc* *rodo(ŋ) *'rain cloud'*]

cocole *sfn.* throat. • **Cocole-ku mo hac-i-á.** *I've got a sore throat.*

[*PNCV* *dolo (?) *'swallow'*]

codiha *adj.* yellow, orange. *Morph.* **-ha**$_5$ (?).

codo *phr.* okay, no problem. Expresses acceptation or resignation. • **Codo o sna, codo o sna!** *Okay, okay, you may come. Syn.* **ale**.

cohi *n.* turmeric. *Zingiber* sp.

colo *vi.* (1) [ship+] sink. • **Aka mo colo.** *The boat is sinking.*

(2) [hum] get drowned. • **Niko pa colo lo rasi.** *You'll end up drowning in the sea.* • **Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi mo si mo colo.** *He killed the young woman in one blow, and she sank (to the bottom of the water).*

colog *vt.* close, shut, stop a hole. • **O colog-i-a botel nohoni!** *Cork up that bottle!*

❖ *n.* cork, lid of a bottle. • **Nene m̈ara vahuden-i-a colog botel.** *This is for taking corks out of bottles.*

comana *ptc.* 'plus': particle used in counting items from 11 to 19, between the word for 'ten' (**sagavulu**) and the numeral for units. It is not used for other multiples of ten (*see* **gavulu**). • **racu mo sa-gavulu** *ten people* • **racu mo sa-gavulu comana mo hese** *eleven [ten plus one] people* • **racu mo sa-gavulu comana mo v̈ari** *fourteen [ten plus four] people* • **racu mo gavul dua** (***comana**) **mo rolu** *twenty-three [10x2, three] people (Cf.* Grammar)

[< °domwa-na '*extra bit*']

coṁi *vi.* sad; sorry. • **Nam coṁi.** *I'm sorry!*

❖ *vt.* (1) be sad because of <s.o.>, regret. • **Nida mo coṁi naivou-da, ṁara nida mo ṽa mo rolu mo velu ro.** *They are sad because of their wives, who left home with (the men from the other island) dancing.*

(2) take pity on, sympathise with <s.o.>. • **Nam coṁi-ko.** *I sympathise with you.*

(3) aid, help, assist <s.o.>. • **O coṁi-á!** *Help!* [lit. *take pity of me*] *See* **ruen** '*help*'.

❖ *sfn.* (1) mind, thought, ideas.

(2) state of mind (good or bad). • **Coṁi-na mo ce holo-ho.** [*his mind was not good*] *He was anxious.* • **Coṁi-m co pa te, nko pa racu tilavono.** *You will lose the joy of living* [*your mind will be bad*], *you will be a wretched man.*

[*PNCV* *domi '*think (about), love*']

coṁicoṁi ~ **coṁcoṁ.** *vt.* think. ‖ Reduplicated form of **coṁi.**

(1) think, reflect; believe that. • **Mo suiha mo ceu nohosu nam coṁcoṁ-i-a.** *He's stronger than I thought.* • **Mo ravur mo sa mo ce coṁcoṁ raṗala-na mo re ṁare mo iso.** *He ran away at once, without thinking of his friend's death.* *Syn.* **de.**

(2) be sad about; mourn <s.o.>. • **Kam pa ṁis coṁicoṁi raṁa-ṁam.** *We are still mourning our father.* *See* **ragi-si-.**

coṁcoṁ *n.* thought, idea; plan, project; meaning. • **Nam poe na pa ṽei-a no-ku coṁcoṁ.** *I want to make my dream/plans come true.*

covi *vi.* fall, fall down. Often followed by Directional vb **sivo** '(go) down'. • **Mo ran-i-á nam covi.** *He pushed me over.* • **Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo.** *A man brings a stone, throws it up in the air and waits for it to fall down on the ground.*

[*PNCV* *zovi '*fall (on)*']

cu *adj.* good, nice; in good shape or in good health. • **Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu.** *I heard your voice, and thought to myself that it might be a beautiful boy.* • **Mo ce re eṗe-na cu.** *His body was not healthy.* *Syn.* **holo.**

cudi *vt.* pull, drag <canoe> to the water; put out to sea. • **Mo cudi-a aka-na mo sua mo ṽa mo ṽa mo ṽa.** *He dragged his canoe down to the water, and started to paddle and paddle.*

[*PNCV* *zuri '*let go, leave, put down*']

cudug *vt. Tr* **cudugi-.** perforate, make a hole in <a surface>. • **Hede na pa ṗisu cudug-i-a aka-ca!** [the hawk] *I'm going to make a hole in this canoe with my claws!*

cue *sfn.* heel. • **cue-ku** *my heels*

cuga~ *pos.cl.* share, piece (belonging to s.o.). Possessive Classifier designating either a share of food within a group, or a catch (fishing, hunting). • **cuga-ku viha** *my piece of firewood (I am carrying)* • **cuga-m ṁaci** *your catch of fish* or *the bird you shot* • **Cuga-ku udeece mo re meco mo iso.** *My piece of pudding* (opp. *yours*) *is already cooked.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

cuge *n.* (1) outside.

(2) (esp) [house] in front of the house; private space outside the home situated in front of the family dwelling. • **Ra vadi mo m̈a mo dodo lo cuge ima honin.** *The children came to play here in front of the house.*

cuha *vi.* move, change places. • **Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na.** [myth of Araki] *It was after these events that Araki moved out into the ocean.* • **O cuha!** *Move over!* *See* **tipa** *'move'.*

cuhu *sfn.* back. • **Cuhu-ku mo hac-i-á.** *My back aches.* *Syn.* **liuha**.

cuhuvoru *n.* Black sweetlips, bsl. *Tiklips*: reef fish, 50 cm *Plectorhynchus gibbosus*. *See* **cuhu** *'back'.*

culi *sfn.* shoot of a plant, *esp.* taro or banana, used in horticulture. • **culi pera** *taro shoot*

[*PNCV* *suli; *POc* *(s,j)uli(q)]

cum *n.* Picassofish, bsl. *Strongskin*: reef fish, 34 cm *Balistes aculeatus.*

[*PNCV* *sumu *'triggerfish'*]

cuma *sfn.* chest, sternum. • **Cuma-na mo hac-i-a.** *She has a pain in her chest.*

[*PNCV* *rumwa *'chest'*; *POc* *Ruma]

cuvu *n.* grass; generic term.

D - d

da-$_1$ *pf.* leaf of. Derivative prefix allowing to form certain names of leaves from the name of corresponding species. • **da-pera** *taro leaf* • **da-holo** *coconut palm* *See* **dau**.

da-ha *n.* generic name for leaves, used when no specific species is meant. *See* **ha**$_3$.

[*PNCV* *rau; *POc* *raun *'leaf'*]

-da$_2$ ~ **-do** *(after /o/). obj.* them: 3rd plural Object suffix. • **Ale, mo hese racu vadi, mo rov-i-da mo de Tui.** *There's another kind (of devil), small individuals: people call them Tui.* *See* **nida**.

❖ *pp.sf.* their: possessive suffix 3rd plural. • **Racu mo hese nda-n venaru-na, mo ro ha lo ima-da.** *There was a man and his daughter, who were living in their house.* • **Hina salahese mo vse-i-a racu ro lo m̈audi-da.** *Several signs reveal their destiny to people.* • **Mada Tanna hase-da, nida mo levse han-i-a vidi.** [with adj. ***hase~*** *'alone'*] *Only the inhabitants of Tanna eat dogs.*

[*POc* *-dra]

daca *sfn.* [hum, animal] ribs. • **daca-ku** *my ribs* • **ha-ku daca po** *my pork ribs [for eating]*

daga *n.* branch of a tree; stick. • **daga vi-adu** *a branch of Casuarina* • **Daga viha mo lare.** *The branch broke.* *See* **hap̈asi** *'stem'*; **dau** *'leaf'.*

[*PNCV* *ra(r,ŋ)a; *POc* *raqan *'branch'*]

daga p̈ahuda *n.* lit. 'branch of tamanu (**vi-p̈ahuda**)': Oriental sweetlips,

bsl. *Yelo tiklips*: reef fish, 50 cm *Plectorhynchus orientalis*.

dagodago *n.* Blackfin barracuda, bsl. *Sofis*: reef fish, 60 cm *Sphyraena genia*.

dai ~ **da**. *art.* [+ noun N] plural article. • **Dai m̈aci mo han-i-a ha-ku hina!** *The birds have eaten my meal!* • **Mo v̈ei povi-a dai hina hosun.** *He did all those things.* • **Haṁali, ima-na da racu povi.** *The* nakamal *is the house for all men.* • **Nam sovi dai naru-ku ro.** *I'm waiting for my children.* || This article is optional, and often plurality of the referent is left implicit. (*Cf.* Grammar)

dai nohosu *rel.* those who. • **Dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura Lap̈a mo dogo leo-do ro.** *Those who remained on the mainland can hear their voices.*

daisi *n.* rice. Imported from overseas, and on the verge of becoming a daily diet throughout Vanuatu. • **Kesi hanhan vutiana: pedeti; daisi; hina vutiana – pan ruai mo ce re hanhan.** *Nowadays, there is plenty of (different sorts of) food: bread, rice, many things; but in olden times, there was no food (like that).*

[*English* rice]

Daki *pl.n.* Araki, a small island situated off Tangoa (**Rago**), of about a hundred inhabitants. Among them, only about ten people still speak the language of Araki. • **sodosodo-ni Daki** *the language of Araki* • **Ruai, Daki mo roho ro v̈aha-sun Okava.** *Before, Araki was over there, in Hog Harbour.* • **Daki mo rov nosun mo de Ralme-ap̈e.** *In Araki, (this devil) is called 'Ralme-ape'.* || Myth. A myth relates how the island of Araki, formerly situated near Hog Harbour (**Okava**), one day broke away from the east coast of Santo and ended up in the south.

dani ~ **dan**. *n.* (1) day. • (**lo**) **dan mo hese** ... *one day ...* • **dan tade** *every day* • **Rav̈al wik, co pa usa lo ha-liṁa dan.** *It's going to rain on Friday* [lit. *the fifth day*] *of next week.* *Syn.* **pog**. *Ant.* **coco**. *See* **nahodani** '*morning*'; **nre dan** '*sometimes*'.

(2) (day of s.o., **no**~) life, life span. • **Kesi no-m dan mo isoiso kesi!** [tale] *Your days are over today. (You're going to die!)*

lo dani *conj.* lit. 'the day (when)': [+ Clause] when, as. • **Nam sohan-i-a leta nene lo dani tapu-ku mo pa m̈is m̈audu ro.** *I sent this letter while* [lit. *the day when*] *my grandfather was still alive.* • **Lo dan Daki mo de hanhan co pa ce-re ...** *Whenever Araki lacks food ...*

[*PNCV, POc* *rani]

dap̈as *vi.* bounce, rebound. • **Mo dogo paru-n rap̈ala-na mo dap̈as kaura mo sivo mo vcan-i-a.** *Suddenly he heard his friend's head bounce up into the tree and fall to the ground.*

dau *sfn.* [plant] leaf, palm leaf. • **dau holo** *coconut palm leaf* [Syn. ***da-holo***] • **dau vinini** *palm-tree leaf* • **Via v̈alalap̈a, dau-na ra v̈alalap̈a.** *The big taro has big leaves.* *See* **da-**.

[*PNCV* *rau; *POc* *raun '*leaf*']

dauaro *n.* sago palm, bsl. *Natangora.*

Metroxylon warburgii. || Anthr. This plant is mainly used for thatching purposes.

[*PNCV* *rau + *ato; *POc* *qatop '*sago palm, thatch*']

dau-dada *n.* Oyena majorra, bsl. *Silvafis*: reef fish, 20 cm *Gerres oyena.* || Lit. 'leaves of Erythrina' (**vi-dada**), because of its moiré aspect.

dave *n.* hermaphrodite pig, of great customary value (bsl. *narave*). *See* **po**.

[*PNCV* *rave]

de *vt.* [**de** is the main verb of the sentence] say; *hence* refers to most mental relations between a subject (speaker, actor ...) and a given state-of-affairs: thought, will, habit, etc. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) say, declare. • **Om de sa?** *What did you say?* • **Hadiv mo de 'Aka mo moru'.** *And the rat said 'My canoe is tiny!' Syn.* **vadai**; **sodo**.

(2) (esp) they say that; so they say. • **Mo de lo dan mo hese, mo vei-a hanhan mo hese Daki.** *One day there was a big feast in Araki, so they say. Syn.* **sodo**.

(3) mean, signify, imply; be a sign (e.g. magic) that. • **Vada mo avuavu mo le ma mo vodo lo vi-paka, vi-paka mo de nko pa moli.** *If (the reed) ends its flight by landing on a banyan tree, this means that you will be a chief.* • **Cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a.** [myth of mountain Tumepu fighting against Araki island] *The white scar we see reminds us of the blow it received from Araki.* [lit. *'We see it's white, this tells that Araki hit it'*]. • **Radami-na mo de pira hosun co pa malue nene.** *This signifies [The signification says] that this woman will leave this place. See* **radami**.

(4) [+Realis] think, believe. • **Om de nam man pala sa ro?** *What do you think I was making fun of?* • **Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu.** *I could hear your voice, and thought it might be a good-looking boy.* • **Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini, mo de pana cau.** *Someone was there scratching the trunk of the palm tree – no doubt a coconut crab, he thought. Syn.* **comcom**.

(5) [+Irrealis] want, wish, intend. • **Nanovi, nam de na va na rai re viha; mo ce re dipa, nam pa ce va.** *Yesterday I wanted to go and cut some wood; but I didn't have an axe, so I didn't go.* • **Huira mo lolokodu mo de co pa nak-i-a.** *In a rage, the octopus wanted to kill him. Syn.* **poe**; **dogo**.

(6) value of Prospective or Near Future. Hardly different from Irrealis alone. • **Mo de co hanhan pedesi-á.** (=**Co hanhan pedesi-á**) *He's going to come and eat with me.*

(7) (hence) marks a process as virtual, hypothetic or iterative: every time that, when, if. • **Ras mo de mo ma mo nak-i-a mo posi mo vidiha mo ma mo lulu.** *Each time the waves hit it, (the octopus) changed colour, from black to white.* [lit. *the sea 'wanted' it came it hit ...*] *Syn.* **vada**.

❖ *conj.* [Subj.+ **de** follows another verb, *gen.* with the same subject] Despite being conjugated in time and person, **de** functions as a verb-conjunction. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) that. Introduces reported speech, whether direct or indirect, following verbs of speech. • **Mo vadai mo de 'Ha dua!'** *He answered: 'Yes, you two!'* • **lo cada mo hese mo rov-i-a mo de Leruvahi** *in a place called Leruvahi* [lit. *one place they call-it they say L.*] • **Mo sodo nia so nene mo de racu mo sa kia ...** *They say that everyone goes to this place ...* • **Mo vavere sohe nene mo de ...** *And they started singing this song ...* || Note. The conjunction **mo de** is optional in this case. *Syn.* **vada**.

(2) that. Introduces sentential clauses after verbs of thought. • **Mo levsei-a mo de raṁare mo han-i-a.** *He realised that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil.* • **Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo ṁarahu.** *Hearing that, the rat was seized with fright [he felt he was frightened]* • **Mo lesi-a mo de p̈ana racu vavono.** *She saw (and thought) that it was no doubt another man.*

(3) that. Introduces sentential clauses after verbs of will. • **Om poe-i-a o d'o pa racu lap̈a?** *You want to be* [lit. *that you become*] *an important person?* • **Mo v̈e lesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a ha ce levsei nak-i-a nre dan.** *They try and kill him [try that they kill-him], but they never succeed.* *Syn.* **vada**.

(4) [+Irrealis] so that, with the intention of, in order to. • **Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau.** *Two men went to Rahuna to find crabs.* • **Mo ṁa mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia.** *(Araki island) came here, with the intention of settling between Tangoa and Elia.* *Syn.* **ṁara**.

co de *conj.* lit. 'let us say': if, suppose. • **Co de co v̈a ṁara-n re cada o pa kaka gisa?** *If we left this place, when will you reach (the other side)?* • **Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.** *If/When you stop crying, you can have your dinner.* *Syn.* **vada**. *Morph.* **co** (1Inc:Ir) + **de**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

vada mo de *conj.* when, as; if, suppose. • **Pani viha hosun mo rudu lo sala, vada mo de mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese.** *And one day when it was raining, from this tree standing in the road, a drop of water fell on someone.*

deci *pred.* far away, remote. • **Nia deci, co ce levse dogo.** *He's far away, he can't hear.* *Ant.* **ravui**. *See* **vono**.

desi ~**des**. *n.* Great hog plum, bsl. *Naos. Spondias cythera.*

des tasale *n.* lit. 'foreign naos': pawpaw. *Carica papaya.*

dev̈e *vt.* (1) pull, draw, drag. • **Mo rai-a da-holo, mo dev̈e mo sivo lo rasi.** *They cut coconut palms and drag them to the seashore.*

(2) (esp) to fish, catch <fish>. • **Mo sivo mo de dev̈edev̈e ṁaci, pani mo ce var re hina.** *He went fishing, but he didn't catch anything.*

[*PNCV* *rave '*pull*']

di *art.* [following a noun N] optional definite article: the, this. • **V̈apa <u>di</u> mo roho sahan kaura.** *<u>That</u> cave is up there in the hills.* • **Sodosodo <u>di</u> mo hilu hosu.** *<u>The</u> story (I am telling) ends here.* • **Huira mo roho ro raholo lo cada <u>di</u>.** *There's an octopus living right*

in this place. Syn. **va**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

diṗa *n.* axe. • **Nanovi, nam de na ṿa na rai re viha; mo ce-re diṗa, nam pa ce ṿa.** *Yesterday I wanted to go and cut some wood; but as I didn't have an axe, I didn't go.* • **Mo vari-a no-no diṗa, no-no siṗa, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na.** *He took his axe, his knife and his club and put them into his canoe.*

doco *vi. Red.* **docodoco**. sick, ill. • **Lo wik mo ṿa mo iso, nam docodoco, kesi nam pa holo-ho.** *Last week I was sick; but now I'm well.* • **Mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo m̈are.** *One rainy day, a drop of (stagnant) water fell on to a man, who fell sick and died.*

dodo$_1$ *vi.* [liquid] run, flow. • **Cai-ku mo dodo.** *I'm bleeding.* [lit. *my blood is running*]

dodo$_2$ *vi.* play, have fun. • **Ra vadi mo m̈a mo dodo lo cuge ima honin.** *The children came to play here in front of the house.*

[Cf. *Akei* roro]

dogo *vt.* (1) hear <s.o., s.th.>. • **Mo dogo leo-do ro, mo ṿa, mo ra hetehete, mo ce le dogo otom̈e.** *At first their voices could be heard; but little by little they died down so much that they could no longer be heard.* • **Ṗira hosun mo dogo mo le sihir mo sivo mo kla si mo lesi-a.** *As soon as she heard him, the woman ran to look, and saw him.* • **Nam ce levsei dogo-ko.** *I can't hear you.*

(2) feel physically <s.th.>. • **Nam dogo hae mo nak-i-á.** *I feel the effect of kava.* [lit. *I feel kava is striking me*] • **Om dogo cada mo ṿadug?** *Are you feeling [it is] hot?*

(3) feel one way or another, feel well or ill. • **Nam dogo leo-m, nam dogo mo holoho.** *I heard your voice and I felt good.* • **Om dogo mo holo ro?** *Do you feel alright? Are you okay? See* **roho**.

(4) feel that, realise that s.th. is going on: [**dogo** + (conj. **mo de**) + Realis]. • **Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo m̈arahu.** *The Rat felt (that) he was frightened.*

(5) feel like, fancy (doing): [**dogo** + (conj. **mo de**) + Irrealis]. • **Nam dogo na inu re hae.** *I fancy drinking some kava.* • **Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de m̈ara pana ha colo lo ras.** *They don't feel like coming to Araki any more, for fear of drowning in the sea.*

[*PNCV* *roŋo '*hear, smell, feel*'; *POc* *roŋoR]

dovo *vi.* flee, escape, run away. • **Mo levsei-a mo de ram̈are mo han-i-a mo sut mo dovo, mo dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima.** *When he realised that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil, he fled all the way home. Syn.* **sihiri**.

[*PNCV* *rovo '*run, flow, jump, fly*'; *POc* *Ropok]

doṿa *n.* (1) traditional wooden plate, *esp.* large dish used for preparing pudding (**udeece**).

(2) (gen) plate.

[Cf. *Malo* rova]

dua *num.* two.

(1) two. Always preceded either by a subject clitic (*gen.* **mo**), or by Numeral classifier (for human referent) **rapudo**. • **Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha**

elele cau. *Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs.* • **O huden-i-a ve̊rali lo m̆asap̆a-n dai cea nohosu mo dua.** *Put the bananas between these two chairs.* • **Co dua!** *Join me!/Let me join you!* [lit. *Let us be two!*] • **lo ha-dua dan** *on Tuesday* [*the second day*]

(2) [following personal marker] appears in residual, optional forms of dual pronouns. • **Nam lesi-a racu mo hese, kam dua sodosodo.** *I met someone, and we (two) started talking.* • **Kesi mo dua medesai, hadiv nida-n huira mo medesai.** *Today they (two) are enemies: the Rat and the Octopus are enemies.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*PNCV, POc* *rua]

dudu *n.* clothes. • **no-ku dudu** *my clothes*

dudu *sfn.* the underside of (s.th.). • **O huden-i-a ve̊rali lo dudu tep.** *Put the bananas underneath the table.*

dukoko *n.* lit. 'going through holes': Blackedge thicklip wrasse, bsl. *Tiklips blufis*: reef fish, 50 cm *Hemigymnus melaptarus*.

E - e

ecene *vt. Tr* **eceni-**. sell, make business out of <s.th.>. • **Lo nahodani nam ecen-i-a ratio mo rolu.** *This morning I sold three radios.* • **Nam ecene paniavu ro.** [incorporated object] *I sell pineapples. Ant.* **voli**.

ede *vi.* open, be open. • **M̈arasala mo ede.** *The door is open.* • **M̈arasala nene mo haura, mo ce ede co holo-ho.** *This door doesn't open easily.*

❖ *vt.* open <s.th.>. • **Mo re ede m̈arasala-ku.** *He has opened my door.*

[Cf. *Tangoa* roe]

edevu *n.* Imperata reed, bsl. *Waetgras. Imperata cylindrica. See* **vivada**.

ele *vt. Red.* **elele**.

(1) seek, search, look for. • **Nam ele no-ku pen ro, om lesi-a vo mo ce-re?** *I am looking for my pen, have you seen it or not?*

(2) go after, hunt for, look for. • **Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau.** *Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs.*

(3) learn. • **Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku.** *I learnt your language by myself.*

[*PNCV* *le?o (?) '*wake up, open eyes*']

Elia *pl.n.* Elia, a small islet close to Araki. • **Mo m̈a mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia.** (*Araki island*) *came here, with the intention of settling between Tangoa and Elia.*

elua~ *sfn. Syn.* **lala**; **m̈ara~**$_3$; **rahura~**.

(1) [Ego M/F] uncle: brother of mother, *or* husband of aunt (**tetei~, vuggo~**). || Anthr. [Ego M] Several kin laws show my uncle **elua~** to be a 'second me'. If I die, my uncle (or preferably my elder brother **roha~**) must take care of my wife, children

and properties; he becomes her new husband (**rua~**), with no need to buy her (**voli**). While I am alive, my uncle calls my wife his niece (**velua~**, *see also* sense 3 below). I consider his children [i.e. my cross-cousins] as my own children (**tu~**, **naru~**), and they treat me as a father (**ta**).

(2) [Ego M] nephew: sister's son. *See* **v-elua~** '*niece*'.

(3) [Ego F] husband's uncle, uncle-in-law. || Anthr. My husband's uncle, whom I also call my uncle (**elua~**), calls me his niece (**v-elua~**). If my husband dies, this man takes me as his wife; in which case he calls me **naivou~** (wife).

[*PNCV* *aloa '*uncle, nephew*'; *POc* *qalawa]

ëpa *sfn.* pandanus mat, *esp.* used as a mattress on a bed. • **Nanovi nam goro lo ëpa nene.** *Yesterday I slept on this mat.* *See* **sale**.

[*PNCV* *eba; *POc* *qebal '*pandanus mat*']

ëpe *sfn.* body, *esp.* with relation to health. • **Mo ce re ëpe-na cu.** *His body was not healthy.* • **Inko kesin ëpe-m mo holo.** *But I can see your body is healthy.*

[*PNCV, POc* *abe]

Main parts of the body

ëpe-ku	my body
paru-ku °	my head
limña-ku °	my hands, arms
sadi-ku °	my legs, feet
cuhu-, liuha-ku	my back
cuma-ku	my chest
rali-ku °	my guts
sui-ku	my bones
hudi-ku	my skin
cai-ku	my blood
mani-ku	my veins

(Words marked by a ° display a more detailed list of words in this lexicon)

ese *sfn.* chin, lower jaws (between ears). • **ese-ku** *my chin*

[*PNCV* *ase; *POc* *qase]

evua *sfn.* canoe yoke: horizontal pole on canoe to which outrigger (**caña**) is attached. • **Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a caña-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na.** *He cut the ropes (for his canoe) and the outrigger, carved the poles and the little pegs.* || Generally three per canoe, these yokes are fixed to the outrigger by means of small wooden pegs (**laku**), which are themselves fastened with ropes (**asi**). *See* **aka**.

G - g

gaga *n.* Java almond, bsl. *Nangae. Canarium indicum.*

[< °ŋaŋai; *PNCV* *?aŋaRi; *POc* *[ka]ŋaRi]

galsu *sfn.* nose. • **galsu-ku** *my nose* • **koko galsu-na** *his nostrils*

[*PNCV* *ganisu (?)]

gavulu ~ **gavul**. *num.* [foll. by a numeral] ten times, tens. Forms all multiples of ten in counting,

except for 'ten' **sa-gavulu**. • **racu mo <sa-gavulu>** *ten people* • **racu mo <sa-gavulu> comana mo dua** *twelve (10+2) people* • **racu mo <gavul dua>** *twenty (10x2) people* • **racu mo <gavul rolu> mo hese** *thirty-one (10x3 + 1) people* • **racu mo <gavul sa-gavulu> mo sa-gavulu** *a hundred and ten (10x10 + 10) people* (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*POc* *sa-ŋapulu(q) '*ten*']

gigisa *vi.* grin, smile. • **Kaẅim po ha gigisa, ha gigisa na lesi hoco-ẅim.** *Smile everybody, so that I see your teeth. See* **ẅana** '*laugh*'.

[*PNCV* *ŋisa; *POc* *ŋiŋis]

gisa ~ **agisa**. *inter.* when, what time. • **Co de co ӧa ẅara-n re cada, o pa kaka (a)gisa?** *If we left from the same spot, when will you arrive (the other side)?*

[*PNCV* *ŋa?isa; *POc* *ŋaican]

godigodi *sfn.* upper lip, place between nose and upper lip. • **godigodi-ku** *my upper lip*

[*PNCV* *ŋori '*edge, upper lip*']

gole *sfn.* gums. • **gole-ku** *my gums*

goro *vi.* sleep, be asleep. • **Kaẅam rapudo rolu kaẅa sivo goro.** *The three of us are going to sleep.* • **Nam re goro mo iso.** *I have slept already.* • **Nanovi nam goro lo eӧa nene.** *Yesterday I slept on this mat.*

[*PNCV, POc* *ŋora '*snore, grunt, breathe*']

Got ~ **God**. *n.* the Christian God. • **Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan.** *God's power is stronger, stronger than Satan's power.* || The island of Araki was christianised mainly by the Presbyterian Church. *Syn.* **Supe**; **Siotatai**. *See* **skul**; **Titiai**.

[*English* God]

H - h

ha$_1$ *sbj.* you (Pl): 2nd plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • **Ha ӧa, ha ӧa, ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho.** *(all of you) go and heat some water until it's really boiling hot!* • **Hoto! Vada ham dogo Siho mo avu mo sna mo ulo mo de 'Ciuciu', ale kaẅim ha sodo ha de 'Kodogkoto kodogkoto'!** *Hermit-crabs! If you happen to hear a Kingfisher fly here and sing 'Tsiwtsiw', you will have to say 'Korongkoto korongkoto'! See* **ham**; **-ẅim**.

ha$_2$ *sbj.* they: 3rd plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • **Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de ẅara pana ha colo lo ras.** *They don't want to come to Araki any more, for fear they might drown in the sea.* • **Vada mo sivo lo pede vosa, nko ha pa nak-i-ko ha pa hani-ko.** [non-specific reference] *If (the reed) falls on to a Terminalia tree, (this is the sign that) they will kill you, they will eat you* (i.e. *You will be killed and eaten by someone*). *See* **mo**; **-da**.

ha$_3$ *vi.* (rare) go, to be found (in a particular place). Generally

accompanies the question vë 'where?'. • **Paniavu nohosu nam voli-a mo ha vë?** *The pineapple I bought, where did it go?* *Syn.* **roho**. *See* **vа**.

[Cf. *Tangoa* ca '*go*']

ha$_4$ *rad.* (anc) tree, wood. Used when the name of the tree species is not specified. • **vi-levu** *a breadfruit tree* • **vi-ha** *a tree* • **da-pera** *a taro leaf* • **da-ha** *a leaf* || Generic term for plants; features in nouns **vi-ha** 'tree, wood' and **da-ha** 'leaf'.

[*PNCV, POc* *kayu '*tree, (piece of) wood*']

ha~$_5$ *pos.cl.* Possessive Classifier for food. • **Hadiv mo lesi cam ha-ni mala, mo han-i-a.** *The rat saw a piece of yam (reserved) for the hawk, and ate it.* • **Dai maci mo han-i-a ha-ku hina!** *The birds have eaten my meal!* • **Verasi-ku mo ragisi ha-na, nam vari-a nam sle nia mo han-i-a.** [used as a noun] *My younger sister was crying for her food, this is why I gave her [the breadfruit biscuit] for her to eat.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*PNCV, POc* *ka-]

ha-$_6$ *pf.* Ordinal.

(1) prefix associated with numbers to form ordinals (e.g. second, third). • **ha-rolu** *third* • **ha-vari** *fourth* || Only with numbers from 2 to 5. *See* **mudu** '*first*'.

(2) (esp) prefix forming to name the days of the week, starting with the second day Tuesday. • **Lo ha-dua dan, na pa lahi.** *I will marry on (next) Tuesday.* • **Raval wik, co pa usa lo ha-lima dan.** *It will rain on Friday of next week.* *See* **pog**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*POc* *paka- (?) '*Causative*']

-ha$_7$ ~ **-ho** (*after /o/*). *suf.* Intensive suffix; combines with a handful of stative verbs, mainly in affirmative sentences. • **Mo holo-ho mo holo-ho!** *This is really good!* • **Rasi mo macimacihi-ha.** *The sea is very colourful.* || Found in combination with **holo**, **vsovso**, **macimacihi** – and probably **lumi-ha**, **vurivuria-ha**, **sui-ha**; as well as colours **vidi-ha**, **codi-ha**, **sovuso-ho**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

hac *vt. Tr* **haci-**. [Subj: body part] hurt, ache; be painful. • **Cocole-ku mo hac-i-á.** *My throat hurts.*

[Cf. *Tangoa* cazia]

hacavua *adj.* (1) [+plural referent] a lot, plenty; too many. • **Om vevë hina hacavua!** *You work too much* [lit. *you do (too) many things*]

(2) [+generic, singular referent] a lot, very much; too much. • **Nam comi hacavua.** *I am so sorry!* *Syn.* **vutiana**; **lapa**.

hada *adj. Red.* **hahada**.

(1) red. • **cam hahada** *red yam (k.o. yam)* • **Mo hada coco.** *It's dark red.*

(2) [**vulu** 'hair'] red or blond. • **Vulu-na mo hahada.** *His hair is blond.* *See* **pada** '*white-haired*'.

hadaho *vi.* [child, animal] crawl, walk on all fours. • **Lo dan mo hese, Siho mo vadai Hotou mo de 'Om hadaho malum!'** *One day, Kingfisher said to Hermit-crab 'You crawl so slowly!'* *See* **vanovano** '*walk*'.

[*PNCV* *karaka '*climb, crawl*'; *POc* *kaRaka]

hadivi ~ **hadiv**. *n.* rat. • **Kesi hadiv nida-n huira mo dua medesai.**

Today the rat and the octopus are enemies. • **Om lesi-a vici-n hadiv nohoni mo sohe daga vi-adu.** *You can see the rat's tail resembles a branch of Casuarina.*

hadiv tasale *n.* lit. 'European rat': cat.

hadiv paudoudo *n.* kind of flying-fox. *Notopteris macdonaldi.* *See* **kada**.

[*PNCV* *karivi '*rat*']

hae *n.* kava, a root from which a narcotic drink is extracted. *Piper methysticum.* • **Nam dogo hae mo nak-i-á.** *I feel the effect of kava.* [lit. *I feel kava is hitting me*] • **Kaṁam Daki kam ce levsei inumi-a hae.** *We, people of Araki, do not* [*know how to*] *drink kava.* || Anthr. The use of drinking kava was never common on Araki island, or was lost a long time ago.

[*POc* *kawa]

haiono *num.* six.

[*POc* *onom]

haiṗiru *num.* seven.

[*POc* *pitu]

haisua *num.* nine.

[*POc* *siwa]

hali *sfn.* nape of the neck. • **Hali-m mo hac-i-ko vo mo ce-re?** *Is* [*the nape of*] *your neck hurting* [*or not*]*?* *See* **ua** *'neck'*.

ham *sbj.* you (Pl): 2nd plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. • **Ham holo ro?** *Are you alright?* • **Ham mece.** *Thank you* [lit. *Y'all are thanked*]. *See* **ha**$_1$.

haṁali ~ **haṁal.** *n.* men's clubhouse (bsl. *nakamal*), where eminent men (**racu laṗa**) traditionally meet and take important decisions. • **Haṁali, ima-na da racu povi.** *The* nakamal *is the house for all men.* • **Om re ṽa mo iso lo haṁali?** *Have you ever entered the* nakamal*?*

[*POc* *kamali(R)]

han *vt. Tr* **hani-**. eat, devour. • **Nica co pa han re sa?** *What are we going to eat?* • **Mada Tanna hase-da, nida mo levse han-i-a vidi.** *Only the inhabitants of Tanna eat dogs.* • **Mo ṁarahu ṁara raṁare mo re han-i-a raṗala-na mo iso.** *He was terrified at the idea that his friend had just been devoured by a devil.* • **Vada mo sivo lo pede vosa, nko ha pa nak-i-ko ha pa hani-ko.** [oracle] *If* (*the reed*) *falls on to a Terminalia tree,* (*this is the sign that*) *you will be killed and eaten* (*by your enemies*). *See* **ha** *'PosCl for food'*.

[*POc* *kani]

hanhan *vi.* eat (*intr.*), have lunch or dinner. • **Om re hanhan mo iso?** *Have you already eaten?* • **Mo de co hanhan pedesi-á.** *He wants to eat with me.* • **Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.** *If/When you finish crying, you can have your dinner.*

❖ *n.* (1) food, anything edible. • **Lo dan Daki mo de hanhan co pa ce-re ...** *Whenever Araki lacks food ...* • **Ṽeral ne mo ce ṽeral hanhan.** *This banana is not edible* [lit. *not a 'food-banana'*].

(2) act of eating, dinner, *esp.* in a social group: *hence* party, feast. • **Mo de lo dan mo hese, mo ṽei-a hanhan mo hese Daki.** *The legend says that one day, there was a big feast in Araki.*

[*POc* *kanikani]

hapa ~**haṗa** (?). *sfn.* [bird] wing. [*PNCV* *kaba-u; *POc* *kapak]

Words connected with fire

hapu	fire
viha	wood
pariavu	ashes
pasule	stone oven
kodu	dry, burnt
ugu	burn (intr.)
polo	make, light (fire)
hasan	set fire to (wood+)
suli	burn, roast
runu	cook
ku	heat up (liquid)
vali	be boiling
v̈adug	hot

hapu ~ **hap**. *n.* fire. • **Hapu mo ug.** *The fire is burning.* • **O polo re hap laṗa!** *Please light a big fire!* • **P̈isu-ku kodu lo hapu.** *I burnt my fingers in the fire.* [*PNCV* *kabu '*fire, firewood*'']

haṗani *n.* sail of a boat. [*PNCV* *kabani]

haṗasi *sfn.* [plant] stem. • **Mo vari-a haṗasi via, mo rai-a aka-na inia.** *(The Rat) took the stem of a wild taro, and cut himself a canoe out of it. See* **daga** *'branch'*; **laho** *'trunk'*; **dau** *'leaf'*.

hari *vt.* bite. • **P̈ahe mo hari-a sadi-ku!** *My leg got bitten by a shark!* • **Mohi mo levse hari-a racu.** *Mosquitoes bite [know how to bite men].* [*PNCV* *kaRa-ti; *POc* *kaRat]

Harua *pl.n.* west, west wind. ‖ Probably a place-name.

hasan *vt. Tr* **hasani-**. light, set fire to <wood+>. • **Mo vari-a dau vinini mo m̈a mo hasan-i-a mo ug laṗa.** *He took a palm-leaf from the palmtree, and made a big fire with it. See* **suli** *'burn s.th.'*; **hapu** *'fire'*.

hase~ *sf.adj.* Adjective always followed by a possessive suffix, and generally associated to a preceding noun or pronoun.

(1) alone, only. Restricts the predicate to the Subject only. • **Mada Tanna haseda, nida mo levse han-i-a vidi.** *Only the people from/on Tanna are used to eating dogs.*

(2) by himself; *esp.* with no external help. • **Daga viha mo lare hase-na.** *The branch of the tree broke itself (was not brought about by anyone)* • **Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku.** *I learnt your language by myself.*

haualu *num.* eight. • **pog haualu** *in eight days' time* [*POc* *walu]

haura *adj.* (1) hard, solid. • **Paru haura!** *stubborn, pigheaded See* **sui-ha** *'strong'*.

(2) difficult, arduous, tough. • **M̈arasala nene mo haura, mo ce ede co holo-ho.** *This door's difficult, it doesn't open easily.* [*PNCV* *kayua (?) '*strong*']

haviha *n.* Malay apple, bsl. *Nakavika. Syzygium malaccense.* [*PNCV* *kavika; *POc* *kapika]

havu *vt. Red.* **havhavu**. cover, wrap. *Syn.* **tahavu**.

havhavu m̈ara~ *sfn.* lit. 'eye-covering': eyelid.

havhavu page~ *sfn.* lit. 'belly-

covering': diaphragm. *Syn* **havhavu rali~** '*gut-covering*'.
[*PNCV* *kavu-ti '*wrap food, make laplap*']

havë *n.* crab, generic term. • **Mo dogo havë mo hese mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun.** *He heard a crab, which was there inside that tree.*
[*PNCV* *kave; *POc* *kape]

havëhavë *sfn.* armpit.
[Cf. *Malo* have; *PNCV* *?avi-ŋa]

heca *adj.* blue, green. • **kede-heca** [*blue-tail*] *Bluespot mullet, a fish* • **Mo heca.** *It is blue/green.*
[*PNCV* *keza]

hede *adv.* (1) today, *esp.* future (v. **nahade**, today past or present). • **Hede, om de o sodohi-a sa?** *What do you want to talk about today?* • **Hede, na pa rudu co aloalo.** *Today I'll get up when the sun's out (I'll have a lie-in).*
(2) [aspectual] forms the near future (hodiernal), *e.g.* in threats or promises. • **Hede na pa pïsu cudug-i-a aka-ca!** (*In that case*) *I'll make a hole in this canoe!*

heli *vt.* dig, make a hole. • **Nda mo heli-a koko lo carauta.** *They dig a hole on the shore.* *See* **kode$_2$**.
[*POc* *keli]

hese *num.* one, Numeral. Usually preceded by a subject clitic. • **aco cigo-hese** *swordfish* [*fish with single beak*] • **Naru-ku mo hese.** *I have one child* [*my child is one*]. || Synt. Contrary to other numerals, **hese** may lack its subject clitic when Irrealis, at least in some exceptional contexts: **Nam de na han re vërali (co) hese.** *I'd like to eat one banana [no more].* *See* **mudu** '*first*'.

mo hese *phr.* lit. 'one': refers to a specific, though *gen.* indefinite, referent (v. **re** indefinite, non-specific article). (*Cf.* Grammar)
(1) (common) [noun N + **mo hese**] a, an: indefinite, specific article. • **Mo dogo havë mo hese mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun.** *He felt (there was) a crab, grabbed it and threw it away.* • **Spoemalao nia racu mo hese mo levosai mo holo-ho.** *Spoemalao is a man who is really clever.* • **Lo dan mo hese, mo vëi-a hanhan mo hese Daki.** *One day, there was a big feast in Araki.* • **lo cada mo hese mo rov-i-a mo de Leruvahi** *in a place called Leruvahi*
(2) [used as a pronoun] one (of them); someone. • **Mo hese, mo rov-i-a mo de Asvohinao.** [subject] *There's another one (devil), who is called Asvohinao.* • **Mo lesi mo hese mo ciha.** [object] *He noticed that one (of the kids) had disappeared.*
(3) (esp) another one, someone else. • **Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni.** *Yesterday, I heard someone else sing the same song (as you).* *See* **vavono** '*other*'.
(4) [existential predicate] there is a (N). *Esp.* at the beginning of a story. • **Vapa mo hese, kesini ravui lo ima-ku.** *There is a cave, here close to my house.* • **Pïra hetehete mo hese nida-n veroha-na.** (*Once upon a time*) *there was a small girl with her sister.*

hetehete *adj.* (1) small, little. • **no-m ta hetehete** *your paternal uncle* [*your little father*] • **Mo dogo leo-do ro, mo va, mo ra hetehete, mo ce le dogo**

otom̈e. *At first we could hear their voices, but then they began to fade [become small] to such a point that we could no longer hear them.* || For several small objects, the adjective **vadidi** is used, a kind of plural form of **hetehete**.

(2) (esp) child. The singular form, 'a child' substantivates the adjective 'small' using **hina** ('thing'), or *esp.* **mada**. • **Mada hetehete mo hese mo rudu ro lo sala.** *There's a child in the road.* • **Se mo sle-ko hina hetehete nohoni?** *Whose child is this [who gave you this little thing]?* || In plural form, 'children' is **mada vadidi**.

hica *sfn.* name of <s.o., s.th.>. • **Nda vacaha mo rov-i-a hica cada hosu mo de Leruvahi.** *Elders used to call [the name of] this place 'Leruvahi'.* • **Hica-m se?** *What* [lit. *who*] *is your name? See* **rove**.

[*PNCV* *kisa; *POc* *qasan '*name*']

hilu ~ **hil**. *vi.* (1) stop during a movement. • **Nam v̈a nam le hil nam le m̈a.** *I was going (in that direction), but suddenly I stopped and came back.*

(2) [*esp.* speech, story] end, finish. • **Sodosodo di mo hilu hosu.** *This story stops here. Syn.* **iso**. *Ant.* **tapulo**.

hina *n.* (1) thing. • **Hina nohosu om v̈ei-a mo ce holoho.** *What you did is not good!* • **Mo v̈ei povi-a dai hina hosun.** *He did all those things.*

(2) enables certain indefinite constructions, referring to inanimate objects: **re hina** 'something [non-Spec.]', **hina mo hese** 'something [Spec.]', **hina salahese** 'a lot (of things)', **sava hina** 'what (what thing)', **hina tade** 'everything'. • **O pa levsei lo dan hosu sava hina co pa m̈a isa-m.** *You will learn, that very day, everything that will happen to you.* • **Hina tade mo holo-ho.** *Everything's alright (there's no problem).* *See* **sa**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

❖ *excl.* mark of hesitation: er, how do you say? • **Hina – m̈ala mo de/hadiv mo de ...** *Er – then the Hawk said/(sorry) the Rat said ...*

[*PNCV* *kina-u]

hini~ ~ **ini~** ~ **ni~**. *v-pr.* oblique preposition. *See* **ni~**.

[*POc* *kini- (?) '*prepositional verb: instrumental, refective*']

-ho *suf.* Intensive suffixe. Allomorph of **-ha** after vowel /o/. • **Mo holo-ho mo holo-ho!** *It's excellent!* *See* **-ha**$_7$.

hoco$_1$ *vt.* wash, clean up. • **Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im, pan lim̈a-m̈im mo vidiha ro.** *I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black!* • **Ale, hudi-na mo m̈ena, hudi-na mo v̈a vahude, mo sivo mo hocohoco. Mo vahuden-i-a kavula-na, vahuden-i-a p̈idi-na ...** [preparation of breadfruit biscuit (***m̈ada***)] *Then, when the (breadfruit) skin is ripe, when it goes away, they come to clean it. They remove the pith, as well as the seeds ... See* **kadu** '*swim, bathe*'.

hoco$_2$ *sfn.* tooth, teeth. • **Ha gigisa na lesi hoco-m̈im!** *Smile, show me your teeth!* • **naho hoco-ku** *my front teeth (canines + incisors)* • **hoco po** *pig's tusk See* **p̈ari** '*molar*'.

hodo$_1$ *v.ad.* cover, obstruct. Means that

the effect of an action V_1 is to block <a place>, hinder <s.o. else's movement>, prevent <s.o.> from doing s.th., etc. • **Mo rudu hodo sala mo de ha nak-i-a.** *They stood in the middle of the road [stood-blocked the road], with the intention of killing him.* • **Pani Tumepu mo de mo ro hodo mara-na.** *(The island of Araki settled there) but Mount Tumepu started to complain that it was blocking its view* [lit. *that it stayed-blocked its eyes*].

[*PNCV* *koro '*surround, cover, obstruct*']

hodo$_2$ *sfn.* [plant] root. • **hodo-no** *its root*

[*PNCV* *kaRo (?) '*vine, rope*']

hohono *adj.* [plant+] wild, wild variety of (a given species). • **pevu hohono** *k.o. wild yam (see **pevu**)* • **mol hohono** *lemon* [lit. *wild orange*] *See* **ila** *'wild (animal)'*.

holo$_1$ *n.* coconut, either the tree or the fruit. *Cocos nucifera.* • **laho holo** *trunk of a coconut tree* • **Mo vari-a da-holo mo plan-i-a kaura hinia.** *(once the breadfruit has been laid down), the coconut palms are thrown over them.* • **Om re vidis lo holo?** *Have you already squeezed out coconut milk? See* **popo** *'germinated coconut'*; **kavuda** *'coprah'*.

holo$_2$ *adj.* (1) straight. *Syn.* **raholo**. *See* **holo**$_3$ *'steer'*.

(2) (common) good, correct. • **Kodokodo mo ce holoho.** *Telling lies is not good.* • **Comi-na mo ce holo-ho.** [*his thoughts were not good*] *He was worried.* || Affirmative sentences always associate **holo** with the intensive suffix **-ha** (in its **-ho** form).

(3) (esp) [s.o.] nice, kind, generous. • **Nam levsei-a, nia mo holo-ho vutiana.** *I know him, he is a very nice person.*

(4) [s.th.] nice, pleasant. • **Vere hosun mo holo-ho.** *This song is pleasant.* • **Pona-m mo holo-ho.** *You smell nice [your smell is good].*

(5) in good health; cured, recovered. • **Om holo ro? – Nam holo-ho ro.** *Are you OK? – Yes, I'm very well.* • **Lo wik mo va mo iso, nam docodoco, kesi nam pa holo-ho.** *Last week I was ill; but now I'm well. Ant.* **doco**.

(6) easy. • **Marasala nene mo haura, mo ce ede co holo-ho.** *This door's difficult, it doesn't open easily.*

(7) [in clause-chaining structure] very, really. Intensive value. • **Spoemalao nia racu mo hese mo levosai mo holo-ho.** *Spoemalao is a man who is really clever.* • **Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho.** *Heat the water, until it is really boiling! See* **otome**; **lapa**; **vutiana** *'Intensifier'*.

holo$_3$ *vt.* pilot, man <a boat>. • **Re co pele sna co holo aka!** *Someone come and man the boat! See* **holo**$_2$ *'straight'*.

honi *dem.* that, there: demonstrative referring to the domain of the addressee, and combined with several affixes, *e.g.* **no-honi** 'that one', **sivo-honi** 'down there', etc. (*Cf.* Grammar)

hosu *dem.* that, there: Demonstrative for spatial designation. (*Cf.* Grammar)

hotou ~ **hoto** ~ **hatou**. *n.* Hermit crab, tiny crustacean which lodges

inside shells. *Pagurus* spp. • **Lo dan mo hese, Siho mo vadai Hotou mo de 'Om hadaho m̈alum!'** *One day, Kingfisher said to Hermit-crab 'You crawl so slowly!'*

[*PNCV, POc* *katou]

houoci *n.* k.o. banana, growing upwards. *Musa* spp. *See* **v̈erali** *'banana'*.

hovi *sfn.* eczema or scabies, skin disease causing itching and serious skin lesion. • **Hovi-na mo vsovso-ho mo tahav nia.** [tale of scabies] *His scabies was grimy and covered him all over.*

❖ *vi. Red.* **hovhovi**. scabious, affected with scabies. • **Pan racu hosun mo hovhovi, hovi-na mo hovi lagalaga.** *It happened that this man had scabies, which caused his skin to drop off in pieces.*

[Cf. *Mota* gov *'a man full of sores'*]

huda *n.* Indian mulberry, bsl. *Yalatri. Morinda citrifolia.*

[*POc* *kurat]

hudara *n.* (1) dirt, filth. • **Hudara mo tahav nia tep.** *The table was covered with filth. See* **hudaudara**; **lumiha**.

(2) forest, bush, wild area (v. village). • **Via nohoni mo roho ro lo hudara.** *The giant taro, that grows in the forest/in the mountains. See* **ila**; **hohono** *'wild'*.

hudara covo *n.* deep forest.

hudaudara *sfn.* crumbs, small particles of dirt. • **M̈ala mo lesi-a hudaudara-ni cam di mo roho ro lo hoco-no.** *The hawk saw particles of yam stuck between his (the rat's) teeth.* • **Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im, pan lim̈a-m̈im mo lumiha, hudaudara mo roho ro nia.** *I told you to wash your hands, but they are still dirty, there is still some dirt on them.* || Reduplication of **hudara**.

huden *vt.* (1) put, place; dispose, arrange. • **Mo vari-a no-no diṗa, no-no siṗa, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na.** *He took his axe, his knife, his club and put them into his canoe.* • **Mo vari-a vida haviha mo huden-i-a lo paru-na.** *He picked an apple blossom and put it on his head.* • **Mo huden-i-a lo rasi mo visi-a mo visi-a otom̈e.** *He dragged (his canoe) down to the sea, and tied it fast.*

(2) drop off, set down. • **Mo v̈a v̈a mo v̈a rkel-i-a tarauta mo huden-i Hadiv.** *(The Octopus) continued to swim until he reached the shore, where he dropped off the Rat.*

(3) put, lay <one's head, hand +> somewhere. • **Ha huden pultan-i-a parum̈im.** *Arrange your heads to be all in the same place.* • **M̈ala mo vari-a p̈isu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo haṗasi via, mo macudu.** [lit. *the hawk took its fingers and put them on the branch ...*] *With its huge claws, the hawk seized the taro branch and tore it to pieces.*

hudi *n.* skin; [tree] bark. • **Mo m̈are, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na.** *He was dead, with nothing more than skin on his bones.* • **Ale, hudi-na mo m̈ena, hudi-na mo v̈a vahude, mo sivo mo hocohoco.** [preparation of breadfruit biscuit (***m̈ada***)] *Then, when the (breadfruit) skin is ripe, when it drops off by itself, that's when it is cleaned.*

[*PNCV* *kuli; *POc* *kulit]

hudi-vivi *sfn.* lit. 'skin of lips': lips. • **hudivivi-ku karano** *my lower lip* • **hudivivi-ku kaura** *my upper lip* (see **godigodi**) *See* **hudi** *'skin'*; **vivi** *'lips (anc.)'*.

huepë *n.* pigeon; *more spec.* Pacific Imperial Pigeon, 40 cm *Ducula pacifica.*

[< °kueba; *PNCV* *kuiba *'Pacific pigeon'*; *POc* *ku(i)ba]

huira *n.* octopus, squid. • **Niko, om sohe huira.** *You're like an octopus. (you are fickle, inconstant)* • **Kesi hadiv nida-n huira mo dua medesai.** *Today the rat and the octopus are enemies.*

[*PNCV, POc* *kuRita]

humi *sfn.* beard; moustache (?).

humi-da *n.* lit. 'their beard': Yellow-stripe Goatfish, bsl. *Mustasfis*: reef fish, 22 cm *Mulloidichthys flavolineatus.*

[*PNCV* *kumwi; *POc* *kumi *'beard'*]

huru *n.* louse.

[*PNCV, POc* *kutu]

I - i

-i *suf.* transitivising suffix affecting some verbs. (*Cf.* Grammar)

ila *vi.* [animal+] wild, from the bush. *See* **hudara** *'the bush'*; **hohono** *'wild species'*.

[*PNCV* *ila]

ima *sfn.* house, home. • **Ima-ku mo re kodu, moli mo sul-i-a.** *My house has been burnt down, the chief set fire to it.* • **Dan mo hese, racu nanaru-da mo roho ro lo ima.** *One day, the people had left their children at home.*

lo ima~ *n-pr.* lit. 'in the house of': at (s.o.)'s. • **Va racu mo le mle, mo le vä lo ima-n ramä-na.** *The young man left and returned to his father's house.* • **Na kan sa lo ima-na.** *I should not go to his house.*

ima hetehete *n.* lit. 'small house': toilet, lavatory.

ima rurunu *n.* lit. 'house for cooking': kitchen: small house generally separate, in which each family prepares and sometimes takes its meals. • **Racu mo hese lo ima rurunu.** *There's a man in the kitchen.*

[*PNCV* *yumwa; *POc* *Rum[w]aq]

ini~ *v-pr.* oblique preposition. *See* **ni~**.

inu ~ **in.** *vt. Tr* **inu-**; **inumi-**. drink. • **Nam de na in re lasa ai co dua.** *I want to drink two glasses of water.* • **Ruai, ham levse inu ai vädug?** *In olden times, did you use to drink tea?* • **Nam ce levsei inu-a/inumi-a hae.** *I don't usually drink [don't know how to drink] kava.*

[*POc* *inum]

isa$_1$ *sfn.* garden, field: piece of private farmland, *esp.* for food produce. • **isa cam** *yam garden See* **päpa** *'fence'*.

isa~$_2$ ~ **sa~**. *n-pr.* (1) with (s.o.). • **Nam lug-i-a limä-ku nam de na välum**

isa-m. *I am clenching my fists to fight with you.* • **M̈ara-m̈am laṗa, co pa roho ro sa-n naru-m, Yugo Womtelo.** *Our biggest wish would be to stay (some time) with your son, Yugo Womtelo.* *Syn.* **nida~; pedesi~.**

(2) to (s.o.), Dative. • **Na pa sle-ko sa-n raṁare co pa hani-ko.** *I will give you to a devil, who will devour you!* • **Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m.** *I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you.* [lit. *say thanks to you*] • **Nam re vadai-a mo iso sa-n Grem.** *I've already told Graham.* [*said it to G.*] (*Cf.* Grammar)

m̈a isa~ *phr.* lit. 'come to (s.o.)': [event] happen to (s.o), affect (s.o). • **Sava hina co pa m̈a isa-ku?** *What's going to happen to me, what will be my destiny?*

iso *vi. Red.* **isoiso.**

(1) end, finish. • **Kesi no-m dan mo isoiso kesi!** [formula in tales] *Your days will end today! (you're going to die)* • **Usa co iso, co pa v̈a inu hae.** *After the rain [when the rain stops], we'll go and drink kava.* *See* **hilu** *'stop'.*

(2) [after a first verb V_1] Terminative aspect, pointing to the final phase of the process: 'finish doing s.th.'. • **Om re hanhan mo re iso?** *Have you finished eating?* • **Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.** *If you stop crying, you'll be able to eat.* || Synt. Always conjugated in the 3rd person, whatever the subject of V_1.

mo iso *asp.* [after a first verb phrase VP_1 marked as Perfect (**re**)] already. • **Om re hanhan mo iso?** *Have you already eaten?* • **Nam re vadai-a mo iso sa-n Grem.** *I've already told Graham.* • **Mo m̈arahu m̈ara raṁare mo re han-i-a raṗala-na mo iso.** *He was terrified at the idea that his friend had just been devoured by a devil.* • **lo wik mo v̈a mo iso** *last week [in the week that has passed]* || Synt. The pattern is <Subj **re** VP_1 **mo iso**>. (*Cf.* Grammar)

isoiso *sfn.* end of (s.th.). • **Lo isoiso m̈audi-m o mas colo lo ras.** *At the end of your life, you must drown in the sea.*

ivua *n.* turtle. • **Mo le kadu mo v̈a mo les Ivua.** [tale] *(The Rat) swam on a little, until he saw the Turtle.*

[*PNCV* *?avua]

K - k

kada *n.* flying-fox, kind of large fruit bat. *See* **hadiv paudoudo.**

kada hada *n.* lit. 'red flying-fox': k.o. flying-fox. *Pteropus anetianus.*

kada m̈anu *n.* kind of black and white flying-fox. *Pteropus tonganus.* *Syn.* **m̈anu.**

[*PNCV* *garai *'flying-fox'*]

kadai *n.* chief. One of the dignitary ranks in the customary society. *See* **m̈ala; moli; racu laṗa.**

kadu$_1$ *vi.* swim, bathe. • **Mo ro om ce opoe kadu lo ai?** *Why don't you like bathing in the river?* • **Nam ce dogo**

na kadukadu lo rasi, m̈ara p̈ahe. *I don't feel like bathing in the sea because of the sharks.* • **Hadiv mo kadu kadu kadu kadu, mo lesi-a p̈ahe.** *And the Rat swam, swam, swam, swam ... until he saw a shark.* *See* **hoco** *'wash'.*

[< °garu; *PNCV* *karu *'swim, bathe'*; *POc* *(k,g)aRu]

kadu$_2$ *vt. Tr* **kadumi-**. scratch, scrape, rub. • **Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini.** *Someone was scraping the palm tree trunk.* • **Mo vari-a pallace lo rasi, mo kadumi-a hovi-na.** *He went looking for sea coral, and rubbed his infected skin with it.*

[*PNCV* *garu *'scratch'*]

kaka *vi.* reach, achieve one's goal. • **Co de co v̈a m̈ara-n re cada, o pa kaka gisa?** *Supposing we leave from the same point, when will you reach (the other side)?*

kakato *n.* Brown Booby, sea bird, 75 cm *Sula leucogaster.*

kalaro *n.* Devil nettle, bsl. *Nangalat. Dendrocnide* sp.

[*PNCV* *galato; *POc* *jalatoŋ *'nettle tree'*]

kam *sbj.* we (Exclusive): First plural Exclusive Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. • **Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m.** *I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you.* • **Nam lesi-a racu mo hese, kam dua sodosodo.** [dual form] *I saw a man, and we (two) had a chat.* • **Kam skul m̈alue kam sivo, kam sivo kam vadai-a nia.** *As we were going out of the church, we went down there and explained everything to him.*

kam̈a *sbj.* we (Exclusive): First plural Exclusive Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • **Kam̈am rapudo rolu kam̈a sivo goro.** *The three of us are going to sleep.* • **Kam̈a opo-i vada kam̈a lesi naru-m.** *We would love to meet your son.* *See* **kam**; **-m̈am**.

kam̈am *ind.pp.* our (Exclusive): First plural Exclusive independent pronoun. • **kam̈am povi dai vuguvugu-ni Moli** *all of us, Moli's family* • **Kam̈am Daki kam ce levsei inumi-a hae.** *We, people of Araki, we do not usually drink kava.* || Synt. Just like **kam̈im**, the pronoun **kam̈am** is also used as an object, instead of suffixes; however it behaves like an autonomous NP: **Nia mo sov kam̈am ro.** *He is awaiting us.* *See* **-m̈am**.

[*PNCV* *gam(am)i]

kam̈im *ind.pp.* you: 2nd plural independent pronoun. • **Kam̈im po ha gigisa!** *Come on, all of you, smile!* • **Niko kam̈im rolu nanaru-m.** *You and/with your kids.* || Synt. Just like **kam̈am**, the pronoun **kam̈im** is also used as an object, instead of suffixes; however it behaves like an autonomous NP: **Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im!** *I told you to wash your hands!.* *See* **-m̈im**.

[*PNCV* *gamuyu]

kan *mod.* (1) must not, should not. • **Na kan sa lo ima-na.** *I should not go to his house.*

(2) (esp) [2nd person] marks a negative order: Prohibitive. • **Ha kan m̈an p̈ala-i-á!** *Don't (y'all) make fun of me!*

• **O kan kode-i-á! – Nam ce kode-i-ko.** *Don't you lie to me! – I am not lying to you.*

(3) [following verb of fear] for fear that, so that ... not; lest. • **O kla ro co kan covi!** *Take care that he does not fall!* (*Cf.* Grammar)

karano *adv.* down; underneath, under. • **hudivivi-ku karano** *my lower lip* • **Mo vodo karano lo lepa.** *It fell down on the ground. Ant.* **kaura**. *See* **sivo** '*(go) down*'.

[*PNCV* *tano '*earth, ground; on the ground, down*'; *POc* *tanoq '*earth*']

kaulu *n.* Sensitive, bsl. *Blue-flower*: herb. *Mimosa pudica.*

kaura *adv.* up, above. • **Mo vurivuria-ha mo sa kaura.** *(the stone) soars up high in the sky.* • **Ẅapa di mo roho sahan kaura.** *This cave is up there in the hills.* • **Mo vari-a da-holo mo plan-i-a kaura hinia.** *(after picking the breadfruit) they take coconut palms and throw them over it.* • **Kam opo-i vada o sohan-i-a lo adres sa-su-n kaura.** *We would like you to send it to the address mentioned above.* • **hudivivi-ku kaura** *my upper lip Ant.* **karano**. *See* **saha** '*(go) up*'.

[*POc* *qutan '*bush, forest*']

kavuda *n.* copra, i.e. the coconut fruit when it is sold overseas to extract its oil. *Cocos nucifera. See* **holo** '*coconut*'.

kavula *sfn.* inedible pith in the middle of breadfruit (**levu**), to which the seeds (**p̈idi-na**) are attached. • **Mo vahuden-i-a kavula-na, vahuden-i-a p̈idina ...** [preparation of breadfruit biscuit (***m̈ada***)] *They take away the pith, take away the seeds ...*

[*PNCV* *vule '*breadfruit flower or core*']

kede *n. Red.* **kedekede**. bottom, tail. • **kede-heca** [*blue-tail*] *Bluespot mullet, a fish* • **kedekede m̈ara** *bags under eyes See* **vici** '*tail*'.

[*PNCV* *gere '*bottom, butt, tail*']

kede-heca *n.* lit. 'blue tail': Bluespot mullet, reef fish, 50 cm *Valamugil seheli.*

kesi *dem.* (1) here, this: demonstrative close to speaker. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(2) now, nowadays. *See* **kesikesi**.

kesikesi ~ **keskesi**. *adv.* right now. • **Nam pa lesi rasi-m kesikesi.** *I am meeting your brother for the first time* [*pa*] *right now. See* **kesi**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

kia *adv.* there, at that place: anaphoric locative adverb. • **Mada Naura lap̈a mo sivosivo velu ro kia.** *The people from Santo would go there to dance.* • **Racu hosun mo roho kia nida-n venaru-na.** *This man was living there with his wife.* • **Vada om poe-i-a o d' o pa racu-lap̈a, o levse sa kia.** *Suppose you want to become a chief, you can go there (and ask the oracle).*

❖ *pred.* Existential predicate for specific referent (v. **re** 'non-specific Existential'): there is. Used mainly in affirmations. • **Lo cada-m, re ram̈are vo mo ce re? – Ram̈are kia.** *In your country, are there devils or not? – Yes, there are.* • **Re paniavu lo ima rurun? – Nia kia.** *Is there some pineapple in the kitchen? – Yes, there is.*

kila ~ **kla**. *vi.* (1) [+directional marker (**ӧa, m̈a, sa, si**)] watch, look (in a certain direction). • **M̈ala mo kla ӧa mo lesi-a cam.** *The hawk looked and saw the piece of yam.* • **P̈ira hosun mo dogo mo le sihir mo sivo mo kla si mo lesi-a.** *When she heard him, the woman ran to look, and saw him. See* **les** *'see'.*

(2) watch out, be careful (that: Irrealis; that not: **kan** + Irrealis). • **O kla ro co kan covi!** *Take care that he does not fall!*

(3) consider a future event, hope. • **Kam̈am povi kam kila ro m̈ara in-re-pogi o pa le m̈a Daki.** *We all hope that you'll come back to Araki one day.*

klaӧas *vi.* watch, look at. • **Mo klaӧas mo les naho-n rap̈ala-na.** *He watched and recognised the face of his friend. Morph.* **kila** + **ӧa** (?). *See* **les** *'see'.*

klin *adj.* clean, healthy. • **Hovi-na mo ciha povi, mo klin mo vokovoko.** *His scabies had totally disappeared, he was now clean and healthy. Syn.* **vokovoko**.

[*English* clean]

-ko *obj.* you: Second singular Inclusive Object suffix. • **Racu mo ӧei-ko, nia Supe.** *The one who created you is God.* • **O kan kode-i-á! – Nam ce kode-i-ko.** *Don't you lie to me! – I am not lying to you.* • **Nam dogo na sile-ko n-re hina.** *I feel like giving you a present. See* **om**; **niko**.

kode$_1$ ~**kodo**. *vi. Red.* **kodokodo**.

(1) lie, tell lies. • **Racu mo kodokodo mo ce holo-ho.** *It's bad to lie [That one should lie is bad].*

(2) (hence) deceive, trick s.o., act in a dishonest or deceitful way; disguise oneself to fool s.o. • **Ram̈are mo kode.** *But this was the trick of a devil!*

kodei- *vt.* lie to, cheat <s.o.>. • **O kan kode-i-á! – Nam ce kode-i-ko.** *Don't you lie to me! – I am not lying to you.*

kode$_2$ *vi.* hollow out, remove substance, *e.g.* making a canoe. • **Mo kode mo rai hototom̈e aka-na.** *He hollowed out (the wood), and made a perfect canoe. See* **heli** *'dig'.*

kodi *n.* yam stick, used when cultivating this tuber. *See* **isa** *'garden'.*

kodogo *adv.* maybe, probably. • **Pasta mo sna lo Sande, kodogo so-n kesi.** *The Clergyman came here on a Sunday, probably like this one today. Syn.* **pana**.

kodokodo *n.* liar: noun derived from verb **kode** 'lie'. • **Kodokodo mo ce holo-ho.** *Liars/Lying is bad.*

kodu *adj.* (1) [plant+] dry, dried. • **Mo vari-a vivada ra kodu.** *He takes a dry reed.*

(2) burnt, suffered from fire. • **P̈isu-ku kodu lo hapu.** *I burnt my fingers in the fire.* • **Ima-ku mo re kodu, moli mo suli-a.** *My house has been burnt down, the chief set fire to it. See* **ugu** *'burn'.*

(3) (met) [**lolo** 'inside' (of s.o.)] to be angry. *See* **lokodu**.

[*PNCV* *goru *'dry, esp. of vegetation'*]

koho *vi.* [tree] hollow, rotten. • **Viha hosun, viha hetehete, mo roho pan mo koho, ai mo tup lolo-no.** *This*

tree was small and hollow, always full of water. Syn. **rugu-ha**.

koko *sfn.* hole. • **koko galsu-na** *his nostrils* • **Nda mo heli-a koko lo carauta.** *They dig a hole on the shore.* • **Pasta mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun, ai mo roho kia.** *The Clergyman stretched out his arm into the hollow tree, where the water was. See* **heli** *'dig'*.

koso *vt.* break, break into pieces <a fragile object>. • **Om re koso no-ku botel.** *You've broken my bottle. See* **m̈a-koso** *'broken'*; **lare**.

[*PNCV* *koto-vi (?) *'cut, cross'*]

ku *vt.* warm up, heat up <liquid>. • **Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho.** *Heat some water, until it is really boiling! See* **v̈adug** *'hot'*; **vali** *'boil'*; **runu**; **suli** *'cook'*.

-ku *pp.sf.* my: First singular possessive suffix. • **Ta, nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku.** [on suffixable noun] *Dad, I would like you to carve me a canoe.* • **Dai m̈aci mo han-i-a ha-ku hina!** [on possessive classifier] *The birds have eaten my meal!* • **Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku.** [on suffixable adjective] *I learnt your language by myself.* • **Sava hina co pa m̈a isa-ku?** [on noun-like preposition] *What will happen to me? See* **na**; **-á**.

[*POc* *-gu]

kue$_1$ *vi.* jump, leap. • **Hadiv mo kue mo sa mo sada lo tarauta.** *In a single leap, the Rat went to sit on the shore.*

kue$_2$ *n.* dolphin. • **Mo v̈a mo les Kue, mo de 'Kue, o com̈i-á!'** *So (he swam) further on and saw the Dolphin: 'Hey, Dolphin', said he, 'take pity on me!' See* **kue**$_1$ *'leap'*.

kumal *n.* sweet potato, bsl. *Kumala. Ipomoea batatas.*

[*Polynesian* kumala]

L - l

lagalaga *v.ad.* with ulcers: in several skin diseases (itch, scabies, **hovi**), **lagalaga** is used when the dead skin drops off in pieces. • **Pan racu hosun mo hovhovi, hovi-na mo hovi lagalaga.** *Now, this young man had scabies, an ulcerous scabies.*

[Cf. *Malo* laŋalaŋa-i maji *'fish scales'*; *PNCV* *laŋa-i *'lift flat object from surface'*]

lagi ~ **lag**. *sfn.* wind. • **lagi-n Tahuna** *the southern wind* • **Vivada mo avu lag mo vari-a.** *The reed flies away in the wind.* [lit. *it flies the wind takes it*] • **Lag co losu co pa usa.** *There will be a hurricane* [lit. *the wind will strike*] *and it'll rain.*

[*PNCV* *laŋi]

lago fly.

[*PNCV, POc* *laŋo]

lahe *n.* Ankle rattle tree, bsl. *Nalake. Pangium edule.*

lahi *vi.* married, get *or* be married. • **Na pa lahi pog rolu.** *I will marry in three*

days' time. • **Nko pa ce lahi co ce re naru-m.** *You shall not marry nor shall you have any children.* || Anthr. Traditional marriages consist of a man giving presents and money to his future in-laws, in order to 'buy' (**voli**) their daughter as his wife. For customary laws regarding widows, *see* **elua~** and **roha~**.

❖ *n.* wedding, marriage. • **No-ku lahi lo ravälu viru.** *My wedding is next month.*

[*PNCV, POc* *laki]

The four winds	
Auta	northern wind
Tahuna	southern wind
Toholau	eastern wind
Harua	western wind

laho *sfn.* [tree] trunk. • **laho holo** *trunk of a coconut-tree* • **Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini.** *Someone was scraping the trunk of the palmtree.* *Syn.* **para**. *See* **hapäsi** *'stem'*.

laku *sfn.* small forked wooden pegs fixing the outrigger (**caṁa**) to the horizontal pole (**evua**), and tied with vegetal ropes (**asi**). • **Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a caṁa-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na.** *He made the ropes (for his canoe), made the outrigger, carved the central yoke and the little pegs.*

[*PNCV* *laqu *'outrigger struts'*]

lala *n.* hypocoristic term of address for 'uncle'. *Syn.* **(v-)elua~**; **(ve-)rahura~**; **(ve-) ṁara~$_3$**.

(1) [Ego M] uncle: mother's brother.

(2) [Ego M] nephew, niece: sister's child.

(3) [Ego F] husband's uncle, uncle-in-law. *See* **elua~**.

laṁani *n.* boy, male; v. **p̈ira** (woman, female). • **Laṁani vo p̈ira?** *(Is he) a boy or a girl?* *Syn.* **racu**.

[*POc* *mwaqane (?)]

lap̈a *adj.* (1) big, large. • **Naura Lap̈a** *[the big isle] Santo island* • **Mo vadai rap̈ala-na mo de 'Ee! O polo re hap lap̈a!'** *He shouted to his fellow 'Hey! Please light a huge fire!'* || Mostly singular; for several large objects, cf. **v̈alalap̈a**.

(2) abundant, bountiful. • **Nam re rai-a viha lap̈a.** *I cut a lot of wood.* *Syn.* **vutiana**; **hacavua**.

(3) (fig) important, *e.g.* symbolically. • **racu lap̈a** *chief, community leader* [lit. *'big man'*]

❖ *v.ad.* a lot, considerably. • **Mo vari-a dau vinini mo ṁa mo hasan-i-a mo ug lap̈a.** *He set fire to a palm-leaf, which became a big fire* [lit. *it burnt big*].

[*PNCV* *laba]

lare *vt.* break <a long object> in two, deliberately or not. • **Nam lare sadi-ku.** *I broke my leg.*

❖ *vi.* break (intr.), be broken. • **Daga viha mo lare hase-na.** *The branch broke by itself.* *See* **ṁa-lare** *'broken'*; **koso**.

[*PNCV* *late]

lasa *n.* cup, glass, used to drink; *esp.* cup made out of a coconut half-shell.

[*PNCV, POc* *lasa *'coconut half-shell cup'*]

laso *sfn.* testicles.

[*POc* *lasoR]

lceg *vt. Tr* **lcegi-**. strike, hit. • **Huira mo vari-a daga vi-adu mo de co lceg hadiv.** *The Octopus took a branch of ironwood to strike the Rat with it. Syn.* **nak**. *See* **vcan** '*bump*'.

le *asp.* again.

(1) again, once again, back. • **Va racu mo le mle, mo le vä lo ima-n raña-na.** *The young man turned around and went back to his father's house.* • **Om re hanhan mo re iso, voni om de o le han re hina?** *Have you finished your meal? or do you still want to eat something?* • **Mo vëi-a vä vada uluvo mo le smat.** *He carried on this way until the young man became a beautiful boy once more. See* **mïsi** '*still*'.

(2) [with negation **ce**] (not) any longer. • **Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki.** *When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.* • **Mo ce le usa.** *It's not raining any more.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

leo *sfn.* [animal, hum] voice. • **Nam dogo leo-m, nam dogo mo holoho.** *I heard your voice and I felt good.* • **Mo velu, dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-Lapa mo dogo leo-do ro.** *As they were dancing, those who were on the mainland (Santo) could hear their voices.*

[*PNCV* *leo]

lepa ~ **lepa**. *n.* (1) ground, floor. • **Mo vodo karano lo lepa.** *(the arrow) falls down on the ground.* • **Mo ce les re cau lo lepa.** *They see no coconut crab on the ground. See* **karano**.

(2) earth, mud, as a substance. • **ciliv lepa** *earthenware pot*

[*PNCV* *leba '*mud, dirt*']

Leruvahi *pl.n.* Leruvahi, a place on Araki island. || Anthr. This was where an oracle was pronounced: men threw a reed from this place and found out their destiny according to which tree the reed landed on.

lesi ~ **les**. *vt.* see; notice, come across. • **Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina.** *He's blind, he can't see anything.* • **Nre dan co pa vänovano, co lesi-a se co pa vänovano vila.** *One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster!* • **Mala mo kla vä mo lesi-a cam.** *The hawk looked and saw the piece of yam. See* **kla** '*look*'.

lesles te *vi.* lit. 'see bad': hate, resent (s.o., **ni~**). • **Mara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da.** *Since that time, they have hated [looked bad at] each other.*

[*PNCV* *le?o-si '*see, look at*'; *POc* *leqos]

leta *n.* letter. • **Na ul re leta co sivo sa-n pua.** *I must write a letter to* [lit. *which should go to*] *my mother.*

[*English* letter]

levosai *vi. Red.* **lelevosai**. clever, wise, wicked. • **Spoemalao nia racu mo hese mo levosai mo holo-ho.** *Spoemalao is a really clever man. See* **levse** '*know*'.

levse *vt.* (1) know <s.th., s.o.>. • **Nam levse racu mo hese co pa ruen-i-ko.** *I know a man who can help you.*

(2) understand, realise (that, **mo de**). • **Mo levsei-a mo de rama mo han-i-a.** *He realised that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil.*

(3) know how to, be capable of (doing s.th.). • **Nam levse velu.** *I know how to dance.*

(4) be able to, succeed in. • **Nam ce levsei dogo-ko.** *I can't hear you.* • **Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina.** *He's blind, he can't see anything.* • **Mo ve lesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a, ha ce levsei nak-i-a.** *They try to kill him but they do not succeed.*

(5) be used to, (do s.th.) usually. • **Mohi mo levse hari-a racu.** *Mosquitoes bite* [lit. *know how to bite men*]. • **Nam ce levsei inumi-a hae.** *I'm not used to* [lit. *I don't know how to*] *drinking kava.*

levu ~ **vi-levu**. *n.* breadfruit, either the tree or the fruit. *Artocarpus altilis.* • **Mada vadidi mo sivo mo sihevi lo levu.** *The children go and climb on the breadfruit-trees (to pick some).* • **Mo vari-a levu di mo huden-i-a lo vi-pue mo run-i-a mo vari-a mo han-i-a.** *They take the breadfruit, put it in a bamboo stem, cook it, and finally they take it and eat it.* *See* **kavula** *'breadfruit pith'.*

lig *vt. Tr* **ligi-**. carry, take <s.o.> on a vehicle, *esp.* a canoe. • **Mo vici va pira mo vici mo vari-a mo lig-i-a mo sa lo masapa.** *He brought the woman on board, and took her out towards the deep sea.* • **Mo lig-i-a mo vari-a mo va.** *He takes him (in his canoe) and goes on his way.* *Syn.* **vici**.

[*PNCV* *liŋi *'put, leave'*]

lima *num.* five. • **Nam lahi, dan mo lima, lag mo pa losu.** *Just five days after my wedding, we were hit by a cyclone.* • **Raval wik, co pa usa lo ha-lima dan.** *It will rain on Friday of next week.*

❖ *sfn.* hand, arm; from shoulder to fingers. • **Nam lug-i-a lima-ku nam de na valum isa-m.** *I am clenching my fists to fight with you.* • **Nam vadai kamim nam de ha va hoco lima-mim!** *I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black!*

lolo lima *sfn.* palm of the hand.

mavuhi lima *sfn.* wrist. *See* **mavuhi** *'knot (bamboo)'.*

[*PNCV, POc* *lima]

The hand and arm	
lima-ku	my arm, my hand
pili-ku	my shoulder
pahaso-ku	my biceps
suhu-ku	my elbow
mavuhi lima-ku	my wrist
lolo lima-ku	my palm
vadago-ku	my fingers
pisu-ku	my fingers
pudu pisu-ku	my finger nails

lito *vi.* spit. • **O kan lito!** *Don't spit!*

litovi- *vt.* spit on <s.o>; *fig.* offend, reject, humiliate. • **Nam litovi-a mo le mle.** *I humiliated him, and he went away.* • **Inko hosu nanov om litovi-á?** *So it was you who offended me yesterday?*

[*PNCV* *loto-vi *'foam, spit'*]

liuha *sfn.* back. • **Liuha-ku mo hac-i-á.** *Syn.* **cuhu**.

livuha *sfn.* middle, in-between. • **pis livuha** *the middle finger*

[*PNCV* *livu-ka *'middle, between'*]

lo *prep.* (1) in, on, at: locative preposition, referring to space. • **lo cada-m** *in your country* • **Mo**

dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima. *He fled without further ado, running back up home.* • **O sna sadai lo pili-ku.** *Come and sit on my shoulders.*

(2) locative preposition, referring to time. • **Lo Krismas mudu mo ce usa.** *Last Christmas, it didn't rain.* • **Lo m̈audi-ku, nam ce m̈isi han re.** *I had never eaten any in my whole lifetime.*

(3) preposition for an oblique relation, *esp.* when the verb is intransitive, or the object slot is already taken by another NP (*see* **sile** 'give', **vse** 'show', **sodo** 'say', **vidis** 'squeeze'). • **O sle-i-á lo hina nohoni!** *Give me that thing!* [lit. *provide me with that thing*] • **Om sodo lo sa?** *What did you say?* [lit. *you said of what?*] • **Mo poe mo de co pa traim lo aka-na.** *He wanted to try his canoe.* [lit. *try at his canoe*] • **Nam de na pa vavere lo vere mo hese.** *I'd like to sing a song.* [lit. *to sing at a song*] (*Cf.* Grammar)

lokodu *vi. Red.* **lolokodu**. lit. 'the inside burns': angry, cross (at, **ni~/nida~**). • **Mo ragi m̈ara mo levsei-a nam lolokodu nia.** *He's crying because he knows that I am angry at him.* • **Nia mo lolokodu nidan naivou-na.** *He's angry at his wife.* *Morph.* **lolo** + **kodu**.

lolo *sfn.* (1) inner part, inside of (+N). • **lolo liṁa-ku** *my palms* [*the inside of my hands*]

(2) (met) [hum] inward part of a person, seat of feelings, 'heart'. *See* **lo-kodu** '*angry*'.

❖ *v-pr.* inside, in (+N). • **Lolo coco mo pa usa.** *During* [lit. *inside*] *the night it rained.* • **Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun.** *He heard a crab, which was there inside that tree.*

[*PNCV, POc* *lolo]

losu *vi.* [wind **lagi**] create a hurricane. • **Nam lahi, dan mo liṁa, lag mo pa losu.** *Five days after my wedding, there was a hurricane* [lit. *the wind struck (?)*]

[Cf. *Malo* losu '*hit, kill*']

losulosu *n.* Broad-billed Flycatcher, small bird, 16 cm *Myiagra caledonica.*

lotu *sfn.* shin-bone. • **Lotu-na mo m̈a-lare.** *He broke his shin-bone.* *See* **sadi** '*leg, foot*'; **sui** '*bone*'.

lpo *vi.* [+Directional **v̈a, si**] try to, endeavour: indicates a tentative or hesitating action. • **Na lpo si na lesi-a ra. – Ale, o lpo si!** *I shall try and see him. – Alright, you go!* *See* **v̈e les** '*try to*'.

lua *vi.* vomit.

[*PNCV* *lua; *POc* *luaq]

lug *vt. Red.* **lulug**. fold, bend; *esp.* clench <fist>. • **Nam lug-i-a liṁa-ku nam de na v̈alum isa-m.** *I am clenching my fists to fight with you.*

[*PNCV* *lulu-mwi '*to roll up*'; *POc* *lumi '*fold, hem, crease*']

lulu *adj.* white. • **Ras mo de mo m̈a mo nak-i-a mo posi mo vidiha mo m̈a mo lulu.** *Each time the waves hit it, (the octopus) changed colour, from black to white.* • **Om lesi Tumepu mo lulu lo rav̈alu-na, cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a.** [myth] *You can see Tumepu, how it is white on the*

other side; this white colour we see recalls how it was struck by Araki. • **racu lulu** *a white man, either European* (**tasale**) *or albino Ant.* **vidi-ha**.

[*PNCV* *lulu '*barn owl*']

lumiha *vi.* dirty. • **Nam vadai kaṁim nam de ha ṽa hoco liṁa-ṁim, pan liṁa-ṁim mo lumiha, hudaudara mo roho ro nia.** *I told you to wash your hands, but they are still dirty, there is still some dirt on them. Ant.* **vokovoko**. *Morph.* **lumi -ha**$_7$ (?). *See* **vsovso** *'filthy'*.

lumlum *n.* moss, seaweed; bsl. *Nalumlum.*

[*PNCV* *lumu]

M - m

-m *pp.sf.* your: Second singular possessive suffix. • **lo cada-m** *in your country* • **Niko mo ce re monohi-m!** *You have no brain!* • **Mada hetehete hosun mo sohe-m.** *This child looks like you.*

[*POc* *-mu]

maci *sfn.* leg's calf. • **maci-na** *his calves See* **sadi** *'leg, foot'*.

maco *vi.* enter, go inside, penetrate. • **Mo maco lo ṽapa.** *He enters the cave.* • **Hadiv mo sihiri mo sa mo maco lo hudara.** *The rat ran back into the deep of the forest. Ant.* **ṁalue**.

macudu *vi.* torn; to break, split (intr.). • **M̈ala mo vari-a p̈isu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo haṗasi via, mo macudu.** *With its huge claws, the hawk seized the taro stem and tore it to pieces.* [lit. *and it was torn*] *See* **lare**; **koso**.

mada *art.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) [+adjective 'small' **hetehete** (sg) ~ **vadidi** (pl)] a small one: a child. • **mada hetehete mo hese** *a child* [*a small one*] • **mada vadidi** *children* || Synt. The word **mada** (*orig.* 'child') cannot appear on its own, but needs an adjective; *hence* it may be reinterpreted as a substantiviser (*see* second use below).

(2) (hence) the people of (+place name): refers to the inhabitants of a place. • **Mada Naura-laṗa mo sivosivo velu ro kia.** *The people from Santo went there to dance.* • **Mada Tanna hase-da, nida mo levse han-i-a vidi.** *Only the people from/on Tanna are used to eating dogs. See* **dai**.

[Cf. *Tangoa* mara Roma *'the Romans'*; *PNCV* *mwera *'child, person-of'*]

malá *n.* Incubator Bird, a dark coloured bird similar to fowl. *Megapodius freycinet.*

[*PNCV* *mwalau *'Megapode'*]

maladin *n.* mandarin. *Citrus nobilis.*

[*English* mandarin]

maluhu *vt.* roll, roll up.

maluhu naho~ *n.* (met) lit. 'rolls of the face': wrinkles.

mani ~ man. *sfn.* vein, nerve.

• **mani-ku** *my veins* • **man vadidi** *little veins* • **man v̈alalap̈a** *large veins* *See* **cai** '*blood*'.

maniok *n.* manioc. *Manihot esculenta.* || Despite being introduced, this tuber is widely cultivated, along with yam (**cam**) and taro (**pera**).

manometo *n.* kind of pigeon. *See* **huep̈e**.

(1) Vanuatu Mountain Pigeon, bsl. *Nawemba blong hil. Ducula bakeri.*

(2) *or maybe:* White-throated Pigeon, Metallic Wood Pigeon. *Columba vitiensis.* *Syn.* **rodo**.

mape *sfn.* liver. *See* **mavusa** '*heart*'.

[*PNCV* *mwabwe '*Inocarpus chestnut; liver*']

mara *n.* snake. • **Mara mo hese mo hac-i-á!** *I got bitten by a snake!*

mara ras *n.* lit. 'snake of the sea': Sea-snake: a black and white, very dangerous snake living in the sea. *Laticauda semifasciata.*

[*PNCV, POc* *mwata '*snake*']

marahuavi *n.* Rufous-brown Pheasant-Dove, 31 cm *Macropygia mackinlayi.*

masmasu *sfn.* sweat, perspiration.

❖ *vi.* sweat, perspire.

mavuhi *sfn.* [plant: bamboo+] knot, joint; *fig.* joint in the body. • **mavuhi liḿa-ku** [*my hand-joint*] *my wrist*

mavusa ~ **mavsa**. *sfn.* (1) innards, guts. • **raga mavsa-na** *his innards* [*his 'gut-bag'*] *Syn.* **rali**. *See* **page** '*bell*'; **mape** '*liver*'.

(2) (esp) heart.

mavusa salesale *sfn.* lit. 'light heart': lungs. • **mavusa salesale-ku** *my lungs*

[*PNCV* *vuso '*heart*']

mece *vi.* [Subj: thanked person] to be thanked; mainly in thanking phrase **om mece** 'Thank you [You are thanked]'. • **Ham mece.** *Thank you (pl).* • **Om mece lap̈a m̈ara no-m v̈ev̈ehina lo sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki.** *Thank you (sg) so much for your work on Araki language.* • **Nia mo mece.** *Thank him!*

❖ *n.* thanks, acknowledgment. • **Kam sodo mece lap̈a m̈ara nunu om vari-a.** *We thank you very much for taking this photo.* [*we say a big thanks*]

meco *vi.* [food, meal] cooked, well done. • **Cuga-ku udeece mo re meco mo iso.** *My piece of pudding is already done.* *See* **m̈ena** '*ripe*'.

[*PNCV* *maso-so '*cooked, done*']

medesai *vi.* [Subj. plural] be enemies, hate each other. • **Hadiv nida-n huira mo medesai.** *The rat and the octopus are enemies.* *See* **rap̈ala~** '*friends*'.

mle ~ **mule**. *vi.* (1) go *or* come back, *esp.* return home. • **Mo dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima.** *He fled without further ado, running back up home.* • **Na, ta co mule na pa vadai-a nia.** *As for me, when dad comes back, I will tell him everything!*

(2) go away, leave a place. • **Om de se mo poi-ko? O mle!** *But who do you think loves you? Go away!* *See* **v̈a**; **dovo**.

❖ *dir.* over (there). Directional,

sometimes combined with a second Directional **ṿa/ṿano**. • **P̈ira mo hese mo roho raṿal cigo mle ṿa.** *There was a woman who lived over there on the other side of the cape.*

[*PNCV, POc* *mule '*return*']

mo *sbj.* he, she, they: 3rd person (sg/pl) Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. • **Mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo m̈are.** *One rainy day, a drop of (stagnant) water dripped on to a man, who fell sick and died.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

mohi *n.* mosquito. • **Mohi mo vutiana!** *There are a lot of mosquitoes* • **Mohi mo levse hari-a racu.** *Mosquitoes bite [know how to bite people]*

[*PNCV* *namu-ki (?); *POc* *ñamuk]

moli$_1$ ~**mol**. *n.* orange. *Citrus sinensis.*

mol hohono *n.* 'wild orange', name for lemon or lime. *Citrus aurantium.*

[*PNCV* *moli '*Citrus*'; *POc* *molis]

moli$_2$ *n.* chief, community leader. • **Vi-p̈aka mo de nko pa moli, niko pa racu lap̈a.** *The banyan means that you will become a chief, an important person.* • **Moli mo roho ro ṿe? – Nia mo ṿa lo ham̈ali.** *Where is the chief? – He went to the men's house.* *See* **racu lap̈a**.

monohi *sfn.* brain. • **Niko mo ce re monohi-m!** *You have no brain! (you are silly)* *See* **levosai** *'clever'*.

moru *vi.* (anc) small, narrow. Only in one archaic expression, found in the tale of the Rat and the Octopus. • **Aka-ku mo moru.** [tale] *Too narrow is my boat!* *See* **hetehete** *'small'*.

mudu *adj.* (1) first (in order). • **naivou-ku mudu** *my first wife* • **vodo-mudu** *firstborn, eldest child* (*Cf.* **vodo**) *See* **ha-**$_6$ *'ordinal prefix'*.

(2) last, the most recent in time. • **Lo Krismas mudu mo ce usa.** *Last Christmas* [lit. *first Chr.*] *it didn't rain.*

muhu *n.* earthquake.

[*PNCV* *muki]

mule *vi.* complete form of **mle**.

M̈ - m̈

m̈a$_1$ *vi.* come.

(1) come. • **Ra vadi mo m̈a mo dodo lo cuge ima honin.** *The children came to play here in front of the house.* • **Mo huden-i-a lo paru-na, ale mo m̈a mo m̈a.** *He put (the flower) on his head, then set off.* *Syn.* **ta**; **sna**.

(2) [after a first verb] hither; indicates the movement is towards the speaker (or the spot taken as reference). Corresponds either to the spatial movement of the subject or of the object. • **Mo ku ai mo vali, mo de 'Ha vari-a ha m̈a!'** *When they had made the water boil, he told them 'Bring it here!'* [lit. *Take it and come*] • **Sodo ne mo sohan-i-a mo**

m̈a Kanal. [tale said in Kanal] *He sent the same message (from Araki) here in Kanal. Syn.* **sna**.

(3) change into, become. • **Asvohinao, nia mo posi-a naho-na mo m̈a sohe naho-m.** *Asvohinao (devil) can change his face to look like you.* [lit. *change his face it comes like your face*]

m̈a isa~ *vt.* happen to (s.o.), affect. *See* **isa~**.

[*PNCV, POc* *mai]

m̈a~$_2$ *pos.cl.* Possessive classifier for drinkables. • **Nam ce inu-a/inumi-a m̈a-ku ai v̈adug.** *I haven't drunk my tea.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*PNCV, POc* *ma-]

m̈a-$_3$ *pf.* detransitivising suffix with resultative meaning. || Note. This prefix, not very productive, is found combined with verbs like **lare, koso**. *Cf.* aussi **m̈asaga**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*POc* *ma-]

m̈aca *n.* traditional wooden club, used especially to kill pigs. • **Mo vari-a no-no m̈aca, mo vcan-i-a lo paru-na.** *He seized his club, and smashed its head with it.*

[*PNCV* *mwaza '*spear, club*'*]

m̈aci *n.* small animal.

(1) bird. • **Dai m̈aci mo han-i-a ha-ku hina!** *The birds have eaten my meal!* • **M̈aci mo avuavu nda povi.** *The birds flew away, all of them. See* **avu** *'fly'*.

(2) fish. • **M̈aci vadidi o levse vari-a vila.** *Small fish can be caught easily.* • **cuga-ku m̈aci** *my part of fish (which I caught/ I am carrying), my piece of fish.*

m̈aci buluk *n.* lit. 'cow bird': Indian Mynah, 25 cm *Acridotheres tristis*.

m̈acihi *sfn.* colour (of s.th.). • **Nam lesi-a pilo-m mo posi-a m̈acihi-na mo vidiha mo lulu.** *I was looking at your bald head, changing its colour from black to white.*

m̈acim̈acihi *vi.* multicoloured, variegated. • **Mo posi mo vidiha mo m̈a mo lulu; mo m̈acim̈acihi-ha.** *It would change from black to white, it was full of colours.* || Reduplication of **m̈acihi** 'colour'.

m̈aconu *n.* Bluefin trevally, bsl. *Blukarong*: reef fish, 50 cm *Caranx melampygus*.

m̈ada$_1$ *n.* eel. *Anguilliformes* spp.

[*PNCV* *maraya]

m̈ada$_2$ *n.* breadfruit pit, a k.o. traditional biscuit made from breadfruit, and stocked as an extra food in case of hunger, due to low crops or hurricane. • **Mo v̈ei-a m̈ada m̈ara mo tilavo cam.** *They make breadfruit-biscuit when they lack yam.*

[*PNCV* *mara '*preserved breadfruit*'*]

m̈adaga *vi.* thin, puny. *Ant.* **vadu**.

[*PNCV* *mara?a '*light (in weight)*'*]

m̈adau *n.* left, left hand. • **podo m̈adau-ku** *my left ear Ant.* **m̈arua**.

M̈adino *pl.n.* Marino, mountain situated between Tanoa and Tasmalu, to the west of Araki. • **Om roho ro lo ravalu-na M̈adino vo om roho ro lo ravalu-na Opa?** *Do you live near Marino (to the west) or near Opa (an islet east of Araki)?* || In Araki, the island of Marino is considered a landmark to indicate the

west (*Cf.* **Harua**).

m̈agis *vi.* boastful, pretentious; brag.

m̈aharua *n.* Island cabbage. *Abelmoschus manihot.*

m̈akomo *adv.* a bit, a little. • **Mo le v̈a m̈akomo, mo le m̈ana.** *As they swam a bit further on, he started to laugh again.*

❖ *sfn.* a bit of, a piece of. • **m̈akomo m̈asav̈a** *a small space* • **Kam re han-i-a sope-na m̈akomo-no.** *We ate a small piece of it.* • **O sov ro m̈akomo-no.** *Wait a little!* [lit. *wait a bit of it*]

m̈a-koso *vi.* broken, in pieces, *esp.* so that part of the object is missing. Intransitive verb derived from the transitive **koso**. • **Botel mo m̈a-koso.** *The bottle is broken.*

m̈ala$_1$ *n.* (1) Swamp Harrier, k.o. hawk, 55 cm *Circus approximans.* • **M̈ala mo p̈isu cudug-i-a aka-n hadivi.** *With its huge claws, the hawk made a hole in the Rat's canoe.*

(2) chief: name of a chiefly rank in traditional society. *See* **supea**; **kadai**; **moli**; **racu lap̈a**.

[*PNCV* *mala '*hawk, bird of prey*']

m̈ala$_2$ *n.* picture. *See* **nunu**.

m̈alam̈ala-popodo *n.* lit. 'pictures of the dream (?)': a dream. • **No-ku m̈alam̈ala-popodo mo te!** *My dream was a bad one!*

[*PNCV* *bore '*dream (n,v)*']

m̈a-lare *vi.* broken in two, broken. Intransitive verb derived from the transitive **lare**. • **Sadi-ku mo m̈a-lare.** *My leg is broken.*

m̈aloko *adj. Red.* **m̈alokoloko**.

(1) tired, exhausted. • **Nam m̈aloko.** *I am tired.* • **Siho mo m̈alokoloko m̈ara mo ce hanhan.** *The kingfisher was exhausted, because it hadn't eaten anything.*

(2) lazy.

[*PNCV* *malo '*lazy, tired, weak*']

m̈alue *vi.* go out (of, **lo**); leave a place. • **Na pa m̈alue lo ima nene.** *I'm going to go out of this house.* • **P̈ira hosun co pa m̈alue nene.** *This woman will leave this place (Araki).* • **Kam skul m̈alue kam sivo.** *We went out of the church.* *Syn.* **alua**. *Ant.* **maco**.

[*PNCV* *mwalu (?) '*come out*']

m̈alum *vi.* quiet, slow, weak. • **Lo dan mo hese, Siho mo vadai Hatou mo de 'Om hadaho m̈alum!'** *One day, Kingfisher said to Hermit-crab 'You crawl so slowly!'*

roho m̈alum *vi.* lit. 'stay quiet': keep quiet, be silent. • **O vadai-a co roho m̈alum!** *Tell him to keep quiet!* *Ant.* **v̈aodo**.

[*PNCV, POc* *malumu '*soft, gentle, weak*']

-m̈am *pp.sf.* our (Exclusive): First plural Exclusive possessive suffix. • **Nko rap̈ala-m̈am.** *You are our friend.* • **Vulu-m̈am co sohe-na!** *(we want) our hair to be like that!* *See* **kam̈am**.

[*POc* *-mami]

m̈am̈asa *vi.* dry, parched. • **Cada mo m̈am̈asa.** *It's dry, we're having a heatwave.* *Syn.* **kodu**.

[*POc* *mamasa]

m̈ana ~ **m̈an**. *vi.* laugh. • **Mo le v̈a m̈akomo, mo le m̈ana.** *As they swam*

a bit further on, he started to laugh again. Ant. **ragi**.

m̈an p̈ala *vt.* laugh at, scorn. • **Nam ce m̈an p̈ala-ko ro, nam m̈an p̈ala mada vadidi ro.** *I'm not making fun of you, I'm making fun of the children.* • **O kan m̈an p̈ala-i-á!** *Don't make fun of me!*

[*PNCV* *mana]

m̈anu *n.* kind of black and white flying-fox. *Pteropus tonganus. See* **kada**.

[*PNCV* *manu; *POc* *manuk '*bird*']

m̈apu *vi.* (1) breathe, breathe out, during normal breathing (v. **sodo**, blow into s.th.). *Syn.* **namasu**.

(2) rest from an effort; take a holiday. • **O m̈ap ra.** *Take a breather.*

❖ *sfn.* (1) (s.o's) breathing, breath. • **Siho mo m̈alokoloko, m̈apu-na mo petepete mo covi mo m̈are.** *The Kingfisher was so exhausted, breathless [his breath was short], that he collapsed and died.*

(2) rest, holiday. • **Sande, dan m̈apu.** *Sunday is a day of rest.*

[*PNCV* *mabu-si '*breathe deeply, rest*']

m̈apuhu *vi.* stink, have a bad smell. • **viuru m̈apuhu** *'stinkwood', Dysoxylum gaudichaudianum*

m̈ara$_1$ *sfn.* (1) eye(s). • **vuluvulu-da m̈ara-ku** *my eyelashes*

(2) sight, vision, look. • **Pani Tumepu mo de mo ro hodo m̈ara-na.** *(The island of Araki settled there) but Mount Tumepu started to complain that it was blocking its view* [lit. *its eyes*].

(3) (esp) plan, hope, wish. • **M̈aram̈am laṗa, co pa roho ro sa-n naru-m, Yugo Womtelo.** *Our biggest wish would be to stay (some time) with your son, Yugo Womtelo.*

[*PNCV, POc* *mata]

m̈ara$_2$ *n-pr.* || from **m̈ara**$_1$. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) from. • **Co de co v̈a m̈ara-n re cada, o pa kaka gisa?** *If we left from the same point, when would you arrive (on the other side)?* • **sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki** *the language of [from] Araki*

(2) because of. • **Nam ce dogo na kadukadu lo rasi, m̈ara p̈ahe.** *I don't feel like swimming in the sea because of the sharks.* • **Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na.** *And that's why Araki moved out into the ocean.* • **m̈ara sa?** *why?* • **Om mece laṗa m̈ara no-m v̈ev̈ehina lo sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki.** *Thank you so much for your work on Araki language.*

(3) about, regarding. • **Na pa sodosodo m̈ara-n Spoemalao.** *I'm going to speak about Spoemalao.* • **sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki hosu** *this story about Araki ...*

(4) in order to, for. • **Sadi nene m̈ara m̈aci.** *This spear is for fish.*

(5) [+verb] is used for, meant for. • **Nene m̈ara vahuden-i-a colog botel.** *This is used for taking corks out of bottles.* • **Na m̈ara rara.** *[I am for cutting] My job is to cut wood, I'm a lumberjack.*

❖ *conj.* (1) [+Realis] because. • **Mo m̈arahu m̈ara ram̈are mo re han-i-a raṗala-na mo iso.** *He was terrified at the idea that his friend had just been devoured by a devil.* • **Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de m̈ara pana ha colo lo rasi.** *They no longer want to go to Araki because they say*

they might drown in the sea.

(2) [+Irrealis] in order that, so that. • **Mo rai-a vose m̈ara co pa sua nia.** *He carved an oar so that he could paddle with it.*

❖ *adv.* after, afterwards. • **Na pa goro m̈ara.** *I'll sleep afterwards.*

m̈ara~$_3$ *sfn. Syn.* **elua~**; **rahura~**; **lala.**

(1) [Ego M] uncle: mother's brother.

(2) [Ego M] nephew: sister's son. *See* **ve-m̈ara** '*niece*'.

(3) [Ego F] husband's uncle, uncle-in-law. *See* **elua~.**

[*PNCV* *matu?a '*mother's brother*'; *POc* *matuqa]

m̈araha *n.* laplap knife: traditional wooden knife, used in cooking. *See* **siṗa** '*knife*'.

m̈arahu *vt. Red.* **m̈aram̈arahu.** fear, be frightened, afraid. • **Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo m̈arahu.** *Hearing that, the rat was seized with fright.* • **Nam m̈aram̈arahu ṗahe.** *I fear sharks.*

[*PNCV* *mataku; *POc* *ma-takut]

m̈arasala *sfn.* door. • **Nam poe ima m̈arasala-da mo raha laṗa.** *I like houses with big doors.* • **Mo re ede m̈arasala-ku.** *He opened my door.* || The door's possessor (suffix) is either the house or its owner.

[*PNCV* *mata-(ni)-sala '*door = eye of road*']

m̈are ~ **m̈ar.** *vi.* die, be dead. • **Ha pa nak-i-a co m̈are.** *They will strike him to death.* [*they will hit him he will die.*] • **Mo m̈are vo mo m̈audi ro?** *Is it dead or is it still alive?* • **Ale, mo m̈are mo rud lo paisa sala ...** [tree] *So, there was (this tree) that was standing dead by the wayside ... Ant.* **m̈audu.**

[*PNCV, POc* *mate]

m̈arua *sfn.* right hand; right. • **podo m̈arua-ku** *my right ear Ant.* **m̈adau.**

[*PNCV* *matu?a]

m̈asa *n.* mushroom.

m̈asaga *n.* Y-shaped or branching, forked, cloven. • **naho m̈asaga** *Cloven-face (name of a fish)*

[*PNCV, POc* *saŋa '*fork, crotch*']

m̈asaṽa ~ **m̈asaṗa.** *sfn.* (1) interval between two points, in-between. • **O huden-i-a ṽerali lo m̈asaṗa-n dai cea nohosu mo dua.** *Put the bananas [in the interval between] between these two chairs.*

(2) open space, on earth or at sea. • **m̈akomo m̈asaṽa** *a small space*

(3) (esp) open sea, deep sea. • **Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asaṽa m̈ara-na.** *And that's why Araki moved out into the ocean.* • **Mo ṽa mo sua mo ṽa lo m̈asaṽa.** *He continued to paddle, gradually moving further towards the sea.*

[*PNCV* *masawa '*space, sky, open sea*']

m̈asoli *n.* variety of banana called 'apple-banana', large sized and not very sweet, used as a vegetable. *See* **ṽerali.**

m̈audi *sfn.* (1) life, lifetime. • **Lo m̈audi-ku, nam ce m̈isi han re.** *I had never eaten any in my whole lifetime.*

(2) personal destiny, series of events that mark one's life, including one's death. • **Hina salahese mo vse-i-a racu ro lo m̈audi-da.** [oracle] *Several indications reveal a man's destiny.*

[*PNCV* *ma?uri; *POc* *maquri(p)]

m̈audu ~ **m̈audi** ~ **m̈au.** *vi.* (1) alive, living, v. dead (**m̈are**). • **Mo m̈are vo mo m̈audi ro?** *Is he dead or is he still alive?*

(2) (esp) revive, come back to life. • **Ralmeap̈e nia ralme racu mo m̈are mo (le) m̈audu.** *Ralmeape is the devil for all the people who have died and who have come back to life.*

(3) [plant+] grow. • **Napdogo vada co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse m̈au.** *Even if it rained, your taro couldn't grow (because you didn't plant it properly ...).*

[*PNCV* *ma?uri; *POc* *maquri(p)]

m̈avinuvinu *adj.* thin. *Ant.* **vonoho.**

[*PNCV* *manivinivi]

m̈em̈e *sfn.* tongue.

[*PNCV* *mea; *POc* *maya]

m̈ena *vi.* [fruit] ripe, full grown; ready to fall, about to rot. • **Ale, hudi-na mo m̈ena, hudi-na mo v̈a vahude, mo sivo mo hocohoco.** *Then, when the (breadfruit) skin is ripe, when it falls off easily, that's when it is washed. Ant.* **pado.**

[*PNCV, POc* *mena]

m̈enum̈enu *n.* small dead leaves, *esp.* floating on water. • **Nam m̈an p̈ala m̈enum̈enu honi mo sale ro lo rasi.** *I am laughing about those small leaves which are floating on the sea. See* **daha** *'leaf'.*

m̈ere *vi.* urinate. More familiar than **tilatila.**

❖ *sfn.* urine.

cada m̈ere *sfn.* bladder. • **cada m̈ere-n po** *pig's bladder*

[*PNCV* *meme-re]

-m̈im *pp.sf.* your (Pl): Second plural possessive suffix. • **Ha gigisa na lesi hoco-m̈im!** *Smile, show me your teeth! See* **kam̈im.**

m̈isi ~ **m̈is.** *asp.* (1) [gen. with aspectual **pa**] still, still now. • **Lo wik mo v̈a mo iso, nam docodoco, kesi nam pa m̈isi doco.** *Last week I was ill; and I'm still not well today. Syn.* **le.**

(2) [with Negation **ce**] not yet. Auxiliary word followed by the verb. • **Lo m̈audi-ku, nam ce m̈isi han re.** *I'd never yet eaten any in my whole life.* • **Racu ne, mo ce m̈isi rai-a.** *This man has not yet been circumcised*

N - n

na$_1$ *ind.pp.* I: First singular independent pronoun. • **Na racu.** *I am a man.* • **Na, ta co mule na pa vadai-a nia.** *As for me, when dad comes back, I will tell him everything!* • **Na na sa na vari-a cada-m.** *I am coming to replace you.*

❖ *sbj.* I: First singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • **Na lcegi-ko!** *I am going to hit you!* • **Co de na m̈aci, na pa avu.** *If I were a bird, I would fly.*

• **Na lpo si na lesi-a ra.** *Let me try and see him.* • **Na pa m̈are sohe sa?** *How shall I die? See* **-ku**.

[*PNCV* *nau]

-na ~ **-no** (*after /o/*). *pp.sf.* his, her, its: 3rd singular possessive suffix. • **Mo m̈are, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na.** [on suffixable noun] *He was dead, with nothing more than his skin on his bones.* • **Mo vari-a no-no diṗa, no-no siṗa, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na.** [on possessive classifier] *He took his axe, his knife and his club and put them into his canoe.* • **Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a caṁa-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na.** [non-human possessor] *He cut the ropes (of his canoe), made its outrigger, carved its central yoke and its little pegs.* • **Daga viha mo lare hase-na.** [on suffixable adjective] *The branch of the tree broke by itself (was not brought about by anyone).*

[*POc* *-ña]

nahade *adv.* today, *esp.* past or present (v. **hede**, today in the future); *fig.* nowadays. • **Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asaṽa m̈ara-na. Mo roho mo sna kes nahade.** *And it was after these events that Araki moved out into the ocean. And it has remained there until today. See* **kesi** *'now, nowadays'.*

naho *sfn.* face. • **Mo klaṽas mo les naho-n raṗala-na.** *He raised his eyes and recognised the face of his friend.* • **Asvohinao, nia mo posi-a naho-na mo m̈a sohe naho-m.** *Asvohinao (devil) can change his face to look like you.*

naho hoco~ *sfn.* front teeth, including canines and incisors. *Ant.* **ṗari**.

lo naho~ *n-pr.* in front of. • **lo naho-ku** *in front of me Ant.* **lo cuhu**.

[*PNCV* *nako; *POc* *nakon]

naho m̈asaga *n.* lit. 'forked face': Orangespine unicornfish, bsl. *Yeloteil strong sikin*: reef fish, 30 cm *Naso lituratus*.

nahodani *n.* lit. 'face of the day (?)': morning. • **Nanov lo nahodani, nam rudu mo aloalo.** *Yesterday morning, I got up when the sun was out.* • **Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki.** *When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.*

naivou~ *sfn.* [Ego M] wife. • **naivou-ku mudu** *my first wife* • **naivou-ku parahu/ṽaha-dua** *my second wife* • **Nia mo lolokodu nida-n naivou-na.** *He is cross at his wife.* • **Nida mo coṁi naivou-da, m̈ara nida mo ṽa mo rolu mo velu ro.** *They are sad because of their wives, who left home with (the men from the other island) dancing.* || Anthr. For customary laws regarding widows, *see* **elua~** and **roha~**. The hierarchy rule for a second husband is: ***roha~ > rasi~ > elua~***. *Ant.* **rua~**.

nak *vt. Tr* **naki-**.

(1) strike <s.o., s.th.>, hit. • **Ras mo m̈a mo nak-i-a pilo-n huira.** *The sea would come back and strike the octopus's head. Syn.* **lceg**.

(2) (fig) [*esp.* kava, alcohol] stupefy, have a strong effect upon <s.o.>. • **Nam dogo hae mo nak-i-á.** *I feel the effect of kava* [lit. *I feel kava is hitting me*].

(3) hit <s.o.> with the intention of hurting or killing him; strike dead. • **Racu nohosu ha pa nak-i-a, ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na.** *This man is going to be killed; he'll be killed in a fight or something like that.*

(4) (gen) kill, in any way (e.g. through black magic). • **Niko hosun om nak-i-a racu ro!** [to a devil who bewitched s.o. to death] *So it was you who killed this man!*

nak raha m̈are *vt.* lit. 'strike-become-dead': kill. • **Na pa nak raha m̈are-ko!** *I'm going to kill you* [*I'm going to strike-you-become-dead*]

nam *sbj.* I: First singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. • **Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko.** *I am really happy to have met you.* • **Nam ce levsei dogo-ko.** *I can't hear you.* • **O kan kode-i-á! – Nam ce kode-i-ko.** *Don't you lie to me! – I am not lying to you.* • **Nam com̈i.** *I'm sorry! See* **na**$_1$.

namasu *vi.* breathe. *Syn.* **m̈apu**.

nanovi *adv.* yesterday. • **Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni.** *Yesterday, I heard someone else sing the same song (as you). Ant.* **p̈aivuho**.

[*PNCV* *nanovi]

napdogo *adv.* (1) [+Realis] although. • **Napdogo mo usa, pla-ku pera mo ce m̈au.** *Although it does/did rain, my taro is not growing properly.*

(2) [+Irrealis] even if. *See* **pdogo** *'only, just'*.

napdogo vada *conj.* lit. 'although that': [+Irrealis] even if. • **Napdogo vada co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse m̈au.** *Even if it rains, your taro won't be able to grow properly. Syn.* **napdogo**.

naru~ *sfn. Pl.* **nanaru~**.

(1) [Ego M/F] child of (s.o.). • **Nko pa ce lahi co ce re naru-m.** *You will not marry nor will you have any children.* • **Dan mo hese, racu nanaru-da mo roho ro lo ima.** *One day, the people had left their children at home. See* **mada vadidi** *'the children'*.

(2) [Ego M/F] brother's child.

(3) [Ego F] sister's child. || For Ego M, the sister's children, are designated as nephews: **elua~**, **lala**, **m̈ara~**, or **rahura~**.

(4) [Ego M] child of the sister-in-law (**ve-rahu~**).

(5) [Ego M] child of the uncle (**elua~**), matrilateral cross-cousin.

(6) (esp) male child, son: v. **ve-naru~** 'daughter'. • **Naivou-ku mo v̈asui naru-ku.** *My wife has just given birth to my son. Syn.* **tu**.

[*PNCV, POc* *natu-]

naura *n.* place/island (?). *See* **udeude** *'island'*; **cada** *'place'*.

Naura-lap̈a *pl.n.* lit. 'the big island': the island of Espiritu Santo, the largest island in the region. • **Mo velu, dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-Lap̈a mo dogo leo-do ro.** *They dance, and the people of Santo hear their voices.* • **mada Naura-Lap̈a** *the people of Santo* || Corresponds to the 'mainland' for Araki islanders.

ne *dem.* first degree demonstrative. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) [adverb] here. • **P̈ira nohosu nam vadai-ko ro inia mo roho ro ne.** *The*

woman I talked to you about is here. • **Lo dan mo hese, Pasta Sope mo sna ne Daki.** *One day, Pastor Sope came here in Araki. Syn.* **nene**; **kesi**.

(2) [noun modifier] this. • **Ver̈al ne mo ce ver̈al hanhan.** *This banana is not edible.*

nene ~ **nene-n**. *dem.* (1) [noun modifier] this. • **Sadi nene m̈ara m̈aci.** *This harpoon is for fish.* • **Nanovi nam goro lo ep̈a nene.** *Yesterday I slept on this mat. Syn.* **ne**; **kesi**.

(2) [NP-head] this, this one. • **Nene m̈ara vahuden-i-a colog botel.** [NP-head] *This is used for taking corks out of bottles.* • **Nohosu co olom̈a, nene co olom̈a, nene co olom̈a!** *(to children) Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head! Morph.* **no-**$_2$ + **ne**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

ni~$_1$ ~ **ini~** ~ **hini~**. *v-pr.* preposition marking an oblique relation: at, to, towards+. • **Mo vari-a da-holo mo plan-i-a kaura hinia.** *(after storing breadfruit) They take coconut palms and throw them over it.* • **Nam vadai-ko ro ini-a.** *I have told you about her.* • **(hi)n-re dani** *one day ...* • **Mo vari-a mo rai-a aka ni-a.** *He took (the taro stem) and carved a canoe out of it.* • **M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da.** *Since that time, they have been hating each other.* [lit. *looking bad at them*] (*Cf.* Grammar)

-ni$_2$ ~ **-n**. *suf.* construct suffix: always followed by a noun phrase referring to possessor. • **kam̈am povi dai vuguvugu-ni Moli** *all of us, Moli's family* • **Paua no-n God** *God's power* • **Mada hetehete mo sohe-n rarna-na.** *The child looks like his mother.* • **Aka di mo colo, aka-n hadiv.** *The boat sank, Mr Rat's boat.* • **sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki hosu** *this story about Araki ...* • **Kesi hadiv nida-n huira mo dua medesai.** *Today the rat and the octopus are enemies.* || The possessor is normally human (or a personified animal), or a place name. *See* **-na**. (*Cf.* Grammar) [*POc* *ni]

-ni$_3$ ~ **-n**. *suf.* Assertive suffix, found on demonstratives. • **O kan vari-a sule v̈ahasu, o vari-a nene-n!** *Don't take that stone over there, (you'd better) take this one!* || Seems to be mainly compatible with affirmative clauses (*hence* its tag as 'Assertive'). (*Cf.* Grammar)

nia *ind.pp.* he, she: 3rd singular independent pronoun. • **Racu mo v̈ei-ko, nia Supe.** *He who created you is God.* • **Nia mo le sua mo v̈a lo ima-na.** *As for him, he went back home.*

nica *ind.pp.* we (Inclusive): First inclusive plural independent pronoun. • **Nica p̈aivuho!** [greeting] *Good bye!* [*we tomorrow*] *See* **cam**$_1$.

nida$_1$ ~ **nda**. *ind.pp.* they: 3rd plural independent pronoun. • **Nida mo m̈are cece.** *They are dead for good.* • **Nda mo heli-a koko lo carauta.** *They dig a hole on the shore.* • **M̈aci mo avuavu nda povi.** *The birds flew away, all of them. See* **-da**; **ha**$_1$.

nida~$_2$ *n-pr.* || Synt. Always followed by a human referent. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) with, together with <s.o.>. • **Racu hosun mo roho kia nida-n venaru-na.** *This man was living there with his wife.* • **Nida-n verasi-na, nida mo**

colo mo m̈are. lit. *Together with her younger sister, they sank and died. Syn.* **isa~; pedesi~.**

(2) against, at <s.o.>. • **Daki mo v̈alum nida-ni Tumepu.** *So Araki struggled with Tumepu.* • **Nia mo lolokodu nida-n naivou-na.** *He is cross with his wife.*

(3) [inside NP] with, and. • **P̈ira hetehete mo hese nida-n vero-ha-na.** *There was a small girl with/and her older sister.* • **Hadiv nida-n huira mo medesai.** *The rat and* [lit. *with*] *the octopus are enemies.* • **Na pa sodosodo m̈ara-n Siho nida-n Hatou.** *I'm going to tell the story of the Kingfisher and the Hermit-crab.* • **Nam sovi Ral nida-n Pen ro.** *I am waiting for Ralph and Ben. See* **rolu**.

niko ~ **nko** ~ **inko**. *ind.pp.* you: Second singular independent pronoun. • **Nko raṗalam̈am.** *You are our friend.* • **Inko hosu nanov om litovi-á?** *So it was you who offended me yesterday?* • **Niko mo ce re monohi-m!** [topic] *You have no brain! (you are silly)* • **Vi-p̈aka mo de nko pa moli, niko pa racu laṗa.** *The banyan means that you will become a chief, an important person. See* **-ko**; **om**.

[*PNCV* *nigo]

no~$_1$ *pos.cl.* general Possessive classifier for inalienable possession. • **no-ku dudu** *my clothes* • **no-m lahi** *your wedding* • **no-no ta** *his father* • **Paua no-n God** *God's power* • **Mo vari-a no-no diṗa, no-no siṗa, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na.** *He took his axe, his knife and his club and put them into his pirogue.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*POc* *na]

no-$_2$ ~ **ne-** (*with* **ne**). *pf.* prefix found on demonstratives: *e.g.* **no-honi, no-hosu,** and probably **ne-ne.** • **No-hosu co oloṁa, ne-ne co oloṁa, ne-ne co oloṁa!** *Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head!* || Its effect seems to make it compatible with the NP-head position (similar to English 'one' in 'this one'), although it appears in other positions too. (*Cf.* Grammar)

-no$_3$ *pp.sf.* his, her: allomorph of the pers. suffix **-na** following a vowel /o/. • **hoco-no** *his teeth*

novu *n.* scorpion. *Scorpiones* spp.

[*POc* *nopu]

nre dan *adv. Morph.* **ni~ re dan.**

(1) one day, in the future (v. **lo dan mo hese** 'one day, in the past'). • **Nre dan co pa v̈anov̈ano, co lesi-a se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila.** *One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster!*

(2) from time to time, sometimes. • **Mo lesi-a pilo-ni huira nre dan.** *From time to time he caught sight of the octopus's head.*

(3) [+Negation] (not) ever, never. • **Mo v̈e lesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a ha ce levsei nak-i-a nre dan.** *They try and kill him, but they never succeed. Ant* **dan tade** '*always*'. (*Cf.* Grammar)

nudu ~ **nud**. *vi.* dive, jump in the water. • **Mo sivo mo nud lo rasi, mo sivo mo vari-a pallace.** *He ran down the slope and dived into the sea, looking for coral.*

nuenue *n.* rainbow.

nunu *sfn.* (1) silhouette, shadow (of

s.o); reflection (in water). • **Nam lesi-a nunu-m.** *I can see your shadow.*

(2) image, *esp.* photo. • **Kam sodo mece lapa mara nunu om vari-a.** *We thank you very much for taking this photo.*

[*PNCV* *nunu-a '*shadow, image, soul*'; *POc* *nunu]

O - o

o *sbj.* you: Second singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • **Ta, nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku.** *Father, I want you to carve me a canoe.* • **O su o sna!** *Come towards me!* [lit. *you paddle you come*]

Okava *pl.n.* Hog Harbour, a city on the north-eastern coast of Santo I. • **Ruai, Daki mo roho ro vahasun Okava.** *Before, Araki was situated over there, in (front of) Hog Harbour.* || A myth, known in Araki as well as in Hog Harbour, tells how the island left that area, and pulled away towards the southern shores of Santo (*Cf.* **Daki**).

[*English* Hog Harbour]

oloma *vi.* bend down, bow (o.'s) head. • **Nohosu co oloma, nene co oloma, nene co oloma! Ha huden-i-a paru-mim lo cada mo hese!** (*to children*) *Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head ... Arrange your heads to be all in the same place!*

om *sbj.* you: Second singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. • **Om holo ro? – Nam holo-ho ro.** *Are you OK? – Yes, I'm very well.* • **Om putu!** *You are crazy!* • **Om de o hanhan?** *Would you like to have dinner?* • **Inko hosu nanov om litovi-á?** *So it was you who* [lit. *who you*] *offended me yesterday?*

onono ~ **onon**. *n.* sand, beach. *See* **carauta**.

Opa *pl.n.* Opa, an islet east of Araki. • **Om roho ro lo ravalu-na Madino vo om roho ro lo ravalu-na Opa?** *Do you live near Marino (to the west) or near Opa?* || In Araki, the island of Opa acts as a landmark to indicate the east (*Cf.* **Toholau**).

ori *n.* bunch (of bananas). *See* **verali**.

otome ~ **hotome**. *v.ad.* *Red.* **hototome**. well, properly; *sometimes* carries intensive meaning. • **Mo ce le dogo otome.** *They cannot hear well any more.* • **Mo rai-a aka inia, mo ve otome sohe aka.** *He carved himself a canoe, just as if it were a real canoe.* [lit. *he made it properly like a canoe*] . • **Mo huden-i-a lo rasi mo visi-a mo visi-a otome.** *He dragged (his canoe) down to the sea, and tied it fast* [lit. *tied it well*].

ova *n.* Eastern Reef Heron, 50 cm *Ardea sacra*; *Egretta sacra.*

P - p

pa *asp.* (1) [preceded by other clauses] Sequential aspect: indicates a necessary relationship between two events, either in time or logical. • **Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan, parahu kaṁa pa ṽa lo maket.** *I'm waiting for my wife to feed the kids, then we shall go to the market.* • **Nanovi, nam de na ṽa na rai re viha; mo ce re diṗa, nam pa ce ṽa.** *Yesterday I wanted to go and cut some wood; but I didn't have an axe, so I didn't go.*

(2) [in an independent clause] contrastive focus on time: (V happened) at *that specific* moment, never before nor after. • **Nam pa lesi rasi-m keskesi.** *I am seeing your younger brother for the first time.*

(3) (hence) [+ Irrealis] Future reference, *e.g.* in a promise or a prediction. • **Nica co pa han re sa?** *What are we going to eat?* • **Na pa lahi pog rolu.** *I will marry in three days' time.* • **Vada mo sivo lo pede vosa, nko ha pa nak-i-ko ha pa hani-ko.** [oracle] *If (the reed) falls on to a Terminalia tree, (this is the sign that) they will kill you, they will eat you.* • **Coṁi-m co pa te, nko pa racu tilavono.** *You will lose the joy of living, you will be a wretched man.* • **Kaṁam povi kam kila ro ṁara in-re-pogi o pa le ṁa Daki.** *All of us here we hope that one day you will come back to Araki.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

pada$_1$ *sfn.* white hair, *esp.* due to age.

❖ *vi.* [hair] be white; [person] have white hair, be white-haired, due to age. • **Vulu-da mo pada.** *Their hair is white.* • **Nam re pada mo iso.** *I am already white-haired.*

pada$_2$ *n.* spider. • **Nam ce opo-i-da pada.** *I don't like spiders.*

pado *adj.* (1) [fruit] green, unripe; raw, uncooked. • **Nam poe nam de na voli re ṽerali pado.** *I want to buy some green bananas.* *Ant.* **ṁena**.

(2) (fig) new, incredible.

[*PNCV* *bwaro]

page *sfn.* belly, stomach. *See* **raga ha~** '*stomach*'.

[*PNCV* *bwaŋe]

palaho *n.* k.o. banyan. *Ficus.* *See* **vi-ṗaka**.

palaho hana ṁaci *n.* lit. 'Bird-eaten banyan': k.o. banyan. *Ficus wassa.*

palaho pupui *n.* k.o. banyan. *Ficus granatum.*

[< °balako]

paliha~ *sfn.* (1) [Ego M] father-in-law, wife's father. ‖ For Ego F, the husband's father is called as a grandfather (**tapu~**). *See* **ve-paliha** '*mother-in-law*'.

(2) [Ego M/F] son-in-law, daughter's husband.

[*PNCV* *bwalika '*affine*']

pallace *n.* sea coral. • **Mo sivo mo nud lo rasi, mo sivo mo vari-a pallace.**

He ran down the slope and dived into the sea, looking for coral.

[*PNCV* *laz(e,i) '*coral*'; *POc* *laje]

pana ~ **p̈ana**. *adv.* [placed before the sentence focus] maybe, probably. • **Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini, mo de pana cau.** *Somebody was there, scraping the trunk of the palmtree – no doubt a coconut crab, he thought.* • **Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de m̈ara pana ha colo lo rasi.** *They no longer want to go to Araki because they say they might drown in the sea.* *See* **kodogo**.

pani *conj.* but, however. Usually expresses a logical contrast between two clauses. • **Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im, pan lim̈a-m̈im mo vidiha ro.** *I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black!* • **Nam de na vari-a suka, pan nam petepete.** *I would like to take the sugar, but I am too short!* • **Cam ce levse lesi-a, pani nia mo roho ro.** *We cannot see him, yet he exists.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

paniavu *n.* pineapple. *Ananas sativus.* • **Nam ecene paniavu ro.** *I sell pineapples.*

pao *n.* Purple Swamphen, 36 cm *Porphyrio porphyrio.*

para *sfn.* trunk of a tree; *hence* the tree itself, v. its fruits (**vae**), or its other parts (*see* **vi-ha**). • **Para levu mo hese mo rudu lo sala.** *There is a (trunk of) breadfruit tree standing along the road.* • **para-na** *its trunk* *Syn.* **laho**.

parahu *adv.* after, afterwards. • **Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan, parahu kam̈a pa v̈a lo maket.** *I'm waiting for my wife to feed the kids, then* [lit. *after that*] *we shall go to the market.* *Syn.* **m̈ara**.

naivou(-ku) parahu *sfn.* lit. '(my) wife after': second wife. *Syn.* **naivou~v̈aha-dua**.

[*PNCV* *takuRu]

pariavu *n.* ashes.

[Cf. *Malo* batui-avu '*ashes*'; *PNCV* *avu '*ashes, lime, dust*'; *POc* *qapu]

paru *sfn.* [hum, animal] head. • **Mo vari-a no-no m̈aca, mo vcan-i-a lo paru-na.** *He seized his club, and smashed her head with it.* • **Paru haura!** *You stubborn/naughty!* [lit. *hard head*] • **p̈is paru po** *thumb* [lit. *pig's head finger*]

[*PNCV, POc* *bwatu]

Pasta *n.* pastor, Anglican priest.

[*English* pastor]

pasule *n.* traditional oven using stones (**sule voso**). *See* **hapu** '*fire*'.

pau *sfn.* knee. • **pau-ku** *my knee(s)* *See* **sadi**.

[*PNCV* *bwau]

paua *n.* power, *esp.* occult or sacred power. • **Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia ha, mo re ce re no-no paua.** *Today, people live there, because its power (that of the bewitched tree) has disappeared.* • **Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan.** *The power of God is stronger, stronger than the power of Satan.*

[*English* power]

pavu *n.* Flametail snapper, bsl. *Jone*: reef fish, 48 cm

pavu da-tavoa *n.* Humpback snapper, bsl. *Pinkfis*: reef fish, 45 cm *Lutjanus gibbus*. || Its name suggests leaves (**da-**) of Terminalia (*see* **vosa**).
[*PNCV* *tavoRa '*Terminalia*']

Parts of the head	
paru-ku	my head
pogori-ku	my skull
pilo-ku	my bald head
vulu-ku	my hair
monohi-ku	my brain
naho-ku	my face
p̈enaho-ku	my forehead
v̈asu-ku	my eyebrows
m̈ara-ku	my eyes
galsu-ku	my nose
podo-ku	my ears
cigo-ku	my mouth (outside)
vava-ku °	my mouth (inside)
ese-ku	my chin
humi-ku	my beard
ua-ku	my neck
hali-ku	my nape

pdogo *adv.* (1) just, only. • **Mo m̈are, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na.** *He was dead, with nothing more than his skin on his bones.*
(2) (remain+) idle, aimless. • **Na nam roho pdogo ro.** *I'll stay here and do nothing.*

pede *sfn.* [tree, mountain] top, summit. • **lo pede vosa** *at the top of a Terminalia* • **lo pede p̈aka** *at the top of a banyan tree* (***vi-p̈aka***) • **Co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia.** *He will wet the rope, and then climb up to the top of the palmtree with it to catch the coconut crab.*

pedepede *sfn.* heights, promontory above [sea+]. • **Nia mo roho ro lo pedepede rasi, ravui lo rasi.** *She lived on the heights above the sea*

pedesi~ ~ **p̈edesi~**. *v-pr.* with, together with <s.o., s.b.>; marks accompaniment rather than instrument. • **Nam de na v̈alum p̈edesi-ko.** *I'm going to fight with you.* • **Mo m̈are, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na.** *He was dead, having nothing more than his skin on* [lit. *with*] *his bones. Syn.* **nida~**; **isa~**.

pedeti *n.* bread, of European origin, but now produced locally. • **Kesi hanhan vutiana: pedeti; daisi; hina vutiana, pan ruai mo ce re hanhan.** *Nowadays, there is plenty of (different sorts of) food: bread, rice, many things; but in olden times, there was no food (like that).*
[*English* bread]

pedopedo *vi.* deaf. • **Podo-no mo te, nia mo pedopedo.** *He has bad ears, he is deaf. See* **podo** '*ear*'.
[*PNCV* *bwero '*ear*']

peka *n.* Barn Owl, 34 cm *Tyto alba*.

pele *asp.* [between Subject and Verb] take o.'s turn (in doing s.th.); *hence* while, whereas. • **Re co pele sna co holo aka!** *Let someone come and (take my place to) man the boat!* • **Ale o sna, o pele o le vari-a cada-m, na na si na pele hanhan.** *Okay, come; while you come back to your place, I will go and have lunch.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

peli *sfn.* dwelling place, usual place of (s.o.).
lo peli~ *n-pr.* at (s.o.)'s place. • **Na v̈a na hanhan lo peli-n pua.** *I'm*

going to eat at my mother's.

pelo *n.* traditional slit gong.
[*PNCV* *bwea (?) '*slitgong, drum*']

pera *n.* taro. *Araceae* sp. • **da-pera** *taro leaf* • **culi pera** *taro shoot* • **Napdogo vada co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse m̈au.** *Even if it rains, your taro won't be able to grow properly.*

pera tasale *n.* lit. 'white man's taro': Fiji taro, Hongkong taro. *Xanthosoma sagittifolium.*

pera ai *n.* lit. 'water taro': k.o. taro cultivated in taro swamps.
[*PNCV* *bweta]

petepete *adj.* (1) short. • **viha petepete** *a short piece of wood Ant.* **p̈edavu**. *See* **hetehete** *'small'.*

(2) [hum] small, not tall. • **Nam de na vari-a suka, pan nam petepete.** *I want to reach the sugar, but I'm not tall enough.*

(3) (fig) [breath] short, breathless, such as in suffocation. • **Siho mo m̈alokoloko, m̈apu-na mo petepete mo covi mo m̈are.** *The Kingfisher was so exhausted, breathless [his breath was so short], that he collapsed and died.*

pevu *n.* k.o. yam.

pevu hohono *n.* k.o. wild yam. *Dioscorea bulbifera. See* **suma** *'wild yam'.*

pilai *v.ad.* (kill) in one blow, outright. • **Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi mo si mo colo.** *He killed the young woman outright, and she sank (to the bottom of the water).*

pili *sfn.* shoulder. • **Huira mo de 'Ale, o sna sadai lo pili-ku!'** *'Okay', said the octopus, 'come and sit on my shoulders.' See* **liṁa** *'arm, hand'.*

pilo *sfn.* bald head. • **Nam lesi-a pilo-m mo posi-a m̈acihi-na mo vidiha mo lulu.** [octopus] *I was looking at your bald head, changing its colour from black to white. See* **pogori** *'skull'.*

piodo *n.* sandalwood. *Santalum austrocaledonicum.*

plane ~ **plan**. *vt. Tr* **plani-**. throw, cast. • **Mo vari-a sule mo sa kia mo plan-i-a lo cada di.** *Each one brings a stone up there, and throws it from that place.* • **Mo vari-a da-holo mo plan-i-a kaura hinia.** *They take coconut palms and throw them over (the breadfruit being stored).* • **Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna.** *I will climb up, catch it (a coconut crab) and throw it to you.*

po *n.* pig. • **pula-ku po** *my pig (I breed)* • **ha-ku po** *my piece of pork (to eat) See* **dave**.
[*PNCV* *boe]

podo *sfn.* ear. • **podo m̈adau-ku** *my left ear* • **Podo-no mo te, nia mo pedopedo.** *He has bad ears, he is deaf.*
[*PNCV* *bwero]

poe ~**opoe**. *vt. Tr* **(o)poi-**; **(o)poei-**.

(1) appreciate <s.th.>; like, desire <s.o.>. • **Nam po-i Daki vutiana.** *I like Araki (island) very much.* • **Nam poe-i-a no-m sodo.** *I like your language.* • **Om de se mo po-i-ko?** *Who do you think loves you?*

(2) [+ verb V_2; *or* (+ **vada** or **mo de**) + Irrealis] desire, want. • **Ta, nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku.** *Father, I want you to carve me a canoe.* • **Om poe levse vada m̈audi-m co pa iso**

lo sava cada? *Do you want to know in what kind of place you will end your life?*

[Cf. *Tangoa* obo-i-a '*love him*']

pogi ~ **pog**. *n.* (1) (rare) day. • **Kaṁam povi kam kila ro ṁara in-re-pogi o pa le ṁa Daki.** *All of us here we hope that one day you will come back to Araki.* *Syn.* **dani**.

(2) [+ number] forms adverbial phrases referring to a number of days in the future: 'in (x) days' time'. • **pog dua** *in two days' time, the day after tomorrow* • **pog haualu** *in eight days' time* • **Na pa lahi pog rolu.** *I will marry in three days' time.* *See* **ṗaivuho** '*tomorrow*'.

[*PNCV, POc* *boŋi]

pogori *sfn.* skull, bone of the head. *See* **pilo** '*bald head*'.

polo$_1$ *vt.* light <a fire>. • **O polo re hap laṗa!** *Please light a big fire!* *See* **hasan**; **hapu**.

polo$_2$ *n.* Pencil-streaked rabbitfish, bsl. *Yelotel-piko*: reef fish, 30 cm *Siganus doliatus*.

pon *n.* smell. *See* **dogo** '*feel, smell*'.

pona *sfn.* smell of (s.o., s.th.). • **Pona-m mo holo-ho.** *Your smell is nice.*

[*PNCV* *bo-n(i,a) '*smell, scent, odour*']

pono *n.* Quoy's parrotfish, bsl. *Blufis*: reef fish, 40 cm *Scarus blochi*.

popo *n.* germinated coconut, bsl. *Navara. Cocos nucifera.* *See* **holo**$_1$ '*coconut*'.

porio *n.* grasshopper.

posi$_1$ ~ **pos**. *vi.* (1) [in navigating] tack, turn, change direction. • **Mo le ṿa ṿa suri-a cigo hosun mo sivo mo pos mo ṿa lec.** *Again he sailed alongside the cape; after a while, he started tacking, and disappeared from the horizon.*

(2) (fig) change aspect, transform oneself. • **Posi-m mo posi.** *Your character is changing (you are fickle)*

❖ *vt.* modify, change <s.o., s.th.>. • **Mo levse posi-a naho dai ṗira sohe nosun om po-i-a ro.** (*This devil*) *knows how to transform women's faces into the one you love (in order to attract you).* • **Nam lesi-a pilo-m mo posi-a ṁacihi-na mo vidiha mo lulu.** [to the octopus] *I was looking at your bald head, changing its colour from black to white.*

posi$_2$ *sfn.* fashion, style, typical manner of (s.o.); way, nature. • **Pan nida mo re levsei-a mo de kesi posi-n Spoemalao kesi mo ṿei-a kesi.** *But they realised that it was just like Spoemalao [it was his style] to have done such a thing.*

povi ~ **pov** ~ **po**. *adj.* [affecting the subject] all, everybody. • **Kaṁim po ha gigisa!** *All of you, please smile!* • **M̈aci mo avuavu nda povi.** *The birds all took flight.*

❖ *v.ad.* [affecting the object] (do V) totally, completely. • **Mo ṿei povi-a dai hina hosun.** *He did all those things entirely.* • **Mo han-i-a mo han povi-a.** *He ate it, he até it all up.* ‖ Syn. After a verb, the transitivity markers are transferred from the verb to **povi**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

pua ~ **puá**. *n.* (hypoc) Mum: address

term for mother (**rarna~**). • **Na v̈a na hanhan lo peli-n puá.** *I'm going to have lunch at my mum's.* • **Na ul re leta co sivo sa-n pua.** *I must write a letter to* [lit. *which should go to*] *my mother.*

pudu *n.* [egg, shellfish] shell. • **pudu sile to** *shell of a (hen's) egg*

pudu p̈isu~ *sfn.* finger nails.

[*PNCV* *bura-ti '*shell, empty container*'*]

pudupudu *n.* wood, timber, beam. *See* **viha** '*wood*'.

pula~ ~ **pla~**. *pos.cl.* Possessive classifier referring to economical possessions, *esp.* plants and possessed animals. • **pula-ku holo** *my coconut tree (I planted)* • **pula-ku po** *my pig (which I feed)* • **Nam v̈ahani-a pla-ku to.** *I am feeding my fowls.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

pultan *v.ad.* together, in the same place. • **Ha huden pultan-i-a paruṁim!** *Put all your heads together!*

puro *sfn.* navel; umbilical cord. • **Dokta mo ce ṁisi rai-a puro-no.** *The doctor hasn't yet cut his cord.*

[*PNCV* *buto; *POc* *butoŋ]

putu *vi.* mad, crazy. • **Om putu!** *You are crazy!*

P̈ - p̈

p̈ahaso *sfn.* biceps. • **O v̈ei-a sohe-na p̈ahaso-m co sosohoni.** *Show off your biceps!* *See* **liṁa** '*hand, arm*'.

p̈aheu ~ **p̈ahe**. *n.* shark. • **P̈ahe mo hari-a sadi-ku!** *My leg got bitten by a shark!* • **Hadiv mo kadu kadu kadu kadu, mo lesi-a p̈ahe.** *And the Rat swam, swam, swam, swam ... until he saw a shark.*

[*PNCV* *bakewa]

p̈aisa ~**paisa**. *sfn.* (1) [hum] side. • **Om sadai lo p̈aisa-ku.** *You are sitting beside me.*

(2) (gen) side, edge, near to. • **Viha di mo rudu lo p̈aisa sala.** *This tree is on the side of the road.*

p̈aivuho *adv.* tomorrow. • **Nica p̈aivuho!** [greeting] *Good bye!* [*we tomorrow*] *Ant.* **nanovi**. *See* **pogi** '*day*'.

p̈aka *sfn.* a bow, to shoot with. • **P̈aka nene, ṁara vinavina.** *This bow is made for shooting arrows.* • **No-ku ta, o vodo re p̈aka-ku, re vina-ku.** *Father, make me a bow and some arrows.* *See* **vina** '*arrows*'; **vi-p̈aka** '*banyan*'.

p̈ala *v.ad.* preposition introducing the object of certain verbs, *e.g.* **ṁana** 'laugh'. • **Om ṁan p̈ala sa ro? – P̈ala pilo-m.** *What were you laughing at/about? – At your bald head!* (*Cf.* Grammar)

p̈aṗa *n.* fence, *esp.* surrounding a garden (**isa**).

p̈aṗalihono *n.* wild kava. *Macropiper latifolium.*

p̈ari *sfn.* molar tooth (v. **naho hoco** 'front teeth'). *See* **hoco**$_2$ '*tooth*'.

[*PNCV* *bati '(*upper canine*) *tooth*']

p̈edavu *adj.* (1) long, stretched out horizontally; *e.g.* a cape (**cigo**) stretching far out to sea. • **Mo v̈a lo raval cigo v̈a-su cigo p̈edavu.** *He reached beyond the cape over there, that headland stretching out to sea.*

(2) [hum+] tall, vertically long. *Ant.* **petepete**.

[*PNCV* *baravu '*long, tall*'']

p̈enaho *sfn.* forehead. *See* **naho** '*face*'.

p̈ep̈e *n.* (1) butterfly.

(2) Lined butterflyfish, reef fish, 35 cm *Chaetodon lineatus*.

[*PNCV, POc* *bebe]

p̈ep̈ei *n.* k.o. plant, bsl. *Laslas. Polyscias scutellaria*.

p̈idi *sfn.* [plant] seed; [fruit] stone. • **Mo vahuden-i-a kavula-na, vahuden-i-a p̈idi-na...** [preparation of breadfruit biscuit (*m̈ada*)] *They take away the pith, take away the seeds.*

[*PNCV* *biri '*seed*'']

p̈ilahe ~ **p̈ilahe hudara**. *n.* Buff-banded Rail, a long-legged bird, 30 cm *Gallirallus philippensis*.

[*PNCV* *bilake '*Buff-banded Rail*'']

p̈ilahe rasi *n.* lit. 'seashore Rail': a bird.

(1) Asiatic Whimbrel, a bird with downcurved beak, 45 cm *Numenius phaeopus*.

(2) (or) Sharp-tailed Sandpiper, 20 cm *Calidris acuminata*.

p̈ile *sfn.* (vulg) female genitals, vulva.

[*PNCV* *bile]

p̈ira *n.* female, woman (v. **lam̈ani** ~ **racu** 'male, man'); [+Poss. Class. **no~**] wife. • **Racu vo p̈ira?** (*Is it*) *a man or a woman?* • **P̈ira uluvo hosun mo roho ro raval cigo.** *This young woman was living on the other side of the cape.* • **Mo levse posi-a naho dai p̈ira sohe nosun om po-i-a ro.** (*This devil*) *knows how to transform women's faces into the one you love (in order to attract you).* *See* **naivou~** '*wife*'.

p̈ira hetehete *n.* lit. 'small woman': female child, girl. • **P̈ira hetehete mo hese nida-n veroha-na.** *There was a small girl with her older sister.*

p̈isu ~ **p̈is**. *sfn.* finger; [bird] claw. • **P̈isu-ku kodu lo hapu.** *I burnt my fingers in the fire.* • **M̈ala mo vari-a p̈isu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hap̈asi via, mo macudu.** *With its huge claws, the hawk seized the taro stem, and tore it to pieces.*

p̈is paru-po *n.* lit. 'pighead's finger': thumb.

p̈is livuha *n.* middle finger.

p̈is tahada *n.* little finger.

❖ *vt. Tr* **p̈isui-**.

(1) indicate, designate; point at. • **Nam p̈isui Rago.** *I'm pointing at Tangoa.*

(2) touch <s.th.> with a finger or a similar object (knife+), with the intention of pricking or making a hole. • **Hede na pa p̈isu cudug-i-a aka-ca!** [words of the hawk] *With my claws, I'm going to make a hole in this canoe!* [lit. *I will prick-perforate*]

[*PNCV* *bisu '*finger, toe, nail*'']

R - r

ra$_1$ *adv.* first, provisionally, at least (bsl. *festaem*). Sentence-final discourse particle, marking an action (*esp.* an order) as provisional, or as the substitute of some other action. • **O ̈va ra!** *You go first (don't wait for me)* • **O m̈ap ra!** *You should have a rest (before anything else)* • **Na lpo si na lesi-a ra. – Ale, o lpo si!** *I'll try and see him. – Alright, you go!* (*Cf.* Grammar)

ra$_2$ ~ **raha**. *asp.* [+ Adjective or Verb] Resultative clitic (?). Derives a resultative adjective from a verbal or an adjectival root. • **Mo vari-a vivada ra kodu.** *He takes a dry reed. [a reed become dry]* • **Mo ̈va, mo dogo leo-do, mo ̈va mo ̈va, mo ra hetehete.** *At first, their shouts could be heard; but eventually they became fainter and fainter.* • **Viha hosun mo ra laṗa.** *This tree is huge.* || Found only with a few adjectives, *e.g.* **laṗa** 'big', **hetehete** 'small', **kodu** 'dry'. *See* **m̈a-** *'Detransitiviser'*. (*Cf.* Grammar)

racu *n.* (1) man *or* boy (v. **p̈ira** 'woman, girl'). • **Va p̈ira mo dogo leo-n racu uluvo.** *The woman heard the young man's voice.* • **Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu.** *I could hear your voice, and thought it might be a good-looking boy.* *Syn.* **lam̈ani**.

(2) human being, man or woman; person. • **racu vidiha** *a black person* • **Nko pa racu tilavono** *You will be a poor person.*

(3) (gen) people: either an indefinite group of people, or people in general. • **Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia ha.** *Today, there are people living there.* • **Dan mo hese, racu nanaru-da mo roho ro lo ima.** *One day, the people had left their children at home.* • **Vidi, racu mo ce han-i-a.** *People don't eat dogs.* • **Mohi mo levse hari-a racu.** *Mosquitoes bite [know how to bite men].* • **Racu mo kodokodo mo ce holo-ho.** *It's bad to lie [That one should lie is bad].* || Synt. Despite the plural meaning, the agreement is sometimes singular.

(4) any creature, not necessarily human; *cf.* English 'somebody'. • **Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini, mo de pana cau.** *Somebody was scraping the trunk of the palm-tree – maybe a coconut crab.* • **Ale, mo hese racu vadi, mo rov-i-da mo de Tui.** *There's another kind (of devil), small individuals: people call them Tui.* • **Racu mo ̈vei-ko, nia Supe.** *The one who created you is God.*

racu laṗa *n.* lit. 'big man': chief, important person, an authority over a community (bsl. *Bigman*). • **Om poe-i-a o pa moli, om poe-i-a o pa racu laṗa?** *Do you want to be a chief, do you want to be someone important?* *See* **kadai**; **m̈ala**; **moli** *'chief'*.

radami *sfn.* meaning, significance, *esp.* symbolic or magic significance. • **Radami-na mo de p̈ira**

hosun co ṽa co pa m̃are lo cada vavono. [oracle] *This means* [lit. *its meaning says*] *that this woman will go and die abroad.*

[*PNCV* *taRam(an)i '*allow, accept, agree*']

raga *n.* basket, bag (generic term).

raga ha~ *sfn.* lit. 'container of my food': stomach. • **raga ha-ku** *my stomach* *See* **page** '*belly*'.

raga mavsa~ *sfn.* lit. 'container of my viscera': entrails, intestines; stomach. *See* **mavusa**.

[*PNCV, POc* *taŋa]

ragi ~ **rag**. *vi.* cry, weep. • **Mada hetehete mo ragi.** *The child is weeping.* • **Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.** *If/When you stop crying, you can have your dinner.*

ragisi- *vt.* cry for <s.o.>, mourn. • **Mo ragisi-a sa? – Mo ragisi no-no pua.** *What is he crying for? – For his mother (he misses her).* *See* **comicom̃i** '*mourn*'.

[*PNCV* *taŋi-si '*weep, mourn*'; *POc* *taŋis]

Rago *pl.n.* Tangoa, name of an island close to Araki, and close to southern coast of Santo. || After several decades of marriages between the two islands, the language of Araki has been totally replaced by the language of Tangoa.

rahisa *sfn.* fellow, member of the same village *or* social group (bsl. *manples, wantok*). • **Nia rahisa-ku.** *He's from the same place as me.* *Syn.* **rap̈ala**.

raholo ~**rahol**. *adj.* *Red.* **raraholo**.

(1) straight. • **Mo sohe vici hadiv raholo hosu, mo de huira mo sadi hadivi nia.** *And so the rat's tail is straight, because that's when the rat was harpooned by the octopus.* *See* **holo**.

(2) correct, adequate. • **Om ṽeṽe hina raraholo.** *You do a good job* • **Hadiv mo vari-a m̃aci mo de mo rahol mo vari-a mo ṽa.** *The rat greeted the birds (in his canoe), thinking all was well, and pursued his route.* *Ant.* **te**. *See* **holo** '*good*'.

❖ *adv.* exactly, precisely, just, right. • **Huira mo roho ro raholo lo cada di.** *An octopus lives right here in this precise place.*

[*PNCV* *takolo '*straight*']

rahu~ *sfn.* brother-in-law.

(1) [Ego M/F] brother-in-law: sister's husband.

(2) [Ego M] brother-in-law: wife's brother.

(3) [Ego F] brother-in-law: husband's sister's husband (**vuggo~**).

[*PNCV* *tau-wia (?) '*brother in law*']

Rahuna *pl.n.* Rahuna, a place on the west coast of the island. || Situated in the middle of the forest (**hudara**), this place is reputed for its coconut crabs (**cau**). *See* **Tahuna**.

rahura~ *sfn.* *Syn.* **elua~**; **lala**; **m̃ara~**.

(1) [Ego F] uncle: mother's brother. Respectful term.

(2) [Ego M] nephew: sister's son. *See* **ve-rahura~** '*niece*'.

(3) [Ego F] husband's uncle, uncle-in-law. *See* **elua~**.

rai ~**ra**. *vt.* *Red.* **rara**.

(1) cut, chop. • **Puron narum, dokta mo rai-a mo ce holoho.** *Your son's navel cord has not been cut properly by the doctor.* • **Nam re rai-a viha lap̈a.** *I've cut a lot of wood.* • **Na m̃ara rara.**

[*I am for cutting*] *My job is to cut wood.*

(2) cut or carve, build; *e.g.* build a canoe. • **Nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku.** *I want you to carve me a canoe.* • **Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a caṁa-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na; ale mo rai-a vose.** *He cut the ropes (for his canoe) and the outrigger, carved the poles and the little pegs; lastly he carved an oar with which to paddle.*

(3) (esp) circumcise. • **Racu ne, mo ce ṁisi rai-a.** *This man has not yet been circumcised* || Anthr. Circumcision was never widespread in Araki.

[*PNCV* *taRa-?i '*cut, chop*'; *POc* *taRaq]

rali ~ **ral.** *sfn.* guts, intestines. • **rali-na** *his/her/its guts* *See* **page.**

havhavu rali~ *sfn.* lit. 'gut-cover': diaphragm. *See* **havu.**

[Cf. *Tolomako* tali-n '*guts*'; *PNCV, POc* *tali '*rope*']

raṁa~ *sfn.* [Ego M/F] father. • **raṁa-ku hetehete** *my 'small father' (father's brother)* || For semantic details, *see* the address term **ta.**

[*PNCV, POc* *tama]

Raṁapo *pl.n.* Malo, a big island south of Santo and not far from Araki. || The language of Araki is evidently very close to that of Malo.

[Cf. *Malo* Tamambo]

raṁare *n.* spirit of a dead man; devil, ghost. • **Lo cada-m, re raṁare vo mo ce re? – Raṁare kia.** *In your country, are there devils or not? – Yes, there are.* • **Mo levsei-a mo de raṁare mo han-i-a.** *He understood that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil.* || Anthr. There are several kinds of such spirits, most of them being mischievous. They include **Ralme-aṗe**, **Asi-dia**, **Asvohinao**, **Tui.** *See* **ṁare** '*die*'.

[*PNCV* *?ata-mate '*dead person*']

Internal organs of the body	
mavusa-ku	my heart
mavusa salesale-ku	my lungs
havhavu rali-ku	my diaphragm
raga ha-ku	my stomach
raga mavusa-ku	my stomach
page-ku	my belly
ravu	womb (?)
rali-ku	my guts, intestines
mape-ku	my liver
vacivacia-ku	my kidneys
cada ṁere-ku	my bladder
sui-ku	my bones
daca-ku	my ribs
cai-ku	my blood

ran$_1$ *vt. Tr* **rani-.** hold, catch <*e.g.* a prey>. • **Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna.** *I'll go up and catch it (the crab), and then I'll throw it to you.*

ran$_2$ *vt. Tr* **rani-.** push <s.o., s.th.>. • **Mo ran-i-á nam covi.** *He pushed me (and) I fell down.*

rapala *n.* (1) Grouper, family of reef fish. *Serranidae.*

(2) (esp) Honeycomb Grouper: reef fish, 20 cm *Epinephelus merra.*

rapala hahada *n.* lit. 'red Grouper': Lyretail grouper, bsl. *Redlos*: reef fish, 75 cm *Variola louti.*

[Cf. *Mota* taqale]

rapudo *ptc.* [noun + ***rapudo*** + numeral] optional numeral classifier for human referents. • **Kaṁam rapudo rolu kaṁa sivo goro.** *The*

three of us are going to sleep. • **Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau.** *Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

raṗala~ *sfn.* friend, companion. • **Nko raṗalaṁam.** *You are our friend.* • **Nam lesi raṗala-ku mo hese nam alovi-a.** *I saw a friend of mine, and I waved to him. Syn.* **rahisa**. *Ant.* **medesai**.

rarna~ *sfn.* [Ego M/F] mother, reference term. • **Mada hetehete mo sohe-n rarna-na.** *The child looks like his mother.* • **Rarna-da raṁa-da mo ṁa, mo lesi dai mada vadidi.** *Their mothers and fathers came back and saw the children. Syn.* **pua**. *Ant.* **raṁa**.

[*PNCV, POc* *tina]

rasi$_1$ ~ **ras**. *n.* (1) sea; sea water, salt water. • **Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de ṁara pana ha colo lo ras.** *They don't feel like coming to Araki any more, for fear of drowning in the sea.* • **Ras mo ṁa mo nak-i-a pilo-n huira.** *The sea would come back and strike the octopus's head.*

(2) salt.

[*PNCV* *tasi; *POc* *tasik]

rasi~$_2$ *sfn.* (1) [Ego M/F] younger brother (*opp.* roha~, elder brother). • **Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m.** *I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you. See* **vodo-rahu** *'second-born'*; **ve-rasi~** *'younger sister'*.

(2) [Ego M] husband of **ve-rahu~** (sister of wife), if younger than Ego.

(3) [Ego F] younger brother of husband (**rua~**). || Anthr. From the day I marry, I treat my husband's brothers as though they were mine; yet the age is in relation not with my age, but with my husband's: thus I may call **rasi~** someone older than myself, if he's younger than my husband. In case the latter dies, I may become the wife of his elder brother (**roha~**) or, alternatively, of his younger brother (**rasi~**). *See* **roha~**; **elua~**.

[*PNCV* *tasi *'younger same-sex sibling'*; *POc* *taci]

ravu *sfn.* belly, *esp.* woman's womb. *See* **page** *'belly'*.

ravuhi *n.* flesh. *See* **visiho** *'flesh, meat'*.

ravuhi cidi~ *sfn.* buttocks. • **ravuhi cidi-m** *your buttocks*

ravui *adv.* nearby, close, next to. • **Ṽapa mo hese, kesini ravui lo ima-ku.** *There's a cave here, close to my house.* • **Nia mo roho ro ravui lo rasi.** *He lives right next to the sea. Ant.* **vono**.

ravur ~ **ravu**. *vi.* (1) get up, stand up. *See* **rudu** *'stand'*.

(2) begin a new action. Suggests a sudden reaction to an event: sometimes translated as 'suddenly', 'immediately'. • **Nia mo ravur mo dovo mo mle mo ce le elele cau.** *He* [lit. *got up and*] *immediately started running all the way home.* • **Mo ravu mo sihir mo sivo.** *She suddenly started running down the hill.*

raṽalu ~ **raṽal**. *sfn.* (1) the (other) side of. • **Racu vavono mo hese mo roho kia raṽal cigo.** *Another man lived there, beyond the cape.* • **Mo su-i-a mo ṽa raṽalu-na.** *He paddled until he*

reached the other side.

(2) (fig) [time] the continuation of; next. • **Raẅalu wik, co pa usa.** *It's going to rain next week.*

lo raẅalu~ *n-pr.*

(1) the other side of; next to. • **lo raẅalu-ku** *by my side/next to me* See **p̈aisa**.

(2) (fig) after; next. • **No-ku lahi lo raẅalu viru.** *My wedding will be next month.*

lo raẅalu-na *adv.* on the side of, towards. • **Om roho ro lo raẅalu-na M̈adino vo om roho ro lo raẅalu-na Oṗa?** *Do you live towards Marino (to the west) or towards Opa (an islet east of Araki)?*

[*PNCV* *tavalu '*side, moiety*']

re$_1$ *art.* marker for non-specificity of the noun phrase. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1a) a, some. Partitive marking indefinite, non-specific objects. • **No-ku ta, o vodo re p̈aka-ku, re vina-ku.** *Father, make me a bow and some arrows.* • **O polo re hap laṗa!** *Please light a big fire!* • **Nam de na in re lasa ai co dua.** *I'd like to drink two glasses of water.* [lit. *drink some glasses of water which should be two*] • **Nica co pa han re sa?** *What are we going to eat?* [lit. *eat some what?*] || This **re** is incompatible with transitivising verb suffixes (**-i**).

(1b) [in an adverbial phrase, etc.] a, an. Partitive. • **Co de co ẅa m̈ara-n re cada, o pa kaka gisa?** *Suppose we left from some point, when would you arrive (the other side)?*

(2) Existential partitive: it's an X, there's an X. • **Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu.** *When I heard your voice, I thought it might be a handsome man.*

(3) [with negation **ce**] no, none. • **Mo ce les re cau lo lepa.** *They see no coconut crab on the ground.* • **Nam ce les re raṗala-ku.** (/**Nam lesi-a raṗala-ku mo hese**) *I have not seen any friend.* (*/I have seen a friend*)

❖ *pro.* (rare) used alone, without a noun, as a NP-head.

(1) [Object] one. Partitive referring anaphorically to an item present in the context. • **Lo wik mo ẅa mo iso, nam han-i-a cau mo hese; lo m̈audi-ku, nam ce m̈isi han re.** *Last week I ate a coconut crab; it was the first time in my life I had ever eaten one.* • **Mo les re mo vari-a mo ẅa.** *If he found one, he'd take it with him.*

(2) [+ adjective] one, someone. • **O sile re vavon co han-i-a.** *Give it to someone else to eat.*

(3) [Subject] someone. Non-specific indefinite, more likely with Irrealis mood. • **Re co pele sna co holo aka!** *Let someone come (now) and man the boat!* See **nre dan** '*sometimes*'.

❖ *pred.* there is. • **Lo cada-m, re raṁare vo mo ce re? Raṁare kia.** *Do spirits exist in your country or not? Yes.* • **Ruai, Sope, raṁare vutiana; kesi mo ce le re raṁare.** *Before, there were many devils in (the village of) Sope; but nowadays, there aren't any more.* || Synt. **Re** can be found in negative (*see* **mo ce re**) or interrogative, but never affirmative, sentences. The assertion of existence uses the anaphoric adverb **kia**, or position verbs (**rudu** 'stand', **roho** 'stay' ...). *See* **ce-re**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

❖ *asp.* [between Subject clitic and Verb] already: aspectual marker for Perfect. Indicates a completed action, considered in its effects in the current situation. • **Ima-ku, moli mo re sul-i-a.** *My house was burnt down by the chief.* • **Mo re ede mărasala-ku.** *He opened my door.* • **Mo re ce-re no-no paua.** [with negation] *Its power (of the bewitched tree) does not exist any more.* • **Mara pïra hosun mo re vei-a mo re lokodu mo iso.** *Indeed, this woman had caused his anger.* • **Om re va mo iso lo hamali?** *Have you ever in your life been inside a* nakamal? || Combined with **mo iso**, **re** indicates that the process has reached its pre-constructed term (*English* 'already'). (*Cf.* Grammar)
[*PNCV* *tea '*one*']

re~$_2$ *sfn.* faeces.

re po *n.* (fig) lit. 'pig shit': derogatory remark designating an object, in a given situation: rubbish, bullshit, trash. • **Re po nene mo ce le ululu!** [about a pen] *This rubbish has run out of ink!*
[*PNCV* *ta?e; *POc* *taqe]

re hina *n.* (1) something, non-referential indefinite (*opp.* **hina mo hese**, ref. indef.). • **Nam de na sle-ko n-re hina.** *I'd like to give you something (a present).* • **Ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na.** *He will be killed during a battle, or something of the kind.*

(2) [+negation] (not) anything, nothing. • **Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina.** *He's blind, he can't see anything.* • **Mo ce le re hina, nia hosun.** [conclusive formula] *There's nothing else* [lit. *there isn't anything any more*], *that's all.* *Morph.* **re** + **hina**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

ren *conj.* (1) or. *See* **voni**.

(2) [+ **vada**] but if, and if. • **Ren vada mo doco ...** *But if he is sick ...*

reo *sfn.* [bird] nest. • **reo-no** *its nest*

ridivu ~ **tidimpuka** (?). *n.* 'bush-nut', bsl. *Navele. Barringtonia edulis.*

rigo *vi.* ask for, claim, beg. • **Re măci vavono mo le rigo mo de ...** *Other birds asked the same thing, saying ...*

rkel *vt. Tr* **rkeli-**. reach <place, thing>, touch. • **Mo plan-i-a mo sivo mo de co pa rkel-i-a rasi.** *He threw the reed so that it drop into the sea.* • **Huira mo va rkel-i-a tarauta mo hudeni hadiv.** *The octopus finally reached the bank, and set the rat down.* • **Mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo mare.** *One rainy day, a drop of (stagnant) water dripped on to a man* [lit. *touched a man*], *who fell sick and died.* *See* **vcan**; **vodo**.

ro$_1$ *vi.* do what: interrogative verb. *See* **rodo**.

ro$_2$ *asp.* || Etym. Brief form of **roho** 'stay, be (doing)'. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) post-verbal aspectual particle, referring to an incomplete action; Progressive. • **Mo vavere mo va ro.** *He was (still) singing.* • **Mo sua mo va; mo va ro, ale pïra mo hese mo dogo leo-no.** *He began to paddle; and while he was paddling, a woman heard his voice.* • **Dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura Lapa mo dogo leo-do ro.** *Those who remained on the mainland*

heard their voices.

(2) still, still now. Refers to a continued action. • **Mo märe vo mo mäudi ro?** *Is it dead or is it still alive? See* **mäsi**.

(3) [after order] indicates polite order. • **O kla ro co kan covi!** *Please take care that he does not fall!*

[*PNCV* *tok(a,o); *POc* *toka '*sit, stay, be in a place*']

rodo$_1$ ~ **ro**. *vi.* interrogative verb. (*Cf.* Grammar)

(1) [+agentive] do what. • **Mo rodo?** *What's he doing?* || Synt. May combine with the homophonous particle **ro**$_2$ 'Progressive' **Om ro ro?** *What are you doing?*. *Syn* **vëia sa** '*do what*'.

(2) [–agentive] be how (good or bad). • **Paru-n naru-m mo ro?** *How is your baby's head (is it still aching)?*

(3) [impersonal] what happen. • **Mo ro?** *What's going on?*

mo ro *inter.* lit. 'what happens (so that)': why, for what reason. • **Mo ro om ce opoe kadu lo ai?** *Why don't you like bathing in the river?*

rodo$_2$ *n.* White-throated Pigeon, Metallic Wood Pigeon, bsl. *nataroa. Columba vitiensis.*

[*PNCV* *taroa]

roha~ *sfn.* (1) [Ego M/F] elder brother (*opp.* **rasi~**, younger brother). • **Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m.** *I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you.* || Anthr. If I [ego M] die, my elder brother (or alternatively my uncle **mära~**) must take care of my wife, children and properties; he becomes her new husband, with no need to buy her (*See* sense 3 below). *See* **vodo-mudu** '*first-born*'; **ve-roha~** '*elder sister*'.

(2) [Ego M] husband of sister-in-law (**ve-rahu~**), if older than Ego.

(3) [Ego F] elder brother of the husband (**rua~**). || Anthr. [Ego F] When I get married, I call my husband's elder brothers as though they were also mine (**roha~**, even if they are younger than me); they call me **ve-roha~**. If my husband dies, one of them may take me as his wife, in which case I call him **rua~** (husband). An alternative is to be married to my husband's uncle: *see* **elua~**.

[*PNCV* *tuaka '*older same-sex sibling*']

roho *vi.* (1) stay, remain in the same place; *partic.* stay whilst other people go away. • **O pa roho ro!** *Goodbye!* [lit. *'You'll stay'*] • **Ta mo ce opo-i-a co de na vëa, mo de na roho lo ima.** *Dad doesn't want me to go out, he told me to stay at home.*

(2) [hum] live (somewhere). • **Racu hosun mo roho kia nida-n venaru-na.** *That man lived here with his daughter.* • **Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia ha, mo re ce re no-no paua.** *Today there are people who live here, because the (devil's) power has disappeared.*

(3) be located permanently (somewhere). • **Vëapa di mo roho sahan kaura.** *This cave is situated up there in the hills.* • **Pasta mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun, ai mo roho kia.** *The Clergyman put his hand in the tree hole just where the water was (stagnating).*

(4) (gen) be (somewhere) at a particular time. • **Pëira nohosu nam**

vadai-ko ro inia mo roho ro ne. *The woman I talked to you about is here.* || Note. In this case, **roho** is followed by the Progressive **ro**.

(5) [+ V_2] be doing something. • **Nam roho sovi-a ro mo ce m̈a.** *I'm waiting for him, but he's not coming.*

(6) be one way or another (well or ill). *See* **dogo**.

[*PNCV* *tok(a,o); *POc* *toka '*sit, stay, be in a place*']

rolu *num.* (1) three. • **Mo ce usa viru mo rolu.** *It hasn't rained for three months.* • **lo ha-rolu dan** *on Wednesday* [*the third day*]

(2) all together. Refers to a group of several people, often more than three. • **O vici co rolu!** *Embark with us!* [lit. *You embark we shall be three*] • **Mo comi naivou-da m̈ara naivou-da nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro.** *They were upset that their wives had left them and were now dancing together with (other men).*

(3) [+ NP referring to a person] associates an individual with a group; **rolu** plays the role of a Comitative 'with'. • **Niko kam̈im rolu nanaru-m.** *You and/with your kids.* • **Kam̈im rolu se?** *Who were you with?* [lit. *Y'all three who?*] • **Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m.** *I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*PNCV, POc* *tolu]

rove *vt. Tr* **rovi-**. call, name. • **lo cada mo hese mo rov-i-a mo de Leruvahi** *in a place called* [lit. *they call it*] *Leruvahi* • **Ale, mo hese racu vadi, mo rov-i-da mo de Tui.** *There's another kind (of devil), small individuals: people call them Tui.* *See* **hica** *'name'*.

rovu *n.* sugarcane. *Saccharum officinarum.*

[*POc* *topu]

rua~ *sfn.* [Ego F] husband. *Ant.* **naivou~**.

[*PNCV* *tua '*sibling, friend*']

ruai *adv.* (1) before, beforehand. • **Ruai, Sope, ram̈are vutiana; kesi mo ce le re ram̈are.** *Before, there were many devils in (the village of) Sope; but nowadays, there aren't any more.*

(2) in olden times, a long time ago; *esp.* before western colonisation. • **Na pa sodo-hi-a m̈audi ruai.** *I am going to talk about life in ancient times.* • **Ruai, Daki mo roho ro v̈ahasun Okava.** *Before, Araki was situated over there, in (front of) Hog Harbour.*

[*PNCV* *tuai; *PEO* *tuaRi '*ancient, long time*']

ruarua *sfn.* member of a group of people.

(1) some, certain. • **Ruarua mada Nauralap̈a mo m̈arahu.** *Certain inhabitants of Santo were afraid.* • **Ruarua-da mo pa lesi-a.** *Some of them have seen it.*

(2) friend, companion; company, group. • **Nam sovi dai ruarua-ku ro.** *I'm waiting for my friends.*

[*PNCV* *tua (?) '*sibling, friend*']

rudu ~ **rud**. *vi.* (1) [hum] stand, stand up; get up. • **Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki.** *When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.*

(2) (gen) [vertical objects] be there, be somewhere. • **Viha mo hese**

sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala. *There's a tree over there, along this road.*

rudu hodo *vt.* stand in front of, hinder. • **Om rudu hodo mara-ku.** *Standing in front of me, you're blocking my view.*

[*PNCV* *tu?u-ru; *POc* *tuqur]

ruen *vt. Tr* **rueni-**. help <s.o.>. • **Nam levse racu mo hese co pa ruen-i-ko.** *I know someone who can help you.* • **O ruen-i-á!** *Help! [help me] See* **comi** *'assist'.*

rugana *n.* moment, time, era. • **Mara rugana hosu ...** *And since that time ...*

ruguha *vi.* [tree] be hollow, have a water hole. • **Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala mo ruguha.** *There's a tree down there, standing in the middle of the road, and it's hollow. Syn.* **koho**. *Morph.* **rugu** + **-ha**.

[*PNCV* *tuŋu *'pool of water'*]

runu *vt. Tr* **runi-**. cook <s.th.>. • **Mo vari-a levu di mo huden-i-a lo vi-pue mo run-i-a mo vari-a mo han-i-a.** *They take the breadfruit, put it in a bamboo stem, cook it, and finally they take it and eat it.*

rurunu *vi.* cook (intr.), do the cooking. • **ima rurunu** *kitchen [house of cooking]*

[*PNCV* *tunu *'roast, set on fire'*; *POc* *tunu]

ruva *n.* belt.

cada ruvaruva *sfn.* lit. 'place to gird (o.s.)': waist.

[*PNCV* *tuva *'belt'*]

S - s

sa$_1$ *inter.* [NP head] what. • **Om de sa?** *What did you say?* • **Nica co pa han re sa?** *What are we going to eat?* • **Mo ragisi-a sa? – Mo ragisi no-no pua.** *What is he crying for? – For his mother (he misses her). See* **sava** *'what kind of +N'.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

mara sa *inter.* lit. 'for what': why. • **Mara sa om sadai ro lo tep?** *Why are you sitting on the table? Syn.* **rodo**$_1$.

sohe sa *inter.* lit. 'like what': how, in what manner? • **Na pa mare sohe sa?** *How shall I die?*

[*PNCV* *sava; *POc* *sapa]

sa$_2$ *vi.* go up. || Brief form of **saha**.

(1) go up, ascend. • **Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna.** *I will go up (the palm-tree), catch (the coconut crab) and throw it to you.* • **Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa mo sivo mo sa.** *I am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up and down and up again. Ant.* **sivo**.

(2) go from the sea towards the inland; [in the sea] go closer to the shore. • **Vada om poe-i-a o d' o pa racu-lapa, o levse sa kia.** [site of an oracle uphill] *Suppose you want to become a chief, you can go (up) there.* • **Hadiv mo sihiri mo sa mo maco lo hudara.** [from the seashore] *The*

rat ran back into the deep of the forest.

(3) [in serialisation, after a first verb] upwards, up. Systematically accompanies any movement in the upward direction, *e.g.* climb. • **Co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia.** *He will climb up to the top of the palmtree to catch the coconut crab.* • **Mo vurivuria-ha mo sa kaura.** *(the reed) soars up high in the sky.* • **Hadiv mo kue mo sa mo sada lo tarauta.** *The Rat leapt (up) and sat on the shore.* • **Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo.** *A man brings a stone, throws it up [throws it, it goes up] in the air and waits for it to fall down on the ground.* || Synt. Corresponds either to the subject or the object of the preceding verb.

(4) (gen) go up, go. The idea of movement ('go') is sometimes translated by the neutral verb **ṽa**, but more often by **si /sivo** (downwards) v. **sa/saha** (upwards). • **Na na sa na vari-a cada-m.** *I'm coming to replace you.*

(5) go east; go from Araki to Santo, *esp.* to Kanal. • **Mo levsei-a mo de raṁare mo han-i-a mo sut mo dovo, mo dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima.** [from west to east within Araki island] *When he realised that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil, he fled all the way home.* • **Mo sohan-i-a sodosodo sohe-na mo sa Pikpei.** [from South Santo eastwards] *He sent the same message to Big Bay [it went 'up' to BB].*

[*PNCV, POc* *sake '*up, go up*']

sa~ *n-pr.* with, to (Dative). *See* **isa~**.

sadai ~ **sada**. *vi.* sit, sit down. • **O sna sadai lo pili-ku.** *Come and sit on my shoulders.* • **Hadiv mo kue mo sa mo sada lo tarauta.** *In a single leap, the Rat went to sit on the shore.* • **Ṁara sa om sadai ro lo tep?** *Why are you sitting on the table?*

sadi$_1$ *n.* spear, harpoon, used especially for fishing. • **Sadi nene ṁara ṁaci.** *This harpoon is for fish.*

❖ *vt.* spear <s.o., s.th.> with a sharp-pointed weapon. • **Mo sihiri mo sa mo vari-a daga vi-adu mo sadi-a.** *He ran, holding a branch of Casuarina in his hand, and shot at his enemy.*

[*PNCV* *sari]

sadi$_2$ *sfn.* leg, foot. • **Om re suli-a sadi to?** *Have you cooked the chicken legs?* • **Sadi-ku mo ṁalare.** *I broke my leg.*

[Cf. *Nokuku* seri-na '*leg, foot*'; *PNCV* *sari '*appendage*']

sagavulu ~ **sagavul**. *num.* ten. • **racu mo sagavulu** *ten people* • **racu mo sagavulu comana mo hese** *eleven [ten plus one] people* || Multiples of ten use the radical **gavulu** (+multiplicative numeral), e.g. **racu mo gavul dua** '*twenty people*'; this suggests **sa-gavulu** to be *lt.* 'one ten'.

[*POc* *sa-ŋapulu(q)]

saha ~ **sa**. *vi.* go up. || Appears generally under its brief form **sa**. *See* **sa**.

❖ *dir.* up. || Less frequent than the verb **sa**, which is preceded by a subject clitic.

(1) up.

(2) eastwards. • **Nida mo roho ro saha-sun Sope.**

[*PNCV, POc* *sake]

Lower parts of the body	
sadi-ku	my legs, my feet
vadago sadi-ku	my toes
cue-ku	my heels
vapevu-ku	my ankles
lotu-ku	my shin-bone
maci-ku	my calves
pau-ku	my knees
vose-ku	my thighs
cada ruvaruva-ku	my waist
puro-ku	my navel
cidi-ku	my buttocks
cici-ku	my male genitals
pile-ku	my female genitals

sahada *vi.* hold out o.'s hand. • **Pasta mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun, ai mo roho kia.** *The priest reached out his hand and put it into the hole in the tree where water was stagnating.*
[*PNCV* *soka-ri '*reach out (hand), extend*']

sahani *dem.* up there. • **Vapa di mo roho sahan kaura.** *That cave is up there in the hills. See* **saha** *'go up'. (Cf.* Grammar)

sala *n.* road, path, way. • **Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala.** *There is a tree over there, in the middle of the road.*
[*PNCV* sala; *POc* *jalan]

salahese *adj.* lit. 'one single way = together (?)': several, numerous. • **Nanovi, nam uli-a leta salahese.** *Yesterday I wrote several letters.* • **Hina salahese mo vse-i-a racu ro lo maudi-da.** *Several signs reveal their destiny to people. See* **dai** *'plural'.*

sale$_1$ *vi.* [boat+] float on the water. • **Nam man pala menumenu honi mo sale ro lo rasi.** *I'm laughing at these dead leaves floating on the water.*
[*PNCV* *sale]

sale$_2$ *n.* coconut-leaf mat (?). *See* **epa** *'pandanus mat'.*

salesale *vi.* light, not heavy.
mavusa salesale *sfn.* lit. 'light heart': lungs.
[*PNCV* *ma-salesale *'light (in weight)'*]

sande *n.* Sunday. • **Sande, dan mapu.** *Sunday is a day of rest. See* **skul.**
[*English* Sunday]

sava *inter.* [+ noun] which, what kind of. • **O pa levsei sava hina co pa ma isa-m.** *You will know what kind of thing will happen to you.* • **Om poe levse vada maudi-m co pa iso lo sava cada?** *Do you want to know in what kind of place you will end your life? See* **sa** *'what'.*
[*POc* *sapa]

se *inter.* who. • **Kam ce levsei se mo han-i-a.** *We don't know who ate it.* • **Nre dan co pa vanovano, co lesi-a se co pa vanovano vila.** *One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster!* • **Hica-m se?** *What* [lit. *who*] *is your name? (Cf.* Grammar)
[*POc* *sei]

sere *vi.* [wind] blow. • **Lag mo sere lare daga viha.** *The wind blew (so hard that it) broke the branch.*
[*PNCV* *sere]

Setan *n.* Satan, the Devil in Christian tradition. • **Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan.** *The power of God is stronger, stronger than the power of Satan.*

si *vi.* go down. || Brief form of **sivo.**

sihevi *vi.* climb <tree, hill>; *esp.* climb <a tree> in order to pick up its fruits. • **Cau mo hese mo re sihevi mo sa kaura.** *A coconut crab has climbed up there.* • **Mada vadidi mo sivo mo sihevi lo levu.** *The children go and climb on the breadfruit-trees (to pick up the fruits).*

sihiri ~ **sihir**. *vi.* run, run away; flee, escape. • **Ïira hosun mo dogo mo le sihir mo sivo mo kla si mo lesi-a.** *Hearing him, the woman ran to have a look, and saw him.* • **Hadiv mo sihiri mo sa mo maco lo hudara.** *The rat ran back into the deep of the forest.* *Syn.* **dovo**.

siho *n.* White-collared Kingfisher, 23 cm *Halcyon chloris*. || This bird is the hero of a tale in which he opposes the Hermit crab (**hatou**).

[*PNCV* *siko]

sile ~ **sle**. *vt.* (1) give <s.th.> (to s.o., [i]sa~); provide <s.o.> (with s.th., [i]ni~ *or* **lo**). • **O sle-i-á lo hina nohoni!** *Give me that thing!* • **Nam dogo na sile-ko n-re hina.** *I feel like giving you a present.* • **Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan.** *I'm waiting for my wife to feed the kids [give the children some food].* • **Na pa sle-ko sa-n raṁare co pa hani-ko.** *I will give you to a devil, who will devour you!* || Synt. The tendency is to code human referents as the object, whether it is the Patient (the thing given) or the Beneficiary (to whom the thing is given). (*Cf.* Grammar)

(2) (fig) [man] get a woman pregnant, lit. give <a child> to (a woman)/provide <a woman> with (a child). • **Racu nohoni mo sle naru-na isa-n ïira nohoni.** *That man gave his child to that woman (i.e. he got her pregnant).* • **Se mo sle-ko hina hetehete nohoni? – Naru-n moli mo sle, mo sle-i-á ini-a.** *Who gave you that child? (who's the father?) – The chief's son did, he gave it to me.*

sile$_2$ *sfn.* egg. • **pudu sile to** *an egg shell [of a hen]*

[*PNCV* *?atolu; *POc* *qatoluR (??)]

Siotatai *n.* God, in Christian tradition. *Syn.* **Supe**; **Got**.

siïa *n.* knife, *esp.* big knife. • **Mo vari-a no-no diïa, no-no siïa, ṁaca, huden-i-a lo aka-na.** *He took his axe, his knife, his club and put them all into his canoe.* *See* **ṁaraha** *'traditional wooden knife'.*

[*PNCV* *siba]

sivo ~ **siv** ~ **si**. *vi. Red.* **sivosivo**.

(1) go down. • **Mo nak pilai va ïira honi mo si mo colo.** *He killed the young woman in one blow, and she sank straight to the bottom (of the water).* *Ant.* **sa**.

(2a) go from the land seawards (v. towards the heights of the island); go from a place near the coast towards the open sea. • **Ale mo le vari-a aka-na mo cudi-a mo sivo.** *He then took his canoe and dragged it down to the sea once more.* • **Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo ṁasaïa ṁara-na.** *It was after these events that Araki moved out into the ocean.*

(2b) (esp) go from Santo to Araki. • **Mada Naura-laïa mo sivosivo velu ro kia.** *The people from Santo*

went there to dance. • **Vinano nida mo sivo mo poe mo de ha ve lesi-a maudi-da, mo sa.** *Strangers who come (to Araki), and who want to know their destiny, go there (to Leruvahi).*

(3) [in serialisation, after a first verb] downwards, down. Systematically accompanies any movement in the downward direction, *e.g.* fall. • **Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo.** *Someone takes a stone, throws it up in the air, and it falls down.* [*he throws it, it goes up, it falls it goes down*] • **Vivada mo avuavu mo si mo rkel-i-a mo colo lo rasi.** *The reed, in its flight, reached the sea and drowned.* || Synt. Corresponds either to the subject or the object of the preceding verb.

(4) (hence) [**sivo** + locative prep. **lo**] onto, on, upon. • **Supemala mo sure va ai vadug mo siv lo paruda.** *Spoemalao poured the boiling water over their heads.* • **Mala mo vari-a pisu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hapasi via, mo macudu.** [*the hawk took his fingers and placed them on the twig*] *With his huge claws, the hawk seized the taro branch and tore it up.*

(5) (gen) go down, go. The idea of movement ('go') is sometimes translated by the neutral verb **va**, but more often by **si/sivo** (downwards) v. **sa/saha** (upwards). • **Ale o sna, o pele o le vari-a cada-m, na na si na pele hanhan.** *While you go back in your place, I'll go* [*down*] *and eat.* • **Na sivo goro.** *I'm going to sleep.* *See* **sa.**

(6) go west. • **Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau.** *Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs.* *Ant.* **sa.**

❖ *dir.* Directional, without a subject clitic.

(1) low down, down below. • **Pasta mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun.** *The clergyman put his hand into this tree hole.* • **Mo si mo kla si.** *She went down to look.*

(2) westwards. • **Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala Misin.** *There's a tree over there to the west, on the road to Misin.* • **Mo ma mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia.** *(Araki island) came here, intending to settle between Tangoa and Elia.* *Ant.* **sa.**

[*POc* *sipo]

skul *n.* (1) church, Christian place of worship frequented especially on Sundays; mass or communion, religious service.

(2) school.

❖ *vi.* go to church, attend mass. • **Kam skul malue kam sivo.** *Once mass was over, we went out.*

[*English* school]

smat *vi.* [boy] good-looking. • **Mo vei-a va vada uluvo mo le smat.** *He went on (rubbing) until the young man became handsome again.*

[*English* smart]

sna ~**sina**. *vi.* come.

(1) come. • **O sna!** *Come here!* • **Na pa sna paivuho.** *I will come tomorrow.* • **Pasta mo sna lo Sande, kodogo so-n kesi.** *The Clergyman came here on a Sunday, probably like this one today.* • **Re co pele sna co holo aka!** *Someone come and man the boat!* *Syn.* **ma.**

(2) [after a first verb] hither; indicates

the movement is towards the speaker (or the spot taken as reference). Corresponds either to the spatial movement of the subject or of the object. • **O su o sna!** *Come here in your canoe* [lit. *You paddle you come*]*!* • **Mo vari-a levu di mo sna.** *They bring the breadfruit here* [lit. *they take the br. they come*]

(3) (fig) [in time] come closer to now; *hence* until (now). • **Mo tapulo lo no-ku lahi mo sna, mo ce usa.** *Since my wedding* [lit. *starting from my wedding and coming*]*, it has not been raining.* • **Mära rugana hosu mo lesles te nida mo sna nahade.** *Since that moment, they have been hating each other until today. Syn.* **mäa**; **ta**.

❖ *dir.* [without subject clitic] hither, coming closer to the speaker. • **Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna.** *I will climb up, catch it (a coconut crab) and throw it [so that it comes (to you)].* • **Vada ham dogo Siho mo avu sna ...** *If you happen to hear a Kingfisher fly here ...*

so *n-pr.* like. Variant of **sohe**.

sodo *vi. Red.* **sosodo**; **sodosodo**.

(1) [water, geyser] spurt out, spring up, gush forth. • **Rasi sosodo.** [*the sea gushes forth*] *A geyser explodes.*

(2) [hum] blow, puff. *See* **sere** '*(wind) blow*'.

(3) (common) talk (about, **-hi-**); say s.th. (+ **lo**). • **Om de o sodo-hi-a sa? – Nam de na sodo-hi-ko.** *What do you want to discuss? – I want to talk about you.* • **Om sodo lo sa?** *What did you say? See* **vadai**; **de** '*say*'.

❖ *vt.* (1) blow into <s.th.>, *e.g.* to play music. • **Nam sodo vipue.** *I am blowing into the bamboo (flute). See* **sere**.

(2) shoot <s.o.> with a gun. • **Na pa sodo-ko.** *I'm going to shoot you.* • **Nam sodo mäci nam vodo.** *I shot at the birds and I hit them.*

❖ *n.* (1) throw, projection.

(2) (hence) rifle. • **Sodo ne, mära sodo mäci.** *This rifle is for shooting at birds.*

(3) (common) spoken word, speech. • **Mo sohan-i-a sodo sohe-na mo sa Sakbe.** *He sent the same message to Shark Bay.*

(4) language, dialect. • **Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku.** *I learnt your language by myself.*

[Cf. *Malo* soro '*breathe, puff*'; *PNCV* *soro-vi '*snort, grunt at*']

sodohi- *vt.* speak of, mention. Transitive form of **sodo** 'speak'. • **Hede, om de o sodohi-a sa?** *What do you want to speak of today?* • **Nam ce sodohi-ko.** *I'm not talking about you.*

sodosodo *vi.* Reduplication form of **sodo**.

(1) talk, chat, converse (with, **isa~**). • **Nam lesi-a racu mo hese, kam dua sodosodo.** *I met someone, and we began to talk.* • **Nam dogo na sodosodo isa-m.** *I feel like chatting with you.*

(2) speak about a specific topic, tell a story (about, **mära**). • **Na pa sodosodo mära-n Hadivi nida-n Huira.** *I'm going to tell the story of the Rat and the Octopus. Syn.* **store**.

❖ *n.* (1) speech, story. • **sodosodo mära-n Daki hosu** *this story about Araki ... Syn.* **store**.

(2) talk, language. • **sodosodo-ni Daki** *the language of Araki Syn.* **sodo**.

sohan *vt.* send <s.th.> to s.o. (+ movement verb). • **N-re-dan, om de o sohan-i-a diksoneri co sina, voni re hina vavono ...** *One day, if you wish to send us your dictionary, or anything else ...* • **Mo sohan-i-a sodosodo sohe-na mo sa Pikpei.** *He sent the same message to Big Bay* [lit. *it went up to BB*].

sohe ~ **so**. *adj.* resemble, be like (s.o, s.th.). Followed by personal suffixes if they refer to people. • **Mo sohe vi-ha.** *That looks like a tree.* • **Om sohe huira.** *You are (fickle) like an octopus.* • **Mada hetehete mo sohe-n rarna-na/mo sohe-m.** *The little one looks like his mother/looks like you.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

❖ *n-pr.* (common) like, in the same way as. • **Mo rai-a aka inia, mo ve otome sohe aka.** *He carved himself a canoe, doing his best to make it like a (true) canoe.*

sohe sa *adv.* lit. 'like what': how, in what manner? • **Na pa mare sohe sa?** *How shall I die?*

sohena *adv.* lit. 'like it': this way, thus. • **Vulu-mam co sohe-na!** *(we want) our hair to be like that!* • **Ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na.** *He will be killed during a battle, or something of the kind.* [lit. *s.th. like that*] • **No-no ta mo vei-a sohe-na mo vadai-a nia sohe-na.** *His father did exactly as he had said he would.* *Morph.* **sohe -na**.

[*PNCV* *soko (?) '*add, join*']

sohon *vt.* put way, put into a bag or basket (food, object). • **Mo rudu hodo sala mo de ha nak-i-a, naivou-na mo sohon-i-a, mo vari-a mo va va.** *They stand up in the middle of the road to kill him (Spoemalao), but his wife hides him (in a bag), and carries him off!*

[Cf. *Mota* sogon '*bring together, pack, stow*'; *PNCV* *soko '*add, join* (?)']

sohori~ *sfn.* sister: variant of **ve-sohori~**.

solo *sfn.* sore, *esp.* in skin disease.

Sope$_2$ *n.* Sope.

(1) an Anglican priest who evangelised the island of Araki.

(2) (hence) name of one of the villages on the island of Araki.

sope *sfn.* half, piece. • **sope to** *half a chicken* • **Kam re han-i-a sope-na mamakomo-no.** *We have eaten a small piece of it.*

[*PNCV* *sobwe '*piece, to join pieces*']

sosohoni *vi.* swell, swell up. • **Nam vei-a sohe-na papahaso-ku mo sosohoni.** *I'm swelling my biceps.*

[Cf. *Ngunese* sogoni-a '*gather, congregate*'; *PNCV* *soko '*add, join*']

sovi ~ **sov** ~ **so**. *vt. Red.* **sosovi**. wait for, await. • **O sov ro mamakomono.** *Wait a second!* • **Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan, parahu kama pa va lo maket.** *I'm waiting for my wife to feed the kids, then we shall go to the market.*

sovusoho *adj.* grey. *Morph.* **-ha**$_7$.

Spoemalao ~ **Supemala** ~ **Supemalao** ~ **Spoemalau** ~ **Supe**. *n.* Spoemalao, name of a popular character in tales, a trickster. • **Spoemalao nia**

racu mo hese mo levosai mo holo-ho. *Spoemalao is a man who is really clever.*

[*PNCV* *subwe '*big man, graded society*'']

store *n.* tale, story. • **Store mara mo ce-re hanhan mo hilu hosu.** *This is where the tale of the shortage ends.* *Syn.* **sodosodo**.

❖ *vt.* relate, narrate. • **Kesi nam po-i-a na pa store store-ni cau.** *Now let me narrate the story of the Coconut Crab.* *Syn.* **sodosodo**.

[*English* story]

su *dem.* demonstrative radical, combined to several prefixes, *e.g.* **sivo-su-n** 'down there', **vaha-su-n** 'over there', **no-su** 'that one' etc. *See* **honi**; **hosu**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

sua *vi.* row, paddle. • **Mo va mo sua mo va lo masava.** *He continued to paddle, gradually moving further towards the sea.* • **Mo rai-a vose mara co pa sua nia.** *He carved an oar so that he could paddle with it.*

Verbs connected with navigation	
cudi	put out to sea
vici	embark (intr./tr.)
sua	paddle (intr./tr.)
holo	man (a boat)
lig	carry aboard
sale	float
colo	sink

sui- *vt.* paddle <a canoe>. • **Mo poe mo de co pa traim lo aka-na co su-i-a.** *He wanted to try his canoe and paddle it.*

[*PNCV, POc* *sua]

suhu elbow.

[*PNCV* *siku '*corner, elbow*'; *POc* *sikun]

suhusuhu *n.* wavelets, small waves of the sea. • **Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo varica mo sa mo sivo mo sa.** *I am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up and down and up again.*

sui *sfn.* bone, skeleton. • **sui sadi-ku** *the bone of my leg(s)* • **Mo mare, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na.** *He was dead, with nothing more than his skin on his bones.*

[*PNCV, POc* *suRi]

suiha *vi.* strong. • **Nam suiha nam ceu-ko.** *I am stronger than you.* *See* **sui** *'bone'*.

sule *n.* stone.

(1) rock. • **Om lesi-a sule mo lulu sivosu lo cuhu-n Daki, hosun mo de Tumepu mo nak-i-a.** *You can see the rock is white behind Araki, down there: this recalls how it was struck by Tumepu.*

(2) stone. • **Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo.** [oracle] *Someone takes a stone, throws it up in the air, and it falls down.*

sule voso *n.* oven stones, used in traditional oven (**pasule**).

suli *vt.* (1) burn <s.th., s.o.> accidentally or not. • **Om sul Ralph, om ce lesi-a?** *Can't you see you burnt Ralph?* • **Ima-ku mo re kodu, moli mo suli-a.** *My house has been burned down, the chief set fire to it.* *See* **kodu** *'burn o.s.'*; **hapu** *'fire'*.

(2) (esp) cook, grill. • **Om re sul-i-a sadi to?** *Did you grill the chicken legs?* *See* **runu** *'cook'*.

[*PNCV* *sulu '*shine light on, apply fire to*']

suma *n.* wild yam. *Dioscorea bulbifera.* *See* **cam** *'yam'*; **pevu hohono** *'wild yam'*.

supe *n.* ~ **supea**.

(1) supreme chief; high dignitary in ancient society. *See* **moli**; **mala**; **racu lapa**.

(2) **Supe**: God, in Christian tradition. • **Racu mo vei-ko, nia Supe.** *The one who created you is God.* *Syn.* **Siotatai**; **Got**.

[*PNCV* *subwe *'big man, graded society'*]

sure$_1$ *vt.* pour. • **Supemala mo sure va ai vadug mo siv lo paruda.** *Spoemalao poured boiling water over their heads.*

sure$_2$ *vt. Tr* **suri-**. follow, go alongside. • **Mo le va va sur-i-a cigo hosun.** *Again, he set out alongside the cape.*

[*POc* *suRi (?) *'follow'*]

susu *sfn.* breast; milk.

[*PNCV, POc* *susu]

sut *vi.* go suddenly, hurry up. • **Nia mo sut mo dovo, mo dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima.** *So he fled without further ado, running back up home.* *Syn.* **ravur**.

[*Bisl.* sut *'go off'*; *English* shoot]

T - t

ta$_1$ *vi.* [locative phrase] come, come from. • **Om va lo hamali vo om ta ve?** *Have you been in the men's house, or what?* [*... or where are you coming from?*] *Syn.* **ma**; **sna**.

ta$_2$ *n.* (1) [Ego M/F] dad, father: term of address. • **No-ku ta, o vodo re paka-ku, re vina-ku.** *Father, make me a bow and some arrows.*

(2) father: reference term, together with **ramma~**. • **Na, ta co mule na pa vadai-a nia.** *As for me, when dad comes back, I will tell him everything!* • **Racu nosun mo ta nen mo vadai no-no ta mo de ...** *This man came and said to his father ...*

(3) (esp) [Ego M/F] father's brother, paternal uncle. Sometimes called **ta hetehete**, 'little dad'. • **no-no ta hetehete** [*his little dad*] *his paternal uncle*

(4) [Ego M/F] husband of mother's sister (**pua hetehete**).

(5) [Ego M] son of paternal aunt (**tetei~**), patrilateral cross-cousin. || Note. This cousin whom I call 'dad', calls me his son (**naru~**).

tade *adj.* all, every. • **Hina tade mo holo-ho.** *Everything's alright (there's no problem).* • **Racu tade mo sivo ro kia.** *All the men still go there.* • **dan tade** *every day* • **lo cada tade** *everywhere* (*Cf.* Grammar)

❖ *adv.* always; every day, each time. • **Mo usa tade.** *It rains all the time.*

❖ *conj.* whenever. • **Tade mo usa, mada vadidi mo avulai.** *Every time it rains, the children are happy.*

(*Cf.* Grammar)

tahavu ~**tahav**. *vi.* cover, be all over (a place, **ni**~). • **Mo hovhovi hovi-na mo tahav nia.** *He was scabious, and his scabies covered him all over.* • **Hudara mo tahav nia tep.** *The table was covered with filth.* *See* **havu**.

Tahuna ~ **Rahuna**. *pl.n.* south, south wind.
[*Tangoa* tahu-na '*its back = south end of the island*']

taicudu *n.* Least Frigatebird, sea bird, 75 cm *Fregata ariel*.

takomahi *vi.* piled up, heaped up. • **Rarna-da raṁa-da mo ṁa, mo lesi dai mada vadidi mo takomahi lo cuge ima mo ṁare.** *As their mothers and fathers came back, they saw the children piled up outside the house, dead.*

tapai *vt.* find, meet. • **Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko.** *I'm very glad to have met you.*

tapdogo *vi.* listen carefully. • **Va racu mo tapdogo lo laho vinini mo dogo ...** *The man listened carefully to the trunk of the palmtree, and heard ...* *See* **dogo** '*hear*'.

tapu~ *sfn.* (1) [Ego M/F] grandparent: grandfather, grandmother. • **Nam sohani-a leta nene lo dani tapu-ku mo ciha.** *I sent this letter the day my grandfather passed away.*
(2) [Ego M/F] grandson, granddaughter.
(3) [Ego F] husband's parents: father-in-law, mother-in-law. || For Ego M, *see* **paliha**.
(4) [Ego M/F] daughter-in-law, son's wife. || My daughter-in-law's brothers and sisters are called the same.

tapu~ v̈aha-dua *sfn.* lit. 'grandparent twice': great grandparent; great grandson. • **tapu-ku v̈aha-dua** *my great grand-father/great grand-son*
[*PNCV, POc* *tubu- '*grandparent*']

tapulo *vi.* start, begin. *Ant.* **hilu**.
mo tapulo lo ... *phr.* lit. 'starting from ...': since. • **Mo tapulo lo no-ku lahi mo sna, mo ce usa.** *Since* [lit. *starting from*] *my wedding, it has not rained.*

tarav̈adoko *n.* Bluehanded surgeonfish, bsl. *Renbofis*: reef fish, 39 cm *Acanthurus lineatus*.

tasale *n.* foreigner, *partic.* Westerner, European, 'white man'. *Esp.* used to refer to modern or introduced items. • **pera tasale** *taro Fiji, Xanthosoma* [lit. *European taro*] • **hadiv tasale** *cat* [lit. *European rat*] • **des tasale** *pawpaw* [lit. *European Spondias*] *See* **vinano** '*stranger*'.

taur *vt. Tr* **tauria**. seize, grasp, catch, take hold of; *esp.* grasp firmly, shake. • **Huira mo lesi-a hadiv mo taur-i-a mo vari-a.** *As soon as she sees the rat, the octopus catches it and shakes it about.* *See* **vari** '*take*'.
[*Tangoa* tauri]

tavadi *n.* sweetyam, bsl. *Wovile. Dioscorea esculenta.* *See* **cam** '*yam*'.

tavtavu *adj.* rich, who has plenty of money or goods. • **Niko racu tavtavu, ṁara no-m vatu vutiana.** *You are a rich man, because you have a lot of money.* *Ant.* **tilavono**.

te *adj.* bad, in bad condition *or* of

bad nature; ugly, etc. • **Podo-no mo te, nia mo pedopedo.** *He has bad ears, he is deaf.* • **Coṁi-m co pa te, nko pa racu tilavono.** *You will lose the joy of living [your mind will be bad], you will be a wretched man.* *Ant.* **holo**.

tep *n.* table. • **Ṁara sa om sadai ro lo tep?** *Why are you sitting on the table?*
[*English* table]

tetei~ *sfn.* [Ego M/F] aunt: father's sister. || Note. This aunt treats her nephews like her own children (**naru~**). The wife of the maternal uncle (**elua~**) has a different name (*Cf. vuggo~*).

tilatila *vi.* urinate. More polite term than **ṁere** 'pee'.

tilavo~ *sf.adj.* deprived of, lacking (+N). • **Mo v̈ei-a ṁada ṁara mo tilavo cam.** *They prepared breadfruit biscuit because they had no more yams.*

tilavono *adj.* lit. 'deprived of it': poor, miserable, wretched. • **Coṁi-m co pa te, niko pa racu tilavono, co ce re no-m hina.** *You'll lose the joy of living, you'll become a wretched man, you will not have anything.* *Ant.* **tavtavu**.

tipa$_1$ *vi.* move. • **han tipatipa** *temples [move when you're eating?]*

tipa$_2$ *n.* Vanuatu (Yellow-headed) Fruit Dove, 30 cm *Ptilinopus tannensis*.

tipo *n.* anus.

Titiai *pl.n.* TTI 'Tangoa Training Institute': name of an ancient bible school situated on the south coast of Santo; the centre of evangelisation in the region. • **Pasta Sope mo roho ro Titiai, ruai.** *Pastor Sope was staying in TTI, a long time ago.*

to *n.* fowl, hen; chicken. • **sile to** *a [hen's] egg*

to varia *n.* Red Jungle Fowl, k.o. wild hen. *Gallus gallus*.
[*POc* *toqa]

Toholau *pl.n.* east, east wind.
[*PNCV* *tokalau(r) '*northerly wind*']

tovo *vt.* measure, count; read. • **Nam de na tovo leta nam vari-da.** *I would like to read the letter which I received.*
[*PNCV* *tovo '*measure*']

traim *vt.* try (s.th., **lo**). • **Mo poe mo de co pa traim lo aka-na co su-i-a.** *He wanted to try his canoe and paddle it.* *Syn.* **lpo**; **v̈e les**.
[*English* try]

tu~ *sfn.* [Ego M/F] son, kid. Address term corresponding to **naru~**. *See* **ve-tu~**.

tudusi *sfn.* [water+] drop. • **Mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo ṁare.** *One rainy day, a drop of (stagnant) water dripped on to a man, who fell sick and died.*
[*PNCV* *turu '*drip, drop*']

Tumepu *pl.n.* mountain south of Santo, *or* mountainous island (?) situated off Tangoa. • **Om lesi Tumepu mo lulu lo rav̈alu-na, cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a.** [myth] *You can see Tumepu, how it is white on the other side; this white colour we see recalls how it was struck by Araki.* || Myth. The myth of Araki relates how the Tumepu

mountain fought the island of Araki, which had settled before it after leaving the east coast of Santo (*see* **Okava**). Araki was forced to move out again to the sea.

tup *vi.* [liquid] be full to the brim; fill completely (a place). • **Pan viha hosun, viha hetehete, mo roho pan mo koho, ai mo tup lolo-no.** *This tree was small and hollow, always full of water.*

U - u

ua *sfn.* neck. [*POc* *Ruqa]

ude *sfn.* (anc) island. • **Ude-laṗa** *'the Big Island', the island of Urelapa*

udeude *sfn.* island. • **Daki udeude-ku.** *Araki is my island.*

udeece *n.* a traditional pudding (bsl. *laplap*) made from grated starch dough (manioc, yam), and cooked in a stone oven (**pasule**). • **Verasi-ku mo ṽei-a udeece ro.** *My younger sister is cooking pudding.* • **Cuga-ku udeece mo re meco mo iso.** *My piece of pudding is already cooked.*

ueṗe *n.* Polynesian chestnut, bsl. *Nawemba. Inocarpus edulis.* *Syn.* **vice**.

ugu ~ **ug**. *vi.* burn, consume, be caught in the flames. • **Mo vari-a dau vinini mo m̃a mo hasan-i-a mo ug laṗa.** *He took a palm-leaf off the palmtree, and made a big fire with it.* [lit. *he set fire to it, it burnt big*] • **Ima nohosu nam vodo ro mo re ug.** *The house where I was born has burnt down.* *See* **kodu**.

uli ~ **ulu** ~ **ul**. *vt.* write. • **Nanovi, nam uli-a leta.** *Yesterday, I wrote a/some letter(s).*

ululu ~ **uliuli**. *vi.* write (intr.), be able to write. • **No-ku pen mo ce le ululu.** *My pen is not writing any more.* • **Na pa uliuli lo sodosodo-ni Daki.** *I will write in [the language of] Araki.*

ulo *vi.* shout, call out. • **Hoto! Vada ham dogo Siho mo avu mo sna mo ulo mo de 'Ciuciu', ale kam̃im ha sodo ha de 'Kodogkoto kodog-koto'!** *Hermit-crabs! If you happen to hear a Kingfisher fly here and shout 'Tsiwtsiw', you will have to say 'Korongkoto korongkoto'!* *Cf.* **rove** *'call'.*

uluvo *adj.* young. • **P̈ira uluvo hosun mo roho ro raẗval cigo.** *This young woman lived on the other side of the cape.*

❖ *n.* young man, young woman. • **Mo ṽei-a ṽa vada uluvo mo le smat.** *He went on (rubbing) until the young man became handsome again.*

usa *n.* rain. • **coco usa** *a cloud of rain* • **Usa co iso, co pa ṽa inu hae.** *After the rain [when the rain stops], we'll go and drink kava.*

❖ *vi.* rain. • **Mo ce le usa.** *It's not raining any more.* • **Raẗval wik, co pa usa lo ha-lim̃a dan.** *It will rain on Friday of next week.*

[*PNCV* *usa; *POc* *qusan]

V - v

va$_1$ *art.* the. Optional marker for definiteness, pointing to a referent already mentioned in the close context. • **Va racu Supe mo re ceu-ca mo iso!** *That man Supe has overtaken us!* • **Mo vici va pïra mo vici mo vari-a mo lig-i-a mo sa lo mäsapa.** *He brought the woman on board, and took her out towards the deep sea.* *Syn.* **di**. (*Cf.* Grammar)

va-$_2$ *pf.* prefix for several bird names. *Cf.* **vapune, valalaha, vakalao, vasohi, vasarkele, va-civcivi**. ‖ Some names seem derived from names of other species: **va-kadakada** 'swiftlet' < **kada** 'flying-fox'.

vacaha *n.* elders, ancestors. • **Cada velu, cada vacaha mo velu ro kia.** *The dancing area is the place where elders used to dance.* • **Nda vacaha mo rov-i-a hica cada hosu mo de Leruvahi.** *Elders used to call [the name of] this place 'Leruvahi'.*

vacivacia *sfn.* kidneys.

vacivcivi *n.* Cardinal Honeyeater, small bird, 12 cm *Myzomela cardinalis*. *See* **civi**.

[*PNCV* *sivi(u) '*shore bird sp.*'']

vada *vt.* tell, say. *See* **vadai**.

❖ *conj.* (1) if, suppose. Refers to a possible event in the future. • **Ravälu wik, vada lag co losu, co pa usa.** *Next week, if there is a hurricane, it will rain.* • **Vada om poe-i-a o d' o pa racu-lapa, o levse sa kia.** *Suppose you want to become a chief, you can go there (and ask the oracle).* *Syn.* **co de**; **aru**.

(2) when, in the past or the future. • **Vada mo tapulo usa ro, co mule.** *When it begins to rain, we shall go back home.*

(3) so that, until. • **Mo vei-a va vada uluvo mo le smat.** *He went on (rubbing) until the young man became handsome again.*

(4) that: **vada** optionally introduce sentential clauses after verbs of will. • **Ta, nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku.** [lit.] *Dad, I want that you carve me a canoe.* • **Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan, parahu kama pa va lo maket.** *I'm waiting for my wife to feed* [lit. *waiting that my w. feeds*] *the kids, then we shall go to the market.* (*Cf.* Grammar)

vadago *sfn.* finger. *See* **pisu**.

vadago sadi~ *sfn.* lit. 'foot fingers': toes.

vadai *vt.* (1) talk to, address <s.o.>; tell <s.o.> about (**ni~**), tell <s.o.> that (+ **de**). • **Mo vadai rapala-na mo de ' ... '** *So he said to his friend ' ... '* • **Na, ta co mule na pa vadai-a nia.** *When dad comes back, I will tell him about it.* *Syn.* **sodo**; **de**.

(2) tell <s.o.> to do s.th. (+ **de** + Irrealis). • **Nam vadai kamim nam de ha va hoco lima-mim, pan lima-mim mo vidiha ro.** *I told you to*

wash your hands, but they are still black!

[*PNCV* *vara '*speak, ask*']

vadidi *adj.* small, little. Normally with a plural value, v. **hetehete**. • **M̈aci vadidi o levse vari-a vila.** *Small fish can be caught easily.* • **man vadidi** *the small veins Ant.* **v̈alalap̈a**.

mada vadidi *n.* the children, the kids. • **Tade mo usa, mada vadidi mo avulai.** *Every time it rains, the children are happy.* || Plural of **mada hetehete** 'a child'.

vadu *vi.* [hum, animal] fat. *Ant.* **m̈adaga**.

vae *sfn.* fruit of (a tree). • **vae-na** *its fruit*

[*PNCV* *vua; *POc* *puaq]

vae-as *n.* lit. 'fruit of a liana [**as**]': passion fruit. *Passiflora edulis.*

vaha *n.* lightning.

vahuden *vt.* reject, eject; remove, tear off. • **Nene m̈ara vahuden-i-a colog botel.** *This is for removing corks from bottles.* • **Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese mo vari-a mo plan vahuden-i-a.** *Feeling the presence of a crab, he seized it and threw it out.* • **Mo vahuden-i-a kavula-na, vahuden-i-a p̈idi-na ...** [preparation of breadfruit biscuit (***m̈ada***)] *They remove the pith, take out the seeds ...* *See* **huden** *'put'*.

vakadakada *n.* Swiftlet. || This name may be related to **kada** 'flying-fox'.

(1) White-bellied Glossy Swiftlet, 9 cm *Collocalia esculenta.*

(2) White-rumped Swiftlet, 10 cm *Aerodramus spodiopygius.*

(3) Uniform Vanikoro Swiftlet, entirely black, 13 cm *Aerodramus vanikorensis.*

vakalao *n.* Melanesian Cuckoo-shrike, Melanesian Graybird, 37 cm *Coracina caledonica.*

valalaha *n.* White-eye, bsl. *Nalaklak*: a small bird with eyes circled in white.

(1) Vanuatu Yellow White-eye, yellowish and green, 12 cm *Zosterops flavifrons.*

(2) Grey-backed White-eye, yellow-green and grey, 13 cm *Zosterops lateralis.*

[*PNCV* *laka(laka) '*whiteye, Zosterops*']

vali ~ **val**. *vi.* [liquid] boil, be boiling. • **Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho.** *Heat some water until it is really boiling!* *See* **ku** *'heat up'*; **v̈adug** *'hot'*.

vaparu *sfn.* [house] roof: traditionally, a thatch made with sago-leaves (**dauaro**). • **vaparu ima-ku** *the roof of my house* *See* **paru** (?) *'head'*.

vapune *n.* Red-bellied Fruit Dove, 24 cm *Ptilinopus greyii.* *See* **tipa**$_2$.

[*PNCV, POc* *bune]

vari ~ **var**. *vt.* (1) [hum] hold in o.'s hands. • **Racu mo vari-a vivada ra kodu mo vari-a mo sa kia.** *A man holds a dry reed in his hand, and takes it away.* *Syn.* **taur**.

(2) catch hold of, not necessarily with o.'s hands. • **Co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia.** *He will wet the rope, and then climb up to the top of the palmtree with it to catch the coconut crab.* • **M̈aci vadidi o levse vari-a vila.** *Small fish can be caught easily.*

(3) take <s.o.> with o.s., allow s.o. (*esp.* on o.'s means of transport). • **Mo vici va p̈ira mo vici mo vari-a mo lig-i-a mo sa lo m̈asap̈a.** *He brought the woman on board, and took her out to sea.*

(4a) [+vb 'go'] take away <s.th.>, <s.o.>. • **Mo vari-da mo v̈a aka-na mo ra hetehete, aka-na mo colo.** *He took so many of them, that his boat became small: his boat was sinking!* • **Mo rudu hodo sala mo de ha nak-i-a, naivou-na mo sohon-i-a, mo vari-a mo v̈a v̈a.** *They are standing in the middle of the road with the intention of killing him, but his wife hides him (in a bag), and carries him away!*

(4b) [+vb 'come'] bring <s.th.>, <s.o.>. • **Mo ku ai mo vali, mo de 'Ha vari-a ha m̈a!'** *They heated the water until it was boiling, then he said 'Bring it here!'*

(5) (fig) [natural power+] take away, carry. • **Vivada di nia mo avu lag mo vari-a.** *The reed flies away in the wind.* [lit. *it flies the wind takes it*] • **Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa mo sivo mo sa.** *I am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up and down and up again.*

(6) provide o.s. with <s.th.>, to use it later. • **Mo sivo mo vari-a ai, mo vari-a as.** *They had taken water, they had taken ropes (to use them).* • **Mo vari-a no-no di p̈a, no-no si p̈a, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na.** *He took his axe, his knife and his club and put them into his canoe.*

(7) [if the vb V_2 follows immediately] take, use. Introduces an object (e.g. instrument) or a person into the clause, in order to integrate it into another action; *hence* by means of, with. • **Hadiv mo vari-a hap̈asi via, mo rai-a aka inia.** *The rat took a stem of wild taro, and cut a boat out of it.* • **M̈ala mo vari-a p̈isu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hap̈asi via, mo macudu.** *With its huge claws, the hawk seized the taro stem, and tore it into pieces.* [lit. *he took his fingers and put them down on the stem*] • **Mo vari-a mo sua mo v̈a.** *He took his canoe and started to paddle.* || Synt. Here the verb **vari**, which cannot always be translated by 'take', allows the introduction of an additional participant into a complex process.

(8) (fig) take, acquire, receive; assume. Extended usage for **vari**, similar to those of English 'take'. • **Nam vari-a nunu.** *I took a photo.* • **Na na sa na pele vari-a cada-m!** *I can come and take your post!* • **Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni.** *Yesterday, I heard someone else sing* [lit. *take*] *the same song (as you).*

❖ *aux.* [followed by a verb V_2] start again, re-do. • **'O le vavere!' Mo var vavere.** *'Sing another song!' And he started singing again.* [*he took to sing*] *See* **tapulo** *'begin'*.

vasarkele *n.* small bird with a black breast band on white throat. || Etym. 'bird (**va-**$_2$) who flies up (**sa**) to reach (**rkele**) [its prey]' (?).

(1) Grey Collared Fantail, bird with long, well-spread fantail, 15 cm *Rhipidura fuliginosa.*

(2) *or maybe:* Vanuatu Buff-bellied Flycatcher, 15 cm *Neolalage*

banksiana. *See* **vasohi**.

vasohi *n.* small bird with a white stripe on their black wings.

(1) Long-tailed Triller, black and white bird, 18 cm *Lalage leucopyga*.

(2) *or maybe*: Vanuatu Buff-bellied Flycatcher, 15 cm *Neolalage banksiana*. *See* **vasarkele**.

vasohi udeece-vërali *n.* lit. '**vasohi** (colour of) banana-pudding': Golden Whistler, Thickhead, a golden-yellow bird, 17 cm *Pachycephala pectoralis*.

Parts of the mouth

cigo-ku	my mouth (outside)
vava-ku	my mouth (inside)
hudivivi-ku	my lips
godigodi-ku	my upper lip
hoco-ku	my teeth
pari-ku	my molars
naho hoco-ku	my front teeth
gole-ku	my gums
meme-ku	my tongue
alovi ha-ku	my uvula
cocole-ku	my throat

vava *sfn.* mouth, *esp.* inside of the mouth. *See* **cigo** '*snout, mouth (outside)*'.

[*POc* *papa]

vava hahada *n.* lit. 'red mouth': name of certain fish.

(1) Blackspot emperor, bsl. *Blakspot Redmaot*: reef fish, 42 cm *Lethrinus harak*.

(2) Longnose emperor, bsl. *Redmaot*: reef fish, 70 cm *Lethrinus miniatus*.

vavaua *n.* Topsail drummer, bsl. *Bigbel*: reef fish, 35 cm *Kyphosus cinerascens*.

vavere *vi.* sing (s.th., **lo** + N), sing a song. • **Nam de na pa vavere lo vere mo hese.** *I'd like to sing a song.* • **'O le vavere!' Mo var vavere.** *'Sing again!' – so he sang once again.* || Etym. Former VP with incorporated object: **vari** 'take' + **vere** 'song'.

vavono *adj.* another, other; different. • **Mo lig-i-a mo vari-a mo vä mo lesi-a mäci vavono ...** *He took them on board, carried them along; then he saw other birds again ...*

hina vavono *n.* lit. 'another thing': something else. • **N-re-dan, om de o sohan-i-a diksoneri co sina, voni re hina vavono ...** *One day, if you wish to send us your dictionary, or anything else ...*

racu vavono *n.* lit. 'another man': someone else. • **Racu vavono mo hese mo roho kia raväl cigo.** *Another man/Someone else lived over there on the other side of the cape.*

lo cada vavono *adv.* lit. 'in another place': elsewhere, somewhere else; *esp.* in a foreign country, abroad. • **Radami-na mo de pira hosun co vä co pa märe lo cada vavono.** [oracle] *This sign means that this woman will die abroad.*

[Cf. *Akei* vavono '*other*']

vcan *vt. Tr* **vcani-**.

(1) [Subject: falling object] hit, touch, fall on (**lo**). • **Vivada mo vcan-i-a lo vinini.** *The reeds fall into a palm-tree.* *See* **rkel** '*reach*'.

(2) (esp) hit the ground. • **Mo dogo paru-n rapala-na mo dapas kaura**

mo sivo mo vcan-i-a. *Suddenly he heard his friend's head bounce up into the tree and fall to the ground.*

(3) [Subject: person throwing the object] throw or drop <s.th.> so as to hit (s.th. else, **lo**); strike. • **Mo vari-a no-no mäca, mo vcan-i-a lo paru-na.** *He seized his club, and smashed her head with it.*

ve- *pf.* prefix forming female kin terms out of the corresponding male term: *e.g.* **rasi~** 'younger brother' – **ve-rasi~** 'younger sister'. (*Cf.* Grammar)

veculu *vi. Red.* **vecuveculu**. whistle. • **Mo pa dogo Supemalao mo vecuveculu vëahasu mo vë.** *Then they heard Spoemalao who was singing over there!*

velu *vi.* dance, *esp.* perform traditional village dances. • **Kam ce levse velu.** *We don't know how to dance.* • **Cada velu, cada tiu velu vacaha mo velu ro kia.** *The dancing area is the place where elders used to dance.*

[*PNCV* *velu '*dance*']

velua~ *sfn. Syn.* **lala**; **ve-mära~**; **ve-rahura~**.

(1) [Ego M] niece: sister's daughter. *Morph.* **ve-** + **elua~**.

(2) [Ego M] 'niece-in-law': nephew's wife. || Anthr. I treat my nephew's wife as my niece, and she calls me her uncle (**elua~**). If my nephew dies, I may take his place in his family; his wife becomes my wife (**naivou~**), at least if she and/or the chiefs agree.

ve-mära~ *sfn.* [Ego M] niece: sister's daughter. *Syn.* **lala**; **velua~**; **ve-rahura~**. *See* **mära~** '*uncle, nephew*'.

ve-paliha~ *sfn.* [Ego M] mother-in-law, wife's mother. || For Ego F, the mother-in-law is called as a grandmother (**tapu~**). *See* **paliha~** '*father-in-law*'.

ve-rahu~ *sfn.* [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife's sister. *See* **vuggo~**.

ve-rahura~ *sfn.* [Ego M] niece: sister's daughter. *Syn.* **lala**; **velua~**; **ve-mära~**.

ve-rasi~ *sfn.* (1) [Ego M/F] younger sister, younger female parallel-cousin. • **Ve-rasi-ku mo vëi-a udeece ro.** *My younger sister is cooking pudding.* *Ant.* **ve-roha~**.

(2) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of younger brother (**rasi~**), whatever her age. || Anthr. If my younger brother dies, I normally take his place in his family: his wife, whom I call **ve-rasi~**, normally becomes my own wife (**naivou~**). *See* **vuggo~** '*sister-in-law (Ego F)*'.

(3) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of brother-in-law (**rahu~**), if she is younger than Ego.

vere *n.* a song. The construction for 'sing a song' is either a transitive one with **vari** (lit. 'take a song'), or an oblique one with **vavere** ('be singing'). • **Vere hosun mo holoho.** *This song is wonderful.* • **Nam de na vavere lo vere mo hese.** *I'd like to sing a song.* • **Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni.** *Yesterday, I heard someone else sing* [lit. *take*] *the same song (as you).* *See* **vavere** '*sing*'.

[*PNCV* *veti '*speak, say*']

ve-roha~ *sfn.* (1) [Ego M/F] elder sister; elder female parallel-cousin. *Ant.* **ve-rasi~**.
(2) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of elder brother (**roha~**), whatever her age. || Anthr. I call my elder brother's sister as my elder sister, and she calls me as her younger brother (**rasi~**) – irrespective of our age. If my elder brother dies, I may take his wife, who then becomes mine (**naivou~**). *See* **vuggo~** *'sister-in-law (Ego F)'*.
(3) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of brother-in-law (**rahu~**), if she's older than Ego.

ve-sohori~ ~**sohori~**. *sfn.* sister.
(1) (gen) [Ego M/F] sister, female parallel cousin. Generic term, including younger (**ve-rasi~**) and elder (**ve-roha~**) sisters.
(2) (esp) [Ego M] sister-in-law: brother's wife.
(3) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of brother-in-law (**rahu~**).

ve-tu~ *sfn.* [Ego M/F] daughter. Hypocoristic term of address for **ve-naru~**. *See* **tu~**.

vi- *pf.* a prefix forming most plant names, *e.g.* **vimele, violas, viha,** etc. (*Cf.* Grammar)

via *n.* wild taro. *Alocasia macrorrhiza.* • **Via v̈alalap̈a, dau-na ra v̈alalap̈a.** *The big taro has big leaves. See* **pera** *'taro'*.
[*PNCV* *via; *POc* *piRaq]

vi-adu ~ **adu**. *n.* She-oak, bsl. *Oktri. Casuarina equisetifolia.*
[*PEO* *yaRu]

viapu *n.* Fish-Poison-tree, bsl. *Navele blong solwota. Barringtonia asiatica.*
[*PNCV* *vuabu]

vi-ca ~ **ca**. *n.* Taun, a plant, bsl. *Nandao. Pometia pinnata.*
[*PNCV* *dau]

vi-ce ~**ce**. *n.* Polynesian chestnut, bsl. *Namambe. Inocarpus edulis. Syn.* **uep̈e**.

vici$_1$ *vi.* embark, climb in (a boat). • **Codo o sna o vici!** *Okay, you can come aboard! See* **maco** *'go in'*.
❖ *vt.* embark <s.o.> on a boat. • **Mo vici va p̈ira mo vici mo vari-a mo lig-i-a mo sa lo m̈asap̈a.** *He brought the woman on board, and took her out towards the deep sea. Syn.* **lig**.

vici$_2$ *sfn.* [animal] tail. • **Om lesi-a vici-n hadiv nohoni mo sohe daga vi-adu.** *You can see the rat's tail resembles a branch of Casuarina. See* **kede** *'bottom, tail'*.

vi-cogo *n.* mangrove tree, bsl. *Natongtong. Rhizophora* sp.
[*PNCV* *toŋo; *POc* *toŋoR *'mangrove'*]

vi-cudulace *n.* a tree, bsl. *Namemiwa. Securinega flexuosa.*

vida *n.* [plant] flower. • **vida-na** *its flower* • **Mo vari-a vida haviha mo huden-i-a lo paru-na.** *He picked a Malay apple-tree blossom and put it on his head.*
[*PNCV* *vira]

vi-dada *n.* Indian coral tree, bsl. *Narara. Erythrina variegata.* • **dau dada** *leaves of Erythrina (name of a shining fish)*
[*PNCV* *rara-vi; *POc* *rarap]

vidi *n.* dog. • **Vidi, racu mo ce han-i-a.**

People don't eat dogs.

[Cf. *Vki* viriu; *PNCV* *kuriu (?)]

vidiha *adj.* (1) black. • **racu vidiha** *a black man, a Melanesian* (v. ***tasale***) • **Mo posi mo vidiha mo m̈a mo lulu; mo m̈aciṁacihi-ha.** *It would change from black to white, it was full of colours. Ant.* **lulu**.

(2) black with dirt, dirty. • **Nam vadai kaṁim nam de ha v̈a hoco liṁa-ṁim, pan liṁa-ṁim mo vidiha ro.** *I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black! Syn.* **lumiha**; **vsovso-ho**.

vidis *vi.* to milk, squeeze out coconut cream (+ preposition **lo**). • **Om re vidis lo holo?** *Have you already squeezed out coconut milk?*

[*PNCV* *viri '*twist, plait, braid; wring coconut cream*'; *POc* *piri '*twist*']

Parts of trees	
hodo-no	its roots
laho-no	its trunk
para-na	its trunk
hudi-na	its bark
dau-na	its leaves
vae-na	its fruits
p̈idi-na	its seeds
vida-na	its flowers
daga	a branch
mavuhi	a joint
pede-na	its tip
as	a liana
pudupudu	timber, beam
viha	wood

viha *n.* tree, wood. • **Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala.** *There is a tree down there, in the middle of the road.* • **Na m̈ara rai viha.** *I cut timber (as a job). Morph.* **vi-** + **ha**$_4$.

[*PNCV, POc* *kayu]

vi-kuṁaro *n.* New Guinea bass-wood, whitewood. *Endospermum medullosum.*

[Cf. *Aulua (South Malakula)* ŋgumar]

vila *adv.* (1) fast, quickly. • **Nre dan co pa v̈anov̈ano, co lesi-a se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila.** *One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster!*

(2) easily. • **M̈aci vadidi o levse vari-a vila.** *Small fish can be caught easily.*

vi-madi *n.* wattle tree, bsl. *Namariu. Acacia spirorbis.*

[*PNCV* *mariu]

vi-mele *n.* cycad, bsl. *Namele. Cycas circinnalis.*

[*PNCV* *mwele]

vi-m̈alavo *n.* tree fern. *Cyathea; Dickinsonia.*

vi-m̈ali *n.* Dragon plum, bsl. *Nakatambol. Dracontomelon vitiense.*

[*PNCV* *mali '*Spondias dulcis*']

vi-m̈arala *n.* Puzzle-tree, bsl. *Namatal. Kleinhovia hospita.*

[*PNCV* *matala]

vina *sfn. Red.* **vinavina**. arrow. Formerly used, with the bow (**p̈aka**), either to fight (*see* **vudo**), or to hunt (*see* **ele**). • **No-ku ta, o vodo re p̈aka-ku, re vina-ku.** *Father, make me a bow and some arrows.*

vinavina *vi.* shoot with bow and arrows. • **P̈aka nene, m̈ara vinavina.** *This bow is designed for shooting.*

[*PNCV* *vana-i '*shoot with bow and arrow*'; *POc* *panaq '*bow, to shoot*']

vinano *n.* stranger, foreigner, *esp.* with relation to Araki or local island. • **Vinano nida mo sivo mo poe mo de ha vë lesi-a mäudi-da, mo sa.** *Strangers who come (to Araki), and who want to know their destiny, go there (to Leruvahi).* *See* **tasale** *'European'.*

vi-naru ~ **naru.** *n.* (1) Red silkwood, bsl. *Naduledule. Burckella obovata.*
(2) avocado. *Persea americana.*
[*POc* *natu(q) *'Burckella obovata'*]

vi-nini *n.* palm-tree. *Veitchia; Clinostigma* sp. • **Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini, mo de pana cau.** *Somebody was scraping the trunk of the palm-tree – maybe a coconut crab.* • **Mo vari-a dau vinini mo mäa mo hasan-i-a mo ug lapa.** *He took a palm-leaf of the palmtree, and made a big fire with it.*

vi-olas *n.* Marking-out, a poison tree, bsl. *Naolasia. Semecarpus vitiensis.*
[Cf. *Ninde (South Mal.)* na-walas]

vi-pakus *n.* Namalaos, a plant. *Garuga floribunda.*

vi-pisu *n.* Bead tree, bsl. *Bisa. Adenanthera pavonina.*
[*PNCV* *bisu *'bead tree'*]

vi-pue *n.* (1) bamboo. *Bambusa* sp.
(2) object made of bamboo, *e.g.* a flute *or* a container. • **Nam sodo vi-pue.** *I am blowing into a bamboo (as a flute).* • **Mo vari-a levu di mo huden-i-a lo vi-pue mo run-i-a mo vari-a mo han-i-a.** *They take the breadfruit, put it in a bamboo, cook it, and finally eat it.*

vipue da-pera *n.* lit. 'taro-leaf bamboo': soft bamboo.

vipue vono *n.* lit. 'deep bamboo': hard bamboo.
[*PNCV* *bue *'(object of) bamboo'*]

vi-päahuda *n.* tamanu, bsl. *Nambangura. Calophyllum inophyllum.*
[*PNCV* *bakura]

vi-päka *n.* banyan. *Ficus* sp. • **Vi-päka mo de nko pa moli, niko pa racu lapa.** *The banyan means that you will become a chief, an important person.* *See* **päka** *'bow (and arrows)'.*
[*PNCV, POc* *baga]

vi-rodo *n.* Island-teak or ironwood, bsl. *Natora. Intsia bijuga.*
[*PNCV* *tora]

viru *n.* (1) star. *Syn.* **viru sadasada.**
(2) moon.
(3) month. • **Mo ce usa viru mo rolu.** *It has not been raining for three months.* • **No-ku lahi lo ravalu viru.** *My wedding will be next month.*

viru sadasada *n.* star.
[*PNCV* *vitu?u; *POc* *pituqun]

visa *inter.* [always preceded by subject clitic] how many. • **Naru-m mo visa? – Naru-ku mo dua.** (lit.) *How many are your children? – My children are two.*
[*PNCV* *visa; *POc* *pican]

visi *vt.* tie, bind, fix together; *e.g.* tie up the parts of a canoe. • **Mo huden-i-a aka-na lo rasi mo visi-a mo visi-a otome.** *He dragged his canoe down to the sea, then tied it up fast.*
[*PNCV* *vivi-si *'wrap, bind'*]

visiho *sfn.* flesh, meat. • **Om re han re visiho sip mo iso?** *Have you ever eaten lamb?* • **Mo han povi-a visiho-no.** *(The devil) devoured his flesh completely.*

[*PNCV* *visiko; *POc* *pisiko]

viso *n.* Edible cane, bsl. *Naviso. Saccharum edule.*

[*PNCV* *viso]

vi-tapea *n.* Sea trumpet, bsl. *Burao blong solwota*: tree. *Cordia subcordata.*

vi-toma *n.* milkwood. *Antiaris toxicaria.*

viuru *n.* a plant, unidentified.

viuru mapuhu *n.* stinkwood, a toxic tree. *Dysoxylum gaudichaudianum.*

vi-vada *n.* kind of reed, bsl. *Waelken. Miscanthus floridulus.* *See* **edevu**.

vivi *sfn.* (anc) lips. *See* **hudi-vivi~**.

❖ *n.* Napoleonfish, reef fish, 120 cm *Cheilinus undulatus.* || It takes its name from its remarkably thick lips.

vi-vila *n.* Blue water, bsl. *Navilae. Pterocarpus indicus.*

vi-vä *n.* seashore tree, bsl. *Burao. Hibiscus tiliaceus.* *See* **vusalalao**.

[*PNCV* *vaRu; *POc* *paRu]

vodai *sfn.* brother.

(1) [Ego M/F] brother: generic term, including elder (**roha~**) and younger (**rasi~**) brothers. • **Nam levsei-a racu mo hese, vodai-na mo lulu, nia racu vidiha.** *I know a man whose brother is white, yet* he *is black.* || Includes parallel cousins, either on the father's or the mother's side. *Ant.* **ve-sohori~**.

(2) [Ego M] husband of sister-in-law (**ve-rahu~**).

(3) [Ego F] brother of husband (**rua~**). || Anthr. If my husband dies, one of his brothers will take his place, and take me as his wife (**naivou~**). *See* **roha~, elua~**.

[Cf. *Malo* vorae '*brothers (old word)*'; *PNCV* *vora '*be born*']

vodo$_1$ *vt.* reach, achieve its goal. • **Nam sodo mäci nam vodo.** *I shot at a bird and hit it.* *Syn.* **rkel**.

❖ *vi.* reach the ground (?), *hence* be born. • **Nam vodo Daki.** *I was born on Araki*

vodo-mudu *n.* first-born. *See* **roha~** '*elder brother*'.

vodo-rahu *n.* second-born. *Syn.* **vodo-dua**. *See* **parahu** '*after*'.

vodo-dua *n.* second-born. *Syn.* **vodo-rahu**.

vodo-rolu *n.* born third.

vodo-värі *n.* born fourth. *See* **rasi~** '*younger brother*'.

[*PNCV* *vora]

vodo$_2$ *vt.* make; do; build <house>. • **No-ku ta, o vodo re päka-ku, re vina-ku.** *Father, make me a bow and some arrows.*

voko ~ **woko**. *vt.* do, make, build. *Syn.* **vë**.

[*English* work]

vokovoko *adj.* clean, healthy; free from illness. • **Hovi-na mo ciha povi, mo klin mo vokovoko.** *His scabies had totally disappeared, he was now clean and healthy.* *Ant.* **lumiha**.

[Cf. *Malo* vokevoke '*clean, white, innocent*'; *PNCV* *voge '*whitish, albino*']

voli *vt.* (1) buy, purchase. • **Nam de na voli-a paniavu nohoni.** *I'd like to buy this pineapple.*

(2) (esp) lit. 'buy (a woman)': [man] give money and presents to o.'s

future father-in-laws, in order to acquire <a woman> as a wife; marry <a woman>. *See* **lahi** *'married'*.

[*PNCV* *voli; *POc* *poli]

vomahi *n.* Green-winged Ground Emerald Dove, 26 cm *Chalcophaps indica.*

voni ~ **von** ~ **vo**. *conj.* (1) or. • **Ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na.** *He will be killed during a battle, or something of the kind.* • **Mo märe vo mo mäudi ro?** *Is it dead or is it still alive?*

(2) [after a first clause in a question] introduces question-final tags; *i.e.,* for yes/no questions: '...or not?'; and for Wh- questions: '...or (who/what/when+)?'. • **Rävalu wik, co pa usa vo co ce re?** *Will it rain next week or not?* • **Ta mo dogo-co vo mo ce-re?** *Did dad hear us? [he heard us or not]* • **Om vä lo hamäli vo om ta vë?** *Have you been in the men's house, or what? [... or where are you coming from?]* (*Cf.* Grammar)

vono *adj.* (1) far, remote. • **Rasi mo roho cada vono.** *The sea is far (from there).* *Syn.* **deci**. *Ant.* **ravui**.

(2) deep. • **vipue vono** *'deep bamboo' (k.o. big bamboo)*

vonoho *adj.* thick. *Ant.* **mävinuvinu**. *Morph.* **-ho**.

[*PNCV* *vono-ti (?) *'blocked up, filled in, solid, dense'*]

vosa *n.* Sea almond, bsl. *Natapoa. Terminalia catappa.* • **Vada mo sivo lo pede vosa, nko ha pa nak-i-ko ha pa hani-ko.** [oracle] *If (the reed) falls on to a Terminalia tree, (this is the sign that) they will kill you, they will eat you.*

vose$_1$ *n.* oar, paddle, used with the canoe (**aka**). • **Mo rai-a vose mära co pa sua nia.** *He carved an oar so that he could paddle with it.*

[*PNCV* *vose; *POc* *pose]

vose$_2$ *sfn.* thigh.

vse *vt.* inform <s.o.> (about s.th., **lo**); show, reveal to <s.o.>. • **Hina salahese mo vse-i-a racu ro lo mäudi-da.** [oracle] *Several signs inform people of their destiny.*

vsovso *vi.* filthy, very dirty. • **Nam mä nam lesi-ko hovi mo vsovso-ho om te!** *I came and saw you: your scabious skin is filthy, you are awful!* || Usually takes suffix **-ha**, under the form **-ho**. *Syn.* **lumiha**. *See* **hudara** *'dirt'*.

vudo *n.* fight, battle, war. • **Ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na.** *He will be killed during a battle, or something of the kind.* *See* **välum** *'fight'*.

vuduvudu *n.* bat, bsl. *nakarae. Emballonuridae* spp. || The children of Araki love to play with these small black bats, *esp.* around the huge cave (**väpa**) in Sope village.

vuggo~ *sfn.* || Anthr. This relationship involves a high degree of mutual respect.

(1) [Ego F] sister-in-law: husband's sister; brother's wife.

(2) [Ego M] aunt: wife of maternal uncle (**rahura~, elua~**).

vuguvugu~ *sfn.* [Gen. with plural marker **dai**] relative, member of the same

family. • **dai vuguvugu-ku** *my family, my relatives* • **kaṁam povi dai vuguvugu-ni Moli** *all of us, Moli's family* *See* **rahisa~**.

vulu *sfn.* hair; [bird] feather. • **Vulu-da mo pada.** *They have white hair.* • **Vulu-na mo hahada.** *Her hair is blond.* • **vulu mo hese** *a hair*

vuluvulu *sfn.* body hair. • **vuluvulu-da ṁara-ku** *my eyelashes*

[*PNCV* *vulu; *POc* *pulu]

vurivuria *adj.* high, steep, like a mountain (**vuruvuru**); going very high. • **Mo vurivuria-ha mo sa kaura.** *(The stone) soars up high in the sky.* || Receives suffix **-ha**.

[*PNCV* *vuti '*mountain*']

vuruvuru *n.* mountain, hill.

[*PNCV* *vuti]

vusalalao *n.* flower of Burao. *Hibiscus tiliaceus.* *See* **viv̈a**.

vuso *adj.* blind. • **Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina.** *He's blind, he can't see anything.* *See* **pedopedo** *'deaf'*.

vutiana *adj.* many.

(1) [+plural referent] a lot, plenty; too many. • **hina vutiana** *many things* • **Mohi mo vutiana.** *There are many mosquitoes! [m. are numerous]* • **Niko racu tavtavu, ṁara no-m vatu vutiana.** *You are a rich man, because you have a lot of money.* *See* **hacavua** *'too many'*.

(2) [+generic *or* singular referent] a lot, very much. Intensifier of Adjectives: very. • **Nam poi Daki vutiana.** *I love Araki very much.* • **Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko.** *I am really happy to have met you.* *Syn.* **lap̈a**; **holo$_2$**.

V̈ - v̈

v̈a *vi.* go. || Short form of **v̈ano**. *See* **sa**; **si**.

(1) go (somewhere). • **Va racu mo le mle, mo le v̈a lo ima-n raṁa-na.** *The young man turned round and went back to his father's house.* • **Ha v̈a, ha v̈a, ha ku re ai.** *Go on, go and fetch some water.* *See* **sa**; **si**.

(2) [after vb of mvt] towards, in the direction of. • **Nia mo le sua mo v̈a lo ima-na.** *He started paddling again in the direction of his house.*

(3) keep going in a certain direction, pursue one's route; continue a movement. • **Nko v̈a!** *Go on, keep on your track (since you don't want to take me with you)* • **Mo le kadu mo v̈a mo les ivua.** *He swam on a little, until he saw the Turtle.* • **Mo v̈a v̈a mo v̈a rkel-i-a tarauta.** *He went on swimming, until he reached the shore.*

(4) [after a verb V_1] continue an action, with or without a spatial movement. • **Mo vavere mo v̈a ro.** *He carried on singing.* • **Mo si mo rolu, mo v̈ei-a sohe mo v̈a, aka mo ra hetehete.** *Whilst travelling all together, they carried on (bringing aboard other passengers), until the canoe became too small for them all.*

(5) remain in the same situation, letting a certain time go by; *hence*

later. • **Mo ӧa lo dan mo hese, mo le sa mo vadai no-no ta.** (*he was sad*) *He remained in this state* [lit. *he/it went*], *and one day he decided to go home and speak to his father.* || Synt. It is unclear whether the subject of **ӧa** is the agent of the action ('he went on like this') or the action itself ('it went on like this'). *See* **sna**.

(6) [impersonal phrase] **(mo ӧa)** a long time later, eventually. • **Mo ӧa, mo dogo leo-do, mo ӧa mo ӧa, mo ra hetehete.** (*they danced*) *Their shouts could be heard while they continued to dance; eventually they became fainter and fainter.*

(7) [time] pass, go by. • **lo wik mo ӧa mo iso** *last week* [*in the week that has passed*]

❖ *dir.* used as a Directional, without a subject pronoun.

(1) over there, in the distance. Directional marking distance, combined with deictics. • **Ïira mo hese mo roho raӧal cigo mle ӧa.** *There was a woman who lived over there on the other side of the cape.*

(2) Directional referring to an outward movement (v. **mӧa**) and forward (v. **sa** 'upward', **si** 'downward'). • **Ӧala mo kla ӧa mo lesi-a cam.** *The hawk looked in front of him and saw a yam.* || This directional is combined with certain verbs (**kla** 'look', **lpo** 'try') and others.

(3) Directional referring to a continuous movement, an action going on. • **Mo avuavu ӧa mo mӧa mӧa, mo le vodo karano lo lepa.** (*the reed*) *continues its flight, comes closer until it reaches the ground.* • **Mo ӧei-a ӧa vada uluvo mo le smat.** *He went on (acting) this way, until the young man became a beautiful boy again.*

ӧa lec *vi.* (1) go by, pass through (a place), go (somewhere). • **O ӧa lec ӧe? – Na ӧa lec ӧaha-sun.** *Where will you go through? – I'll go that way.*

(2) make a detour, move away from the main track, disappear out of sight. • **Mo le ӧa ӧa sur-i-a cigo hosun mo sivo mo pos mo ӧa lec.** *Again he sailed alongside the cape; after a while, he started tacking, and disappeared.* *See* **ӧa**.

ӧadaӧada *n.* Twin apple, bsl. *Tufrut. Ochrosia oppositifolia.*

ӧadug *adj.* [obj, place] hot. • **ai ӧadug** [lit. *hot water*] *tea, coffee* (see ***ai***) • **Cada mo ӧadug!** *It is hot!* [*the place is hot*] *See* **ku** *'heat up'*; **hapu** *'fire'*.

ӧaha$_1$ *pf.* (1) (*n*) times. Multiplicative prefix, counting times an action is repeated. • **Nanov, mo usa ӧaha-dua.** *Yesterday, it rained twice.*

(2) prefix deriving ordinals from the corresponding cardinal. • **naivou -na ӧaha-rolu** *his third wife* • **tapu -ku ӧaha-dua** *my great grandfather* [*my twice-grandfather*], *my great grandson Syn.* **ha-**$_4$. *See* **mudu** *'first'*. (*Cf.* Grammar)

[*POc* *paka- *'Causative'*]

ӧahani$_2$ *vt.* feed. • **Nam ӧahani-a pla-ku to.** *I am feeding my fowls.* • **Ela mo ӧahani Ral.** *Ela is feeding Ralph.* *Morph.* **hani**.

[Cf. *Tangoa* thacani]

ӧalalaӧa *adj.* big, large, *esp.* when plural or collective. • **raha ӧala-**

laṗa *big ones, those that are big* • **Via ṿalalaṗa, dau-na ra ṿalalaṗa.** *The big taro has big leaves. See* **laṗa** *'big + singular'.*

ṿalum *vi.* fight, have a quarrel (with, **nida~** *or* **p̈edesi~**). • **Nam de na ṿalum p̈edesi-ko.** *I'm going to fight with you.* • **Daki mo ṿalum nida-ni Tumepu.** *So Araki struggled with Tumepu.*

[Cf. *Vki* valum '*fight*'; *PNCV* *vakalo (?) '*fight (n,v)*']

ṿano ~ **ṿa**. *vi.* walk. || Complete form of **ṿa**.

ṿanoṿano *vi.* walk intensively, *hence* walk quickly, have a race. • **Nre dan co pa ṿanoṿano, co lesi-a se co pa ṿanoṿano vila.** *One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster!*

[*PNCV* *vano; *POc* *pano]

ṿaodo *vi. Red.* **ṿaṿaodo**. make noise, be noisy. • **Nam ce poe-i-a mada vadidi mo ṿaṿaodo.** *I don't like it when the kids are noisy. Ant.* **roho m̈alum** (< **m̈alum**).

[Cf. *Tangoa* thathaore '*trouble*']

ṿapa ~ **vapa**. *n.* (1) cave. • **Ṿapa mo hese, kesini ravui lo ima-ku.** *There is a cave, here close to my house.* || The village of Sope has a very large cave, full of small black bats (**vuduvudu**) that children play with.

(2) extended family clan, a major social unit in Araki. || To each clan, is supposed to correspond one of the villages in the island of Araki: e.g. the village of Sope belongs to Lele Moli and his extended family (**ṿapa**): i.e. his sons, their wives and children.

ṿaṗevu *sfn.* ankle.

ṿari *num.* four. • **ha-ṿari dan** *the fourth day, Thursday* • **racu mo gavul ṿari** *forty people*

[*PNCV* *vati; *POc* *pati]

ṿasusu *vt. Tr* **ṿasui-** (?). [woman] beget, give birth to. • **Naivou-ku mo ṿasu-i naru-ku.** *My wife has just given birth to my baby.*

[*PNCV* *vasusu '*give birth, lay egg*']

ṿe$_1$ *inter.* (1) where. Interrogative adverb of place. • **Moli mo roho ro ṿe? – Nia mo ṿa lo hamali.** *Where's the chief? – He's gone to the nakamal.* • **O ṿa lec ṿe? – Na ṿa lec ṿaha-sun.** *Where will you go through? – I'll go that way.*

(2) [after verb 'come'] from where. • **Om ṿa lo hamali vo om ta ṿe?** *Have you been in the men's house, or what?* [... *or where are you coming from?*]

[*POc* *pai]

ṿe lesi *vt.* (1) lit. 'make (and) see': try, attempt. • **Mo ṿe lesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a ha ce levsei nak-i-a nre dan.** *They try and kill him, but they never succeed.*

(2) test, question, try out. • **Nida mo sivo mo poe mo de ha ṿe lesi-a m̈audi-da.** [oracle] *They come here (to Araki), because they want to test their destiny.*

ṿei$_2$ ~**ṿe**. *vt. Red.* **ṿeṿe**. make.

(1) make <s.th.>. • **Mo rai-a aka inia, mo ṿe otom̈e sohe aka.** *He carved himself a canoe, and made it just as if it were a (real) canoe.* • **Racu mo ṿei-ko, nia Supe.** *The one who created you is God.*

(2) (gen) do, act. • **Om ṿei-a sa ro?**

What are you doing? • **Mo vëi povi-a dai hina hosun.** *He did all these things.*

(3) [+ **(mo de** +) Irréel] see to it that; be the cause of <s.th.>; provoke. Factitive value. • **Raṁare mo vëi-a mo de co ce usa.** *The spirits are the cause that* [lit. *are making*] *there is no rain.* • **Co pa vëi-a ai co wet-i-a as.** *He'll wet the rope.* [lit. *He'll make that some water wet the rope*] • **Ṁara pira hosun mo re vëi-a mo re lokodu mo iso.** *Because that woman had already made him so angry.* [*made that he was angry*]

vëvë hina *vi.* lit. 'do things': work. • **Mo vëvë hina hacavua.** *He works too much.* • **Om vëvë hina raraholo.** *You're doing a good job.* *See* **woko.**

[*PNCV* *vai '*make, do, be*']

vërali *n.* banana. *Musa* sp. • **Vëral ne mo ce vëral hanhan.** *This banana is not edible.* • **vërali tasale** [*white man's banana*] *long, sweet banana, especially appreciated by Europeans* || There are a large number of varieties of bananas in Vanuatu, most of which are not very sweet, and are used mainly as a vegetable. *See* **ori** *'bunch (of bananas)'*; **ṁasoli** *'apple-banana'*; **houoci.**

[*PNCV* *vetali]

vëvë *n.* pandanus. *Pandanus* sp.

[*PNCV* *veveo]

W - w

wet *vt. Tr* **weti-.** [liquid] wet, make <s.th.> wet. • **Co pa vëi-a ai co wet-i-a as.** *He'll wet the rope.* [lit. *He'll make some water wet the rope*]

[*English* wet]

wik *n.* week. • **lo wik mo va mo iso** *last week* [*in the week that has passed*] • **(lo) ravalu wik** *next week* • **Ale, kam sna wik mo hese, viha hosun mo kodu, viha hosun mo ciha.** *Finally, after one week, that tree ended up in flames, and disappeared.*

[*English* week]

10. English – Araki finderlist

Following is an English – Araki finderlist. As is traditionally the case, this list should not be used as a full reverse dictionary, but only as a way to find the adequate Araki entry for an English term. Each Araki form corresponds to an entry in the Araki – English dictionary (*Chapter 9*), and should be easily found there.

The small number after the radical – for example *m̈ara*$_2$ – indicates the rank of the entry in case of homonymous lexemes; the number given in parentheses – for example *com̈i* (3) – refers to one of the sub-senses of a polysemic entry. If reference is made to a subentry in the dictionary, then we indicate where it can be found. For example,

a, an *mo hese*, Cf. *hese*; *re*$_1$.

means that the English indefinite article *a, an* may receive two translations in Araki: one is **mo hese** (but the reader should check under the main entry **hese** 'one'); the other translation is **re** (appearing first in the dictionary, before **re**$_2$).

Scientific names for animals and plants are written in italics.

a, an *mo hese*, Cf. *hese*; *re*$_1$.
Abelmoschus manihot *m̈aharua.*
about *m̈ara*$_2$ (3).
above *kaura.*
abundant *lap̈a.*
Acacia spirorbis *vi-madi.*
Acanthurus lineatus *tarav̈adoko.*
ache *hac.*
acknowledgment *mece.*
Acridotheres tristis *m̈aci buluk.*
Adenanthera pavonina *vi-pisu.*
***Aerodramus* spp.** *vakadakada.*
afraid *m̈arahu.*
afterwards *m̈ara*$_2$; *parahu.*
again *le.*
against *nida~*$_2$.
aid *com̈i* (3).
alive *m̈audu.*
all *povi*; *tade.*
almond *gaga.*
Alocasia macrorrhiza *via.*
alone *hase~.*
already *mo iso*, Cf. *iso.*
alright *ale* (1); *codo.*
although *napdogo.*
always *tade.*
for ~ *cece.*
Ananas sativus *paniavu.*
ancestors *vacaha.*
and *nida~*$_2$.
angry *lokodu.*
ankle *v̈ap̈evu.*
~ rattle tree *lahe.*
Antiaris toxicaria *vi-toma.*

anus *tipo.*
any *re*$_1$.
~-thing *re hina* (2).
***Araceae* spp.** *pera.*
Araki *Daki.*
Ardea sacra *oẅa.*
arm *liẅa.*
armpit *haẅehaẅe.*
arrange *huden.*
arrow *vina.*
Artocarpus altilis *levu.*
ashes *pariavu.*
ask for *rigo.*
assist *coẅi* (3); *ruen.*
at *lo*; *ni*~$_1$.
attempt *ẅe lesi.*
aunt *tetei*~; *vuggo*~ (2).
avocado *vi-naru* (2).
await *sovi.*
axe *diẅa.*

back *cuhu*; *le*; *liuha.*
bad *te.*
bag *raga.*
bald *pilo.*
Balistes aculeatus *cum.*
bamboo *vi-pue.*
banana *houoci*; *ẅasoli*; *ẅerali.*
bank *carauta.*
banyan *palaho*; *vi-ẅaka.*
bark *hudi.*
barn owl *peka.*
Barracuda *dagodago.*
Barringtonia asiatica *viapu.*
Barringtonia edulis *ridivu.*
basket *raga.*
bat *vuduvudu.*
battle *vudo.*
be there *mo hese*, Cf. *hese*; *kia*; *re*$_1$.
beach *carauta*; *onono.*
bead tree *vi-pisu.*
beam *pudupudu.*
beard *humi.*
beat *ceu*; *ceu* (1).
because *ẅara*$_2$ (1).
~ of *ẅara*$_2$ (2).
beckon *alovi.*
become *ẅa*$_1$ (3); *ra*$_2$.
bed *eẅa.*
before *ruai.*
beg *rigo.*
beget *ẅasusu.*
begin *tapulo.*
believe *coẅicoẅi*; *de* (4).
belly *page*; *ravu.*
belt *ruva.*
bend *lug.*
~ down *oloẅa.*
better *ceu* (3).
biceps *ẅahaso.*
big *laẅa*; *ẅalalaẅa.*
bind *visi.*
bird *ẅaci* (1).
Birgus latro *cau.*
birth (give ~) *ẅasusu.*
bit (a ~) *ẅakomo.*
bite *hari.*
black *vidiha.*
bladder *cada ẅere*, Cf. *ẅere.*
blind *vuso.*
blond *hada* (2).
blood *cai.*
blow *sere*; *sodo* (2).
blue *heca.*
boast *ẅagis.*
boat *aka.*

body *epe.*
boil *vali.*
bone *sui.*
booby *kakato.*
born (be ~) *vodo*$_1$.
bottom *cidi*; *kede.*
bounce *dapas.*
bow (n.) *paka.*
boy *lamani.*
brag *magis.*
brain *monohi.*
branch *daga.*
branching *masaga.*
bread *pedeti.*
breadfruit *levu.*
~ biscuit prepared in case of hunger *mada*$_2$.
~ pith *kavula.*
break *koso*; *lare.*
breast *susu.*
breath *mapu* (1).
breathe *mapu*; *namasu.*
bring *vari* (4b).
broken *ma-koso*; *ma-lare.*
brother *vodai.*
elder ~ *roha~.*
younger ~ *rasi~*$_2$.
~-in-law *rahu~.*
Buff-banded rail *pilahe.*
build *vodo*$_2$.
bump *vcan.*
bunch of bananas *ori.*
Burckella obovata *vi-naru* (1).
burn *suli.*
burnt *kodu*; *ugu.*
bush *hudara* (2).
~ nut *ridivu.*
but *pani.*
butterfly *pepe* (1).
~-fish *pepe* (2).
buttocks *cidi*; *ravuhi cidi~*, Cf. *ravuhi.*
buy *voli.*

cabbage *maharua.*
Calidris acuminata *pilahe rasi* (2).
call *rove*; *ulo.*
Calophyllum inophyllum *vi-pahuda.*
Canarium indicum *gaga.*
canoe *aka.*
~ outrigger *cama.*
~ pegs *laku.*
~ poles *evua.*
~ ties *asi.*
cape *cigo.*
Caranx melampygus *maconu.*
careful *kila.*
Carica papaya *des tasale*, Cf. *desi.*
carve *rai* (2).
cast *plane.*
Casuarina equisetifolia *vi-adu.*
cat *hadiv tasale*, Cf. *hadivi.*
catch *ran*$_1$; *taur*; *vari.*
cause *vei*$_2$ (3).
cave *vapa* (1).
Chaetodon lineatus *pepe* (2).
Chalcophaps indica *vomahi.*
change *posi*$_1$.
chat *sodosodo.*
cheat *kodei-*, Cf. *kode*$_1$.
Cheilinus undulatus *vivi.*
chest *cuma.*
chestnut *uepe*; *vi-ce.*
chicken *to.*
chief *moli*$_2$; *racu lapa*, Cf. *racu*; *supe.*
rank of ~ *kadai*; *mala*$_1$ (2).

child *hetehete* (2); *mada*; *naru~*; *tu~*.
children *mada vadidi*, Cf. *vadidi*.
chin *ese*.
church *skul* (1).
Circus approximans *m̈ala*$_1$ (1).
club (traditional wooden ~) *m̈aca*.
claw *p̈isu*.
claypot *ciliv*.
clean *klin*; *vokovoko*.
~ up *hoco*$_1$.
clench *lug*.
clever *levosai*.
climb *sihevi*.
close *ravui*.
clothes *dudu*.
cloud *coco*.
cloven *m̈asaga*.
coconut *holo*$_1$.
~ crab *cau*.
germinated ~ *popo*.
Codiaeum variegatum *cihi*.
coffee *ai v̈adug*, Cf. *ai*.
Collocalia esculenta *vakadakada*.
colour *m̈acihi*.
Columba vitiensis *manometo* (2); *rodo*$_2$.
come *m̈a*$_1$; *sna*; *ta*$_1$.
~ across *tapai*.
considerably *lap̈a*.
convey *lig*.
cook *ku*; *runu*; *suli*.
cooked *meco*.
copra *kavuda*.
Coracina caledonica *vakalao*.
coral *pallace*.
Cordia subcordata *vi-tapea*.
cork *colog*.
correct *holo*$_2$; *raholo*.
count *tovo*.
country *cada* (2).
cousin *naru~* (5).
cover *havu*; *hodo*$_1$; *tahavu*.
crab *hav̈e*.
coconut ~ *cau*.
crawl *hadaho*.
crazy *putu*.
cross *lokodu*.
croton *cihi*.
crumb *hudaudara*.
cry *ragi*.
cup *lasa*.
cut *rai*.
cycad *vi-mele*.

dad *ta*$_2$.
dance *velu*.
dark *coco*.
daughter *ve-tu~*.
~-in-law *tapu~* (4).
day *dani*; *pogi*.
all ~ long *coco*.
deaf *pedopedo*.
deceive *kode*$_1$.
declare *de*.
deep *vono* (2).
defecate *ce*$_2$.
Dendrocnide **sp.** *kalaro*.
deprived *tilavo ~*.
desire *poe*.
devil *ram̈are*.
diaphragm *havhavu page~*, Cf. *havu*; *havhavu rali~*, Cf. *rali*.
die *ciha* (2); *m̈are*.
different *vavono*.
difficult *haura*.
dig *heli*.

~ out *kode*$_2$.
dignitary *racu lapa*, Cf. *racu*.
Dioscorea bulbifera *pevu hohono*, Cf. *pevu*; *suma*.
Dioscorea esculenta *tavadi*.
***Dioscorea* spp.** *cam*$_2$.
dirt *hudara* (1); *hudaudara*.
dirty *lumiha*; *vidiha*; *vsovso*.
disappear *ciha*; *va lec* (2).
dispose *huden*.
dive *nudu*.
do *voko*; *vei*$_2$.
~ what *rodo*$_1$.
dog *vidi*.
dolphin *kue*$_2$.
done (well ~) *meco*.
door *marasala*.
dove *marahuavi*; *tipa*$_2$; *vapune*.
down *karano*; *sivo*.
Dracontomelon vitiense *vi-mali*.
drag *cudi*.
dream *malamala-popodo*, Cf. *mala*$_2$.
drink *inu*.
drop *tudusi*.
drown *colo*.
drum *pelo*.
dry *kodu*; *mamasa*.
Ducula bakeri *manometo* (1).
Ducula pacifica *huepe*.
dwell *roho*.
Dysoxylum gaudichaudianum *viuru mapuhu*, Cf. *viuru*.

ear *podo*.
earth *lepa*.
~-quake *muhu*.
easily *vila*.
east *Toholau*.
~-wards *saha*.
eastwards *sa*$_2$ (5).
easy *holo*$_2$.
eat *han*; *hanhan*.
eel *mada*$_1$.
egg *sile*$_2$.
eight *haualu*.
elbow *suhu*.
elders *vacaha*.
embark *vici*$_1$.
end *hilu*; *iso*.
~ (n.) *isoiso*, Cf. *iso*.
Endospermum medullosum *vi-kumaro*.
enemy *medesai*.
Entada pursaetha *as mara*, Cf. *asi*.
enter *maco*.
Epinephelus merra *rapala* (2).
Erythrina variegata *vi-dada*.
escape *dovo*; *sihiri*.
European *tasale*.
even if *napdogo vada*, Cf. *napdogo*.
ever *nre dan* (3).
for ~ *cece*.
every *tade*; *povi*.
exhausted *maloko*.
exist *mo hese*, Cf. *hese*; *re*$_1$.
eye *mara*$_1$.
eyelid *havhavu mara~*, Cf. *havu*.

face *naho*.
faeces *re~*$_2$.
fall *covi*.
family *vuguvugu~*; *vapa* (2).
far *deci*; *vono* (1).
fashion *posi*$_2$.
fast *vila*.
fat *vadu*.
father *rama~*; *ta*$_2$.

~-in-law *paliha~*; *tapu~* (3).
fear *m̈arahu.*
feed *v̈ahani*$_2$.
feel *dogo.*
fellow *rahisa*; *rap̈ala~*; *ruarua* (2).
female *p̈ira.*
fence *p̈ap̈a.*
fern (tree ~) *vi-m̈alavo.*
***Ficus* sp.** *palaho*; *vi-p̈aka.*
field *isa*$_1$.
fight *v̈alum.*
filthy *vsovso.*
finally *ale* (5).
find *tapai.*
fine *holo*$_2$.
finger *p̈isu*; *vadago.*
finish *hilu*; *iso.*
fire *hapu.*
set ~ to *hasan.*
first *mudu.*
~ (adv.) *ra*$_1$.
~-born *vodo-mudu*, Cf. *vodo*$_1$.
fish *m̈aci* (2).
catch ~ *dev̈e* (2).
~-poison tree *viapu.*
five *liv̈a.*
fix *visi.*
flee *dovo*; *sihiri.*
flesh *ravuhi*; *visiho.*
float *sale*$_1$.
floor *lep̈a.*
flow *dodo*$_1$.
flower *vida.*
flute *vi-pue* (2).
fly *avu*; *lago.*
flycatcher *losulosu.*
flying-fox *hadiv paudoudo*, Cf. *hadivi*; *kada*; *m̈anu.*
fold *lug.*
follow *sure*$_2$.
food *ha~*$_5$; *hanhan.*
foot *sadi*$_2$.
for *m̈ara*$_2$ (4).
forehead *p̈enaho.*
foreigner *vinano.*
forest *hudara covo*, Cf. *hudara.*
forked *m̈asaga.*
four *v̈ari.*
fowl *to.*
Fregata ariel *taicudu.*
friend *rahisa*; *rap̈ala~*; *ruarua* (2).
frightened *m̈arahu.*
from *m̈ara*$_2$ (1).
front (in ~ of) *lo naho~*, Cf. *naho.*
fruit *vae.*
full *tup.*

Gallirallus philippensis *p̈ilahe.*
Gallus gallus *to varia*, Cf. *to.*
garden *isa*$_1$.
Garuga floribunda *vi-pakus.*
genitals
female ~ *p̈ile.*
male ~ *cici.*
Gerres oyena *dau-dada.*
get up *ravur*; *rudu.*
ghost *ram̈are.*
girl *p̈ira hetehete*, Cf. *p̈ira.*
give *sile.*
~ birth *v̈asusu.*
glad *avulai.*
go *ha*$_3$; *v̈a.*
~ away *mle.*
~ back *mle.*
~ down *sivo.*
~ in *maco.*

~ on *v̈a* (3).
~ out *alua*; *m̈alue*.
~ through *v̈a lec*.
~ up sa_2.

goatfish *humi-da*, Cf. *humi*.
God *Got*; *Siotatai*; *supe* (2).
good *cu*; $holo_2$.
~-looking *smat*.
grandparent *tapu~*.
grandson *tapu~*.
grasp *taur*.
grass *cuvu*.
grasshopper *porio*.
green *heca*; *pado*.
grey *sovusoho*.
grill *suli*.
grin *gigisa*.
ground *leṗa*.
group *ruarua* (2).
grouper fish *rapala*.
grow *m̈audu*.
gums *gole*.
guts *mavusa*; *raga mavsa~*, Cf. *raga*; *rali*.

hair *vulu*.
white ~ $pada_1$.
Halcyon chloris *siho*.
half *sope*.
hand *liṁa*.
handsome *smat*.
happen to *m̈a isa~*, Cf. $m̈a_1$.
happy *avulai*.
hard *haura*.
hate *lesles te*, Cf. *lesi*.
have *vari*.
hawk $m̈ala_1$ (1).
he co_1; *mo*; *nia*.
head *paru*.
healthy *cu*; $holo_2$; *klin*; *vokovoko*.
heaped up *takomahi*.
hear *dogo*.
heart *lolo*; *mavusa*.
heat up *ku*.
heel *cue*.
help *coṁi* (3); *ruen*.
Hemigymnus melaptarus *dukoko*.
hen *to*.
her $-a_1$; *-na*.
here *kesi*; *ne*; *su*.
hermit crab *hotou*.
heron *ov̈a*.
Hibiscus tiliaceus *vi-v̈a*; *vusalalao*.
high *vurivuria*.
hill *vuruvuru*.
him $-a_1$.
hinder $hodo_1$.
his *-na*.
hit *lceg*; *nak*; *vcan*.
hither *sna*.
hold *taur*; *vari*.
~ out o.'s hand *sahada*.
hole *koko*.
hollow
~ tree *koho*; *ruguha*.
~ out $kode_2$.
Honey-eater *vacivcivi*.
hope *kila*.
~ (n.) $m̈ara_1$ (3).
hot *v̈adug*.
house *ima*.
men's club-~ *haṁali*.
how *sohe sa*, Cf. *sohe*.
~ many *visa*.
humiliate *litovi-*, Cf. *lito*.
hunt *ele* (2).
hurricane *losu*.
hurry *sut*.

hurt *hac.*
husband *rua~.*

I *na*$_1$; *nam.*
idle *pdogo.*
if *aru*; *de* (7); *co de*, Cf. *de*; *vada mo de*, Cf. *de*; *vada.*
ill *doco.*
immediately *ravur* (2).
Imperata cylindrica *edevu.*
important *laṗa.*
in *lo*; *lolo.*
in-between *m̈asaṽa* (1).
indicate *ṗisu.*
innards *mavusa*; *rali.*
Inocarpus edulis *ueṗe*; *vi-ce.*
inside *lolo.*
intelligent *levosai.*
Intsia bijuga *vi-rodo.*
Ipomoea batatas *kumal.*
ironwood *vi-rodo.*
island *udeude*, Cf. *ude.*
it *-a*$_1$; *co*$_1$.
its *-na.*

joint *mavuhi.*
jump *kue*$_1$.
junior *rasi~*$_2$.
just *pdogo*; *raholo.*

kava *hae.*
wild ~ *ṗaṗalihono.*
kidneys *vacivacia.*
kill *nak*; *nak raha m̈are*, Cf. *nak.*
kingfisher *siho.*
kitchen *ima rurunu*, Cf. *ima.*
Kleinhovia hospita *vi-m̈arala.*
knee *pau.*
knife *siṗa.*
traditional ~ for pudding *m̈araha.*
knot *mavuhi.*
know *levse.*
kumala *kumal.*
Kyphosus cinerascens *vavaua.*

lake *ai* (2).
Lalage leucopyga *vasohi* (1).
land *cada* (2).
language *sodo* (4); *sodosodo.*
laplap *udeece.*
large *laṗa*; *ṽalalaṗa.*
laslas *ṗeṗei.*
last *mudu* (2).
Laticauda semifasciata *mara ras*, Cf. *mara.*
laugh *m̈ana.*
~ at *m̈an ṗala*, Cf. *m̈ana.*
lay down *huden.*
lazy *m̈aloko.*
leaf *da-*$_1$; *dau.*
leap *kue*$_1$.
learn *ele* (3).
leave *mle.*
left hand *m̈adau.*
leg *sadi*$_2$.
~'s calf *maci.*
lest *kan.*
Lethrinus **sp.** *vava hahada.*
liana *asi* (1).
liar *kodokodo.*
lid *colog.*
lie *kode*$_1$.
life *m̈audi.*
light
~ (adj.) *salesale.*
~ (tr.) *hasan*; *polo*$_1$.
lightning *vaha.*

like *poe*; *sohe*.
lip *hudi-vivi*.
upper ~ *godigodi*.
listen *tapdogo*.
little *hetehete*; *vadidi*.
a ~ *m̈akomo*.
littoral *carauta*.
live *m̈audu*; *roho*.
liver *mape*.
long *p̈edavu*.
look *kila*; *klav̈as*.
~ for *ele*.
lory *civi*.
lost *ciha*.
lot (a ~) *hacavua*; *vutiana*.
louse *huru*.
love *poe*.
lungs *mavusa salesale*, Cf. *mavusa*.
Lutjanus fulvus *pavu*.
Lutjanus gibbus *pavu da-tavoa*, Cf. *pavu*.

Macropiper latifolium *p̈ap̈alihono*.
Macropygia mackinlayi *marahuavi*.
mad *putu*.
make *vodo*$_2$; *voko*; *v̈ei*$_2$.
male *lam̈ani*; *racu* (1).
Malo island *Ram̈apo*.
man *lam̈ani*; *racu*.
mandarin *maladin*.
mangrove *vi-cogo*.
manioc *maniok*.
many *hacavua*; *vutiana*.
marlin *aco cigo-hese*, Cf. *aco*.
marriage *lahi*.
marry *lahi*.
mat *ep̈a*; *sale*$_2$.
mate *rahisa*; *rap̈ala~*.
maybe *kodogo*; *pana*.
me *-á*$_2$.
meal *hanhan*.
mean *de* (3).
meaning *radami*.
measure *tovo*.
meat *visiho*.
Megapodius freycinet *malá*.
men's clubhouse *ham̈ali*.
mention *sodohi-*.
Metroxylon warburgii *dauaro*.
middle *livuha*.
Mikania micrantha *as Merika*, Cf. *asi*.
milk *susu*.
Mimosa pudica *as nadenade*, Cf. *asi*; *kaulu*.
mind *com̈i*; *com̈com̈*, Cf. *com̈icom̈i*.
Miscanthus floridulus *vi-vada*.
modify *posi*$_1$.
molar *p̈ari*.
moment *rugana*.
month *viru* (3).
moon *viru* (2).
more *ceu* (3).
Morinda citrifolia *huda*.
morning *nahodani*.
mosquito *mohi*.
moss *lumlum*.
mother *pua*; *rarna~*.
~-in-law *tapu~* (3); *ve-paliha~*.
mountain *vuruvuru*.
mourn *com̈icom̈i* (2); *ragisi-*, Cf. *ragi*.
mouth *cigo* (2); *vava*.
move *cuha*; *tipa*$_1$.
much *vutiana*.
mullet fish *kede-heca*.

Mulloidichthys flavolineatus *humi-da*, Cf. *humi*.
multicoloured *mäciмäcihi*.
***Musa* sp.** *houoci*; *verali*.
mushroom *mäsa*.
muzzle *cigo* (1).
my *-ku*.
Myiagra caledonica *losulosu*.
Myzomela cardinalis *vacivcivi*.

nail *pudu pisu~*, Cf. *pudu*.
nakamal *haмali*.
nakavika *haviha*.
nalake *lahe*.
namambe *vi-ce*.
nambangura *vi-pahuda*.
name *hica*; *rove*.
nandao *vi-ca*.
nangae *gaga*.
nangalat *kalaro*.
nangaria *cihi*.
naos *desi*.
nape of the neck *hali*.
Napoleon-fish *vivi*.
narrate *store*.
Naso lituratus *naho mäsaga*.
natangora *dauaro*.
natapoa *vosa*.
natora *vi-rodo*.
navara *popo*.
navel *puro*.
nawemba *uepe*.
near *ravui*.
neck *ua*.
Neolalage banksiana *vasarkele*; *vasohi*.
nephew *elua~*; *lala*; *mära~*$_3$; *rahura~*.
nerve *mani*.
nest *reo*.
nettle *kalaro*.
never *nre dan* (3).
next *ravalu* (2).
nice *cu*; *holo*$_2$.
niece *lala*; *velua~*; *ve-mära~*; *ve-rahura~*.
night *coco*.
nine *haisua*.
no *ce*$_1$; *ce-re*.
~ longer *le* (2).
noisy *vaodo*.
north *Auta*.
nose *galsu*.
not exist *ce-re*.
not yet *misi* (2).
Notopteris macdonaldi *hadiv paudoudo*, Cf. *hadivi*.
now *ale* (3); *kesi*; *kesikesi*.
Numenius phaeopus *pilahe rasi* (1).
numerous *hacavua*; *vutiana*.

obstruct *hodo*$_1$.
ocean *rasi*$_1$.
Ochrosia oppositifolia *vadavada*.
octopus *huira*.
of *-ni*$_2$; *no~*$_1$.
offend *litovi-*, Cf. *lito*.
okay *ale* (1); *codo*.
old *vacaha*.
on *lo*.
~ and ~ *va* (4).
one *hese*.
only *pdogo*.
open *ede*.
~ sea *mäsava* (3).
or *ren*; *voni*.
orange *moli*$_1$.
other *vavono*.
our

~ (Excl) *-m̈am.*
~ (Incl) *-ca.*
out (go ~) *alua.*
outrigger *cam̈a.*
outright *pilai.*
outside *cuge.*
outstrip *ceu.*
oven (traditional stone ~) *pasule.*
overtake *ceu.*
owl *peka.*

Pachycephala pectoralis *vasohi udeece-v̈erali*, Cf. *vasohi.*
paddle
~ (n.) *vose*$_1$.
~ (v.) *sua.*
***Pagurus* sp.** *hotou.*
palm of the hand *lolo lim̈a*, Cf. *lim̈a.*
palm tree *vi-nini.*
pandanus *v̈ev̈e.*
Pangium edule *lahe.*
parrot *civi.*
~-fish *pono.*
party *hanhan.*
Passiflora edulis *vae-as.*
passion fruit *vae-as.*
path *sala.*
pawpaw *des tasale*, Cf. *desi.*
penis *cici.*
people *racu* (3).
perhaps *pana.*
person *racu.*
photo *nunu.*
Picassofish *cum.*
picture *m̈ala*$_2$; *nunu.*
piece *m̈akomo*; *sope.*
pierce *cudug.*
pig *po.*
hermaphrodite ~ *dave.*
pigeon *huep̈e*; *manometo*; *rodo*$_2$; *tipa*$_2$; *vapune*; *vomahi.*
piled up *takomahi.*
pilot *holo*$_3$.
pineapple *paniavu.*
Piper methysticum *hae.*
pit (breadfruit ~) *m̈ada*$_2$.
pity (take ~ on) *com̈i* (2).
place *cada*; *naura*; *peli.*
plan *com̈com̈*, Cf. *com̈icom̈i*; *m̈ara*$_1$ (3).
plant *ha*$_4$.
plate *dov̈a.*
play *dodo*$_2$.
Plectorhynchus gibbosus *cuhuvoru.*
Plectorhynchus orientalis *daga p̈ahuda.*
plenty *hacavua*; *vutiana.*
plus *comana.*
point at *p̈isu.*
poke *cudug*; *p̈isu.*
Polyscias scutellaria *p̈ep̈ei.*
Pometia pinnata *vi-ca.*
poor *tilavono*, Cf. *tilavo ~.*
Porphyrio *pao.*
post *cada* (3).
pot *ciliv.*
potato (sweet ~) *kumal.*
pour *sure*$_1$.
power *paua.*
pray *skul.*
precisely *raholo.*
pretentious *m̈agis.*
prick *cudug*; *p̈isu.*
probably *kodogo.*
promontory *pedepede*, Cf. *pede.*
properly *otom̈e.*
provide *sile.*

Pterocarpus indicus *vi-vila.*
Pteropus anetianus *kada hada*, Cf. *kada.*
Pteropus tonganus *kada mänu*, Cf. *kada*; *mänu.*
Ptilinopus greyii *vapune.*
Ptilinopus tannensis *tipa*$_2$.
pudding *udeece.*
puff *sodo* (2).
pull *devë.*
~ canoe *cudi.*
puny *mädaga.*
purchase *voli.*
push *ran*$_2$.
put *huden.*
~ into *sohon.*

question *vë lesi.*
quick *sut.*
quickly *vila.*
quiet *mälum.*

rain *usa.*
rainbow *nuenue.*
rat *hadivi.*
raw *pado.*
rayfish *avai.*
reach *kaka*; *rkel*; *vodo*$_1$.
read *tovo.*
realise *levse.*
really *holo*$_2$.
recent *mudu* (2).
red *hada.*
reed *edevu*; *vi-vada.*
reflection *nunu.*
regret *comi.*
reject *litovi-*, Cf. *lito*; *vahuden.*
relative *vuguvugu~.*
remain *roho.*
remote *deci*; *vono* (1).
remove *vahuden.*
resemble *sohe.*
rest *mäpu.*
return *mle.*
reveal *vse.*
Rhipidura fuliginosa *vasarkele* (1).
Rhizophora *vi-cogo.*
rib *daca.*
rice *daisi.*
rich *tavtavu.*
rifle *sodo* (2).
right hand *märua.*
ripe *mëna.*
river *ai* (2).
road *sala.*
rock *sule.*
roll up *maluhu.*
roof *vaparu.*
root *hodo*$_2$.
rope *asi.*
row *sua.*
run
~ away *dovo*; *sihiri.*
~ (liquid) *dodo*$_1$.

Saccharum edule *viso.*
Saccharum officinarum *rovu.*
sad *comi.*
sago *dauaro.*
sail *häpani.*
salt *rasi*$_1$ (2).
sand *onono.*
sandalwood *piodo.*
Santo island *Naura-läpa*, Cf. *naura.*
Sargocentron tieroides *aparavusa.*
Satan *Setan.*
say *de*; *vadai.*

scabies, scabious *hovi.*
scalp *pilo.*
Scarus blochi *pono.*
school *skul* (2).
scorn *mäan päla*, Cf. *mäna.*
scorpion *novu.*
scrape *kadu*$_2$.
scratch *kadu*$_2$.
sea *rasi*$_1$.
go ~-wards *sivo* (2a).
search *ele.*
sea-snake *mara ras*, Cf. *mara.*
seaweed *lumlum.*
second-born *vodo-rahu*, Cf. *vodo*$_1$;
vodo-dua, Cf. *vodo*$_1$.
Securinega flexuosa *vi-cudulace.*
see *lesi.*
seed *päidi.*
seek *ele.*
seize *taur*; *vari.*
self (my~) *hase~.*
sell *ecene.*
Semecarpus vitiensis *vi-olas.*
send *sohan.*
sensitive grass *kaulu.*
Serranidae **spp.** *rapala.*
seven *haipiru.*
several *salahese.*
shadow *nunu.*
shark *päheu.*
she *co*$_1$; *mo*; *nia.*
shell *pudu.*
she-oak *vi-adu.*
shin bone *lotu.*
shoot
~ (tr.) *sodo* (2).
~ of plant *culi.*
shore *carauta.*
short *petepete.*
shoulder *pili.*
shout *ulo.*
show *vse.*
shut *colog.*
sick *doco.*
side *päisa*; *rävalu.*
Siganus doliatus *polo*$_2$.
significance *radami.*
silent *roho mälum*, Cf. *mälum.*
silhouette *nunu.*
similar *sohe.*
since *mo tapulo lo ...*, Cf. *tapulo.*
sing *vavere.*
sink *colo.*
sister *ve-sohori~.*
elder ~ *ve-roha~.*
younger ~ *ve-rasi~.*
~-in-law *ve-rahu~*; *ve-rasi~*;
ve-roha~; *ve-sohori~*;
vuggo~ (1).
sit *sadai.*
six *haiono.*
skin *hudi.*
dead ~, ulcer *lagalaga.*
skull *pogori.*
sleep *goro.*
slim *mädaga.*
slitgong *pelo.*
slow *mälum.*
small *hetehete*; *vadidi.*
smell *pon*; *pona*, Cf. *pon.*
smile *gigisa.*
snake *mara.*
snapper *pavu.*
snout *cigo* (1).
so *ale* (4).
~ that *mära*$_2$ (2).
soar *avu* (2).
solid *haura.*

some *re*$_1$; *ruarua.*
~-one *mo hese*, Cf. *hese*; *re*$_1$.
~-thing *re hina.*
~-times *nre dan.*
son *naru~*; *tu~.*
~-in-law *paliha~.*
song *vere.*
sore *solo.*
sorry *comi.*
south *Tahuna.*
space *masava.*
speak *vadai.*
spear *sadi*$_1$.
speech *sodo* (3); *sodosodo.*
sperm *cida.*
Sphyraena genia *dagodago.*
spider *pada*$_2$.
spirit *ramare.*
spit *lito.*
Spondias cythera *desi.*
spring up *sodo* (1).
squeeze out coconut cream *vidis.*
squid *huira.*
squirrelfish *aparavusa.*
stand up *rudu.*
star *viru sadasada*, Cf. *viru.*
start *tapulo.*
~ again *vari.*
stay *roho.*
steep *vurivuria.*
stem *hapasi.*
stiff *vurivuria.*
still *misi*; *ro*$_2$ (2).
stingray *avai.*
stink *mapuhu.*
stomach *page*; *raga ha~*, Cf. *raga.*
stone *sule.*
oven ~ *sule voso*, Cf. *sule.*
stop *hilu.*
~ a hole *colog*; *hodo*$_1$.
story *sodosodo*; *store.*
straight *holo*$_2$; *raholo.*
stranger *vinano.*
strike *lceg*; *nak*; *vcan* (3).
string *asi.*
strong *suiha.*
style *posi*$_2$.
suddenly *ravur* (2).
sugarcane *rovu.*
Sula leucogaster *kakato.*
summit *pede.*
sun *alo.*
Sunday *sande.*
sunny *aloalo*, Cf. *alo.*
surgeonfish *taravadoko.*
swallow *vakadakada.*
swamphen *pao.*
sweat *masmasu.*
sweet yam *tavadi.*
swell *sosohoni.*
swift *sut.*
swiftlet *vakadakada.*
swim *kadu*$_1$.
swordfish *aco cigo-hese*, Cf. *aco.*
sympathise with *comi* (2).
Syzygium malaccense *haviha.*

table *tep.*
tack *posi*$_1$ (1).
tail *kede*; *vici*$_2$.
take *vari.*
~ away *vahuden*; *vari* (4a).
tale *store.*
talk *sodo* (3); *sodosodo*; *vadai.*
tall *pedavu* (2).
tamanu *vi-pahuda.*
Tangoa island *Rago.*
taro *pera.*

wild ~ *via*.
tea *ai ẅadug*, Cf. *ai*.
tear *ai ẅara~*, Cf. *ai*.
tell *store*; *vadai*.
tempest *losu*.
ten *gavulu*; *sagavulu*.
Terminalia catappa *vosa*.
test *ẅe lesi*.
testicles *laso*.
thank *mece*.
that *honi*; *hosu*; *vada* (4).
the *di*; va_1.
their *-da*$_2$.
them *-da*$_2$.
then *ale* (2).
there *honi*; *hosu*; *kia*.
over ~ *ẅa*.
they *ha*$_2$; *mo*; *nida*$_1$.
thick *vonoho*, Cf. *vono*.
thigh *vose*$_2$.
thin *ẅadaga*; *ẅavinuvinu*.
thing *hina*.
think *coẅicoẅi*; *de* (4).
this *kesi*; *ne*; *nene*.
thought *coẅi*; *coẅcoẅ*, Cf. *coẅicoẅi*.
thread *asi*.
three *rolu* (1).
throat *cocole*.
throw *plane*.
thrust *sadi*$_1$.
thumb *ẅis paru-po*, Cf. *ẅisu*.
thus *sohena*, Cf. *sohe*.
tie *visi*.
timber *pudupudu*.
time *rugana*; *ẅaha*$_1$ (1).
tip *pede*.
tired *ẅaloko*.
to *isa~*$_2$; *ni~*$_1$.
today *hede*; *nahade*.
toe *vadago sadi~*, Cf. *vadago*.
together *pultan*; *rolu* (2).
tomorrow *ẅaivuho*.
tongue *ẅeẅe*.
tooth *hoco*$_2$.
top *pede*.
torn *macudu*.
totally *povi*.
touch *rkel*.
tough *haura*.
towards *ni~*$_1$; *ẅa* (2).
transport *lig*.
tree *ha*$_4$; *viha*.
Trichoglossus haematodus *civi*.
trick *kode*$_1$.
trunk *laho*; *para*.
try *lpo*; *traim*; *ẅe lesi*.
turmeric *cohi*.
turn *posi*$_1$ (1).
turtle *ivua*.
twin apple *ẅadaẅada*.
two *dua*.
two-fruit *ẅadaẅada*.
Tyto alba *peka*.

ugly *te*.
uncle *elua~*; *lala*; *ẅara~*$_3$; *rahura~*.
under *karano*.
underneath *dudu*.
understand *levse*.
unripe *pado*.
until *vada* (3).
up *kaura*; *saha*; *sahani*.
go ~ *sa*$_2$.
urinate *ẅere*; *tilatila*.
urine *ẅere*.
us (Incl) *-ca*.

use *vari* (7).
uvula *alovi-ha~*, Cf. *alovi*.

Valamugil seheli *kede-heca*.
vanish *ciha*.
Variola louti *rapala hahada*, Cf. *rapala*.
vein *mani*.
very *holo*$_2$; *vutiana*.
village *cada* (2).
vine *asi* (1).
violently *pilai*.
voice *leo*.
vomit *lua*.
vulva *pïle*.

waist *cada ruvaruva*, Cf. *ruva*.
wait *sovi*.
walk *vïano*.
want *de* (5); *dogo* (5); *poe*.
war *vudo*.
wash *hoco*$_1$.
watch *kila*; *klavïas*.
water *ai*.
salt ~ *rasi*$_1$.
wattle *vi-madi*.
wave
~ (n.) *suhusuhu*.
~ to *alovi*.
way *posi*$_2$; *sala*.
we
~ (Excl) *kam*; *kaïna*; *kaïnam*.
~ (Incl) *cam*$_1$; *co*$_2$; *nica*.
weak *ïmalum*.
wedding *lahi*.
week *wik*.
weep *ragi*.
well *ale* (1); *codo*; *otoïne*.
west *Harua*.
~-wards *sivo* (2).
western *tasale*.
wet *wet*.
what *sa*$_1$.
when *lo dani*, Cf. *dani*; *de* (7); *vada mo de*, Cf. *de*; *vada* (2).
~ (Interr.) *gisa*.
whenever *de* (7); *vada mo de*, Cf. *de*; *tade*.
where *ïve*$_1$.
which *sava*.
while *pele*.
whimbrel *pïlahe rasi* (1).
whistle *veculu*.
white *lulu*.
who *se*.
why *mo ro*, Cf. *rodo*$_1$; *ïmara sa*, Cf. *sa*$_1$.
wicked *levosai*.
wife *naivou~*; *pïra*.
wild *ila*.
~ area *hudara* (2).
~ variety of a plant *hohono*.
will *de* (5).
wind *lagi*.
wing *hapa*.
wise *levosai*.
wish *de* (5).
with *isa~*$_2$; *nida~*$_2$; *pedesi~*; *rolu* (3); *vari* (7).
woman *pïra*.
womb *ravu*.
wood *ha*$_4$; *pudupudu*; *viha*.
word *sodo* (3).
work *vïevïe hina*, Cf. *vei*$_2$.
wovile *tavadi*.
wrap *havu*.
wrasse *dukoko*.
wrinkles *maluhu naho~*, Cf. *maluhu*.

wrist *mavuhi limä*, Cf. *limä*.
write *uli*.

Xanthosoma sagittifolium *pera tasale*, Cf. *pera*.

yam *cam*$_2$; *pevu*.
sweet ~ *tavadi*.
wild ~ *pevu hohono*, Cf. *pevu*; *suma*.
~ stick *kodi*.
yellow *codiha*.
yesterday *nanovi*.
you
~ (Sg) *-ko*; *niko*; *o*; *om*.
~ (Pl) *ha*$_1$; *ham*; *kamim*.
young *uluvo*.
your
~ (Sg) *-m*.
~ (Pl) *-mim*.

Zingiber **sp.** *cohi*.
Zosterops *valalaha*.

References

Bogiri-Vari, Hannah, 2000, Social and sociolinguistic situation on the island of Araki. Unpublished manuscript.

Chao, Yüen-Ren, 1968, *A grammar of spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Charpentier, Jean-Michel, 1979, *La langue de Port-Sandwich (Nouvelles-Hébrides). Langues et Civilisations à Tradition orale*. Paris: Société d'Etudes Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France.

1982, *Atlas linguistique du Sud-Malakula/Linguistic Atlas of South Malakula (Langues et Cultures du Pacifique)*. Paris: Société d'Etudes Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France.

Clark, Ross, 1985, Languages of North and Central Vanuatu: Groups, chains, clusters and waves. In A. Pawley and L. Carrington, eds *Austronesian Linguistics at the 15th Pacific Science Congress*, 199–236. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

2000, North and Central Vanuatu: a comparative study. Unpublished computer files, University of Auckland.

Codrington, Reverend, 1885, *The Melanesian languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Crowley, Terry, 1982, *The Paamese language of Vanuatu*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

1987, Serial verbs in Paamese. *Studies in Language* 11:35–84.

1991, Parallel development and shared innovation: some developments in Central Vanuatu inflectional morphology. *Oceanic Linguistics* 30 (2): 179-222.

1995, *A new Bislama dictionary*. Port-Vila: University of the South Pacific.

1999, *Ura: a disappearing language of southern Vanuatu*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Dixon, Robert M.W., 1991, The endangered languages of Australia, Indonesia and Oceania. In R. Robins and E. Uhlenbeck, eds *Endangered languages*, 229–255. Oxford: BERG.

Dutton, Tom and Dick Thomas, 1985, *A new course in Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Early, Robert, 1993, Nuclear layer serialization in Lewo. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32 (1):65–93.

1994, Lewo. In P. Kahrel and R. Van den Berg. eds Typological studies in negation. *Typological Studies in Language*, Vol. 29:65–92. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Foley, William, 1986, *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge Language Surveys. Cambridge University Press.

Foley, William and Mike Olson, 1985, Clausehood and verb serialization. In J. Nichols and A. Woodbury, *Grammar inside and outside the clause*, 17–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

François, Alexandre, 1997, La subordination sans marques segmentales: Formes de dépendance interpropositionnelle dans le discours. Thèse pour l'obtention du Diplôme d'Études Approfondies (unpublished Masters thesis). Université Paris-III Sorbonne Nouvelle.

2000, Dérivation lexicale et variations d'actance: Petits arrangements avec la syntaxe. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique* Vol.XCV:15–42. Paris: Klincksieck.

2001, *Contraintes de structures et liberté dans l'organisation du discours. Une description du mwotlap, langue océanienne du Vanuatu*. Doctoral dissertation (unpublished). Université Sorbonne Paris-IV, 1078 pages.

forthcoming, Le motlav. In D. Kouloughli and A. Peyraube, eds Dictionnaire des Langues (*Encyclopédie des Sciences du Langage*, vol. 3). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Givón, Talmy, 1984, *Syntax. A functional-typological introduction*, vol. 1/2. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

1990, *Syntax. A functional-typological introduction*, vol. 2/2. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins.

1991, Serial verbs and the mental reality of 'event': grammatical vs cognitive packaging. In E.C. Traugott and B. Heine, eds *Approaches to grammaticalization*, 81–128. Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Hopper, Paul and Sandra Thompson, 1980, Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56:253–299.

Lemaréchal, Alain, 1998, Études de morphologie en f(x,...). *Bibliothèque de l'Information Grammaticale*. Louvain-Paris: Peeters.

Lichtenberk, Frantisek, 1991, On the gradualness of grammaticalization. In E.C. Traugott and B. Heine. eds *Approaches to grammaticalization*, 37–80. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins.

1995, Apprehensional epistemics. In J. Bybee and S. Fleischmann, eds Modality in grammar and discourse. *Typological Studies in Language* 32. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Longacre, Robert, 1972, *Hierarchy and universality of discourse constituents in New Guinea languages*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

1985, Sentences as combinations of clauses. In T. Shopen, ed. *Language typology and syntactic description*, 235–286. Cambridge University Press.

Lynch, John, 1998, *Pacific languages: an introduction*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Maddieson, Ian, 1989, Linguo-labials. In R. Harlow and R. Hooper, eds *VICAL 1: Oceanic languages, Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, 379–375. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Margetts, Anna, 1999, *Valence and transitivity in Saliba*. MPI Series in Psycholinguistics. Max-Planck Institute.

Miller, John G., 1990, *Live*, vol. 7: *Santo and Malo*. Port-Vila: Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu.

Pawley, Andrew, 1987, Encoding events in Kalam and English: different logics for reporting experience. In R. Tomlin, ed. *Coherence and grounding in discourse*, 329–360. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

1993, A language which defies description by ordinary means. In W. Foley, ed. *The role of theory in language description. Trends in Linguistics*, 87–129. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pawley, Andrew and Lawrence Reid, 1980, The evolution of transitive constructions in Austronesian. In P.B. Naylor, ed. *Austronesian studies: Papers from the Second Eastern Conference on Austronesian Languages*, 103–130. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Center for South and Southeastern Asian Studies.

Ray, Sidney H., 1926, *A comparative study of the Melanesian island languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, Malcolm, 1988, *Proto-Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of Western Melanesia*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

1998, Proto Oceanic phonology and morphology. In M. Ross, A. Pawley and M. Osmond, eds *The lexicon of Proto Oceanic. Vol. 1: Material culture*, 15–35. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Sperlich, Wolfgang, 1993, Serial verb constructions in Namakir of Central Vanuatu. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32 (1):95–110.

Tryon, Darrell T., 1976, *New Hebrides languages: an internal classification.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

1986, Stem-initial consonant alternation in the languages of Epi, Vanuatu: a case of assimilation? In P. Geraghty, L. Carrington and S. Wurm, eds *Focal II: Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, 239–258. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

1996, Dialect chaining and the use of geographical space. In J. Bonnemaison, K. Huffman, C. Kaufmann and D.T. Tryon, eds *Arts of Vanuatu*, 170–181. Bathurst: Crawford House Press.

Tryon, Darrell T. and Jean-Michel Charpentier, 1989, Les problèmes linguistiques à Vanuatu. *Renaissance du Pacifique* (Ethnies 8–9–10):13–17. Paris: Survival International.

Varisipiti Livo, Pastor and Hannah Bogiri-Vari, 1998, Araki, a dying language from South Santo: a sociolinguistic survey. Unpublished manuscript.

Wurm, Stephen A., 1991, Language death and disappearance: causes and circumstances. In R. Robins and E. Uhlenbeck, eds *Endangered languages*, 1–18. Oxford: BERG.

List of abbreviations

Below is a list of abbreviations, which are mainly used in our word-to-word translations. We also provide the page number in which the corresponding element is presented in detail: the reader may use this as a second index.

1/2/3S	first/second/third person singular		p.41
2/3P	second/third person plural		41
1EX	first person exclusive (plural)		41
1IN	first person inclusive (plural)		41
...:I	Irrealis mood clitic (for example 1EX:I)		42
...:R	Realis mood clitic (for example 1EX:R)		42
3:R	third person realis, sg/pl	*mo*	41
ANA	anaphora	*di*	52
ASS	assertive (on deictics)	*-n(i)*	77
COM	comitative suffix	*-n(i)*	43
CST	construct suffix	*-n(i)*	96
DETR	detransitiviser	*mä-*	146
DRINK	classifier for drink possession	*mä-*	98
DX	deictic (of grade 1, 2, 3)		69
DUP	reduplication of the radical		37
ECON	classifier for economical possession	*pula-*	98
FOOD	classifier for food possession	*ha-*	98
INT	intensifier for some adjectives	*-ha*	92
LOC	Locative preposition	*lo*	156
NEG	negation	*ce*	162
NUM	human numeraliser	*rapudo*	86
OBL	oblique preposition	*(ni-)*	159
PERS	personal nominaliser	*mada*	53
PFT	Perfect aspect	*re*	122
PL	plural marker	*dai*	54
POc	Proto Oceanic		
POSS	general possessive classifier	*no-*	97
PRG	progressive aspect	*ro*	126

PROH	Prohibitive/'lest'	*kan*	168
REL	relativiser		174
RES	resultative auxiliary (+ adjectives)	*raha*	93
SEQ	Sequential/Future aspect	*pa*	118
SUG	Suggestive	*ro*	128
TR	transitivising suffix	*-i*	131

Index

The following index is designed for the use of both Oceanic linguists and typologists. All the remarkable facts we state about Araki are listed here, together with a reference to other languages and typological insights.

Numbers in bold typeface refer to a page in which the item is more specifically detailed, or is of particular interest for general linguistics; numbers in italics refer to tables and recapitulative data. Cross-references within this index are indicated by a right arrow (→). Finally, notice the use of the sign '~' referring to the main entry. For example, the entry

verb
...
~ of movement 64, 137, **180** → directional adverbs

must be read: *'Verbs of movement' are mentioned on pp.64, 137 and especially on p.180; but see also the page numbers on the entry 'directional adverbs'.*

~ A ~

abbreviations *341*
  for dictionary 227-28
  for personal markers 45
adjective 34, **91-96**, 102
  and voice derivation 146
  comparative 91
  derived from noun 38
  directly predicative 153
  intensifiers and high degree 93
  intensive suffix *-ha* 28, 38, 92
  lexicalised number 53
  nominalised 53, 91
  resultative clitic *ra(ha)* 93-94
  taking possessive suffixes 47, 94-96
  vs. verb 34-35, 91
adjuncts (verbal ~) 35, 148, 149, *155*
  and suffixation 89, **136, 137**
  syntactic definition 130
  transitivising ~ 130, 134
adverb 36, 151, **156-59**. → anaphoric; time; space; directional; preposition
  demonstratives in ~ position 76
  intensive ~ 93
  of manner 95, 148, **158**, 193
  predicativeness **154-55**
  syntactic position 129-30
  vs. clause strategy 110, 166, 193-95, 199
affricate consonant 17
anaphoric
  ~ adverb 156, 159
  ~ object suffix 56, 144, 160, 191
  ~ post-clitic *di* 52-53, 69, 74, 102
  ~ pro-clitic *va* 51, 69, 74, 102
  ~ use of demonstrative 73
animal
  ~ names 47
  ~ tales 97, 212
  possessed 99
  treated as human 97, 142, 143, 212

treated as inanimate 142
animate referent
vs. inanimate 79, 80, 94, 142, 145, 152, 161, 174. → human referent; animal
argument structure 41, 145-47, 160-61. → object; oblique; transitivity; ditransitivity
and causative 146-47
and multi-clause strategy 191
and non-referential object 61
article 63, **69**, 102. → reference tracking; definite; indefinite
~ *vs.* clause 57, 197. → clause chaining and numerals
lack of ~ 51
aspect 106, **114-30**
~ markers *115*
affinity with quantification 61-62
and information hierarchy **125-26**
auxiliary 137
combination of ~ markers 116-18, 117-18
complete *iso* 124-26
vs. perfect *re* 125
definition 115
perfect *re* 61-62, *68*, 122-23
progressive *ro* 106, 126-29. → modal values
resultative clitic *ra(ha)* 93-94
sequential *pa* → sequential
typical ~ of adjectives 91
assertion 70
and modality 166
and referentiality 140
assertive suffix *-ni* 77
intensive suffix *-ha* 92
vs. other sentence types 168
auxiliary (aspect-modal) 137

~ B ~

Bislama pidgin 20
demonstrative predicates 154
loanwords 27, 173, 229
politeness (*festaem*) 129
pre-constructed event and focus on completeness (*finis*) 125
progressive aspect (*stap*) 127
suggestive (*traem*) 128
time focus (*jes*) 120
verb-conjunction (*se*) 184
body part terms 48

~ C ~

case-roles **145**
and causative 146-47
and ditransitive verbs 161
and oblique transitivity 160
causative **146-47**, 187
~ prefix *ïva-* 146-47
clause chaining 58, 160, 189-200
and comparative **91**, 110, 193
and contrastive time focus (*pa*) 119-21, 181
and existential predicates 55, 57
and information hierarchy 193
and mood agreement 109-10
and mood switching 110-14, 166-67
and new topic 56
and numerals 55, 83, 84, 88, **197**
coding for aspect 124-26, **195**
definition 189, 199
imperative and desiderative 108, 169
subordinating effects 110-14, 147, **175-77**, 182, 183, **196-97**, *198*
with 'say' (*de*) 184-89
time succession 109, 190-91
typology of interclausal relations 190-98
vs. verb serialisation **105**, 137, 147, 148, 189, 198
clitics 44
aspect ~ 115
morphological definition 21, 43
subject ~ → subject clitics
cognitive operations
'three' > globaliser > linker 87-89
analysing an event into its facets 191-92, 199
event 108. → event
individualised referent 79, 80
paradigm of generic nouns 142-43
quantifying events 61-62
virtual events 182

comitative
~ suffix *-ni* 43
~ use of *rolu* 'three' 87-89
comparative structures 91
complementiser 183-84.
→ subordination; object (sentential)
concessive 180
conditional 177-81, 188
and non-referentiality 62, 66, 178
concessive 180
counterfactual 66, *68*, 178, *180*
necessary *vs.* contingent relation 121
possible fact 177-79
consonant 14-18, 20
~ clusters 27
~-final roots 22-24
apico-labial ~ 6, **9**, **15-16**, 20
flap ~ 6, 9, **18**, 20
loss of POc ~s 19
thematic ~ in transitive form 134
construct suffix *-ni* 48, **96**, 98
on adjectives 94
vs. third person suffix *-na* 96
continuous
~ action ('go on') 116, 194
~ state ('still') **117**, 127
coordination **172-73**, 190, 198, 200.
→ comitative suffix
'three' as a linker 87-89
countable *vs.* uncountable 59

~ D ~

definite 51-53, *68*. → indefinite
non-referential → genericity
deictics → demonstratives
demonstratives 36, 52, **69**-75, 102
~ predicates and informational paradox 153-54
and assertive modality 77
assertive suffix *-ni* 36, 69, **77**
morphology *71*
prefix *nV-* 75-76
semantics of each form 71-75
syntax 75-76
used as relativiser 54, **75**, *76*
derivation → reduplication
from noun to noun 37-38, 50-51
from noun to verb 38
from verb to noun **40**, 49
from verb to verb **38-40**, *131*, 146-47
transitivisation *131*
desiderative-optative 107
diachrony 24, 53
detransitiviser prefix **ma-* 146
noun suffixation 48
phonology 15, 23, 25, 26-29
POc etyma → Proto Oceanic
standardisation of verb morphology 134-35
syntax of negation 65, 164-66
transitiviser *-i* 149
verbal morphology 45
dialectology and areal comparison *229*.
→ Tangoa language
'food' > 'passive' genitive 99
article 51
clause chaining 198
consonant alternations 45
construct suffix 96
deictic systems 70
demonstratives and pragmatics 77, 154
historical phonology 15, 21, 23, 28
negation 165
numeral systems 80
object incorporation 62, 129
partitive 62, 64
possessed nouns 48
preposition > genitive 159
reduplication 30, 37, 39
transitiviser suffix 36, 149
transitivity marking 134
trial > paucal 87
word for 'man' as non-human 143
directional adverbs **157-58**. → space
and demonstratives 71
geographical directions 194
vs. movement verbs 157, 193
discourse 192. → information hierarchy; modal values
construction of ~ 190, 198-99, 200.
→ clause chaining; subordination; interclausal relations

dual forms 35, 41, 83-86, 89, 149
plural used for two or three referents 83, 84

~ E ~

equational predicates 34, 43, 84, **151-53.** → noun phrase predicates
and partitive *re* 62
event (cognitive representation)
and aspect 115
internal structure and clause chaining 191-92, 199
possible fact 107, 177-79, *180*, **188.** → conditional; future
purpose clause 111
quantifying ~s 61-62
referential *vs.* non-referential **39**, 61, 63, 106, 107, **108**
time succession 109, **119-21**, 181, 190-91
virtual ~ and iterative **39**, 182
existential predicates
as adverbial predicates 154-55
negative ~ (*ce re*) 64-65, 104, 117, **164-66**
non-referential **65-68**
referential **56-59**, 154
existing referents → referentiality

~ F ~

first person
~ object singular (*-á*) 25, 45
and Irrealis 108
exclusive *vs.* inclusive **41**, 44, 177
focus → information hierarchy; topic
contrastive ~ on time 119-21
contrastive ~ *vs.* topic 42
on event *vs.* on result 123
on nature of event *vs.* on actualisation 125-26
future **121-22**
coded by Irrealis **107**, 121, 122
using aspect-marker *pa* 107, 121-22

~ G ~

gender 51
kin terms 50
lack of ~ distinction 41
genericity **39**, 60, *68-69*, 95, 174
~ of the object and transitivity marking 139
and universal quantifiers 90
generic noun 'day' 63, 90, 163, **182**
generic noun 'man' 79, 90, **142-43**
generic noun 'place' 90
generic noun 'thing' 64, 90, 163
of time reference 39, 90, 179, 188
genitive → possession
global quantifier 87
grammaticisation
'child' > nominaliser 53
'one' > 'a' 54, 56, 88
'say' (*de*) > subordinator 182, 184-89
'say' (*vadai*) > subordinator 179
'three' > globaliser > linker 87-89
'want' > iterative 182
demonstrative > relativiser 75, 197
generic noun 'man' > 'someone' 143
partitive > negation 65, 117, 164-66
partitive > perfect 61-62
preposition > genitive 159
verb 'finish' > complete aspect 124
verb 'stay' > progressive aspect 127

~ H ~

head (discussion on ~)
of NP 53, 63-64, 75-76, 86, **101**, 174
of predicate 57, 58, **65-68**, 75, 117, 151, 164, 197
of VP **149-50**
human referents → animal
and transitivity *136*, 141-43
as possessors **96**
generic noun 'man' as an exception 79, **142-43**
in possession 48
nominaliser *mada* 53. → nominaliser
numeral classifier *rapudo* 35, 86-87
priority rule for object position 161

hypothesis → conditional

~ I ~

iconicity
and prosody 154
and reduplication **37**
and time succession 190
imperative 107, **168-69**
and demonstratives 77
and non-referentiality 168
negative ~ (*kan*) 169
polite 128-29, 169
incorporation into the VP
of adjunct 36
of object → object incorporation
indefinite **59**, ***68***
'never' 65, 163
'nothing' 64, 163
'someone' < generic noun 'man' 143
and modality 55, 60, 66, 108, 110
non-referential (*re*) **59-68**
referential (*hese*) **54-59**, 63
independent pronouns **42-44**, 89, 104
as whole NPs 33, 102
dual forms 84-86, 101
paradigm *42*
trial forms 86
vs. subject clitics 105
information hierarchy (background *vs.* foreground)
and prosodic iconicity 154
clause-chaining strategy 191, 192, 193, 199
contrastive focus on time (*pa*) 119-21
defining relative clauses **175-77**, 196
demonstratives 77
focus of assertion and transitivity marking **140**
focus on event *vs.* result 123
genitive relationship 98
new topics 56
paradox with demonstratives 153-54
presupposed event and focus on completeness (*iso*) **125-26**
topic continuity 176
topic *vs.* comment 197. → topic
instrument 159
clause-chaining strategy 160, 191
with ditransitive verbs 161
interclausal relations 198-99. → clause chaining; coordination; subordination
and modality 109-14
typology of ~ in clause chaining 190-98
interrogation 169-71
and demonstratives 77
and intensive adjectives 92, 170
and modality 106
and non-referentiality 60, 66-67, **168**
question verb 171
tag in yes/no questions 165, 170
intransitive verb
scope of the quantifier 89
vs. adjective 34-35, 91

~ K ~

kin terms *50*, 82, 100, 143, **229-33**

~ L ~

lexical semantics 31, 184, *224*
and modality 112-14
of movement verbs 194
loanwords 8, 27, 47, 173. → Bislama
in dictionary 229
locative 130, 156, 193-95

~ M ~

methodological issues **9-11**, 21, 23, 25, 35, 45, 71, 132-33, 135, 190
modal values and subjectivity of the speaker → assertion; volition; conditional
aspect-modal auxiliaries 137
concession 180
controlling adjective intensifier **92**
demonstratives 70, 77
epistemic modality and non-referentiality 62
modal adverbs 158
prohibitive *kan* 149, **169**
Realis questions and negations 106

subjective complementiser (*de*) 62, 111, 112, **113-14**, 147, 177, 184-89, **188**, 196
suggestion and politeness (*ro*, *ra*) 128-29, 169
truth in oral literature 201
virtual events (Irrealis) 107-9
modality (Realis *vs.* Irrealis) 105-14
~ markers 44
and indefiniteness 55, 58, **60**, 66, **108**, 110, 140
and negation 106, 111, 166-67
and numerals 55, 60, **82**, 110
coding for tense 106, 107, 114, 115
in conditional systems 177-81, *180*
in questions 106
Irrealis mood 107-9, 110-14, 166-67. → future; imperative; event (possible)
mood agreement 109-10, 183, 185
mood attraction 186
mood switching 110-14, 166-67, 183, 196
Realis mood 106

~ N ~

names
of animals 47
of plants 47, **50**
personal ~ 34, 96, 136, 141. → human referent
place ~ → place names
negation 115, 149, 162-67
and intensive adjectives 92
and modality 106, 111, **166-67**
and non-referentiality 60, 64-65, 163, 166-67
and NP predicates 43, 152, 162
combined with aspect 116-17, **163**
existential ~ (*ce re*) 64-65, 117, **163**, **164-66**
independent ~ ('no') 65, **165-66**
nominaliser *mada* 53, 54, 91, 101
non-referentiality 59-**69**
and epistemic modality 62
and indefinite 58-61
and negation 166-67
and numerals 55, 82, 110
and universal quantifiers 90
in questions 168. → interrogation
of events 39, 61, 63, **108**, 166-67
of the object **39**, 58, 60-61, 108, 138-40, 168
noun **47-51**
definition 33-34, 41
derived → derivation
inalienable *vs.* alienable 46, **47-48**, 49, 96-98, *228*
modifying another noun 40, **48**
relational ~ 48
semantic categories *47*
semantic definition 33-34, 153
verbal ~ **40**, 49
noun phrase (NP) **41**, 75, 40-75
~ predicates 42, 43, 151. → equational; predicativeness of nouns
and adjectives 91
just consisting in a noun 51, 54, *69*, 78
numeral 86. → numeral
possessive bundle 97-98
syntax of possession 96-98
number and number-marking 51, 78-80. → dual; trial
ambiguity and inconsistency 78-79, 80, 144, 145
lexicalised on some adjectives 53, 78
personal markers 41
plural by reduplication 37-38, 78
plural *dai* 54, 79-80, 83, 86, 102
plural used for two or three referents 83
numeral 35, 80-89. → number; predicativeness
'one' (*hese*) → indefinite referential
and modality 82-83
and partitive (*re*) 60
human ~ classifier *rapudo* 35, 86-87
one (*hese*) 54-59, 102, 155
ordinal ~ 81-82
paradigm *81*
position in NP 101-2

~ O ~

object 33, 42, **150**

incorporation 39, 45, 60-61, *68*, 129, **138-40**, 150
incorporation into a verbal noun 40
non-referential **39**, 59, 60-61, *136*, 138-40, 168
referential definite 61, *136*, 144-45
referential indefinite 56
sentential ~ 110, 111-12, **183-84**, **196-97**
and transitivity marking 137, 145
with complementiser *de* 185-87
syntactic position 129-30
with ditransitive verbs 161

object suffixes 28, 45-46, 103, **131**
invisible in surface form 131
morphology 29-30, *45*, 132-34
on adjuncts 36, 89, 137
replaced by free pronouns 42, 85
syntax **135-45**

oblique 159-60
combined with partitive 63
complements 36, 156-61. → preposition
in relative clauses 175
transitivity 160-61

order of constituents → information hierarchy
in clause **156**, 168, 170
in NP 98, **101-2**
in VP 35, **149-50**
inside possessive phrase 98

orders → imperative

ordinal numerals 81-82

orthography 20

other languages → typology; dialectology
Bislama → Bislama pidgin
English 20, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 66-67, 68-69, 74, 80, 91, 120, 145, 174, 182
Fijian 87, 99, 134
French 56, 62, 167
Japanese 79
Latin 70, 186
Lenakel (Vanuatu) 81
Lewo (Vanuatu) 45, 165, 189
Malo (Vanuatu) 6, 53, 215
Mandarin Chinese 62, 79, 92, 181, 198
Mota (Vanuatu) 21, 28, 81
Mwotlap (Vanuatu) 24, 48, 62, 77, 129, 143, 165, 191
North Efate (Vanuatu) 45
Paama (Vanuatu) 23, 39, 45, 189
Papuan languages (Chuave, Kalam) 198
Port-Sandwich (Vanuatu) 36, 81, 159
Proto Oceanic → Proto Oceanic
Spanish 24, 180
Tangoa (Vanuatu) 18, 20, 25, 45, 69, 92, 93, 147
sociolinguistics 6-9
To'aba'ita (Solomon Is.) 156, 184
Tok Pisin 176

~ P ~

partitive clitic (*re*) 58, **59-68**, 102
and modality 60
and numerals 60
and possession 101
as a NP head 63-64, 65, 165
on objects 59-61, 62, *136*, **138-39**
quantifying events 61-62

parts of speech **33-37**, *227*
and predicativeness 104, *155*
as head of VP predicates 149
taking object suffixes 46
taking possessive suffixes 46
taking subject clitics 103, 149, 153
transcategorial derivation 37-40

past tense 106. → tense

paucal
emerged from trial 87

personal markers 41-47. → object suffixes; possessive suffixes; subject clitics; independent pronouns
as clues for number-assigning 78
demonstratives as a kind of ~ 69-74
dual forms 83-86
trial forms 86-89

phonotactics 26-27

place names 34, 53, *136*, **157**
directly adverbial 130, 157
treated as human proper names 97, 141

plural → number

possession 40, **96-101**
and non-referential object 101
different kinds of ~ 98-100
direct ~ 47-48. → possessive suffixes
syntax 96-98
temporary 99
vs. noun-modifying noun 49
possessive classifier 46, **97-101**
and dual suffixes 85, 101
and verbal noun 40
semantics of each ~ 98-100
syntax in clause 100-101
syntax within NP 97-98
possessive suffixes 28, 46-47, 49, 96, 98. → noun (inalienable ~)
dual forms 85
on adjectives 47, 94-96
on prepositions 47
productivity 48
pragmatics → assertion; modal values; information hierarchy
predicate phrase (PdP) **151**-55
predicativeness ***155***
of adjectives 34-35, **91**, 103, 153, *155*
of adverbs 57, **154-55**
of demonstratives 37, 74, 75-76, 153-54, *155*
of indefinite *(mo) hese* 57, 155, 197
of nouns 33-34, 151-53, *155*. → noun phrase predicates
of numerals 35, 54, 80, 82-83, 88, 104, *155*, 197
of partitive *re* 65-68, *155*
of possessive classifiers 101, 153, *155*
of pronouns 43, *155*
preposition 33, 36, **156-61**
and possessive classifiers 100
in NPs 102
noun-like ~ 46, 156
verb-like ~ 46, 63, 156
vs. adjunct 130, 160
present tense 106. → tense
presupposed representations → information hierarchy; topic; event
and complete aspect 125-26
and pragmatic referentiality 140
prohibitive 149, 169
pronoun → personal markers
demonstrative ~ 73, 75
non-referential (*re*) 63-64
possessive ~ 101
resumptive ~ in relative clauses 175
prosody 154, 169, 176
pause 189, **198**
prosodic clause 198
Proto Oceanic 14, 19, *228*. → diachrony
article 51
clause chaining 198
nouns 48
number 41
numeral system 80
phonotactics 23, 26
POc etyma 17, 19, 23, 24, 50, 134, 146, *228*
remote object suffix **-aki(ni)* 134, 159
transitivity marking 134
purpose
~ clauses 111, 187
negative-~ marker (*kan*) 169

~ Q ~

quantifier 59. → numeral; number; partitive
'all' (*povi*) 89-90
'all' (*rolu*) 87-89
'every' (*tade*) 90-91
and generic nouns 90
of events 61-62
questions → interrogation

~ R ~

Realis *vs.* Irrealis mood → modality
reciprocal 144
reduplication 37-40, 49, 72, 78, 92, 93
morphology 30-32
semantics 37-40
reference tracking 36, **52**, 51-69, ***68-69***. → article; quantifier; definite
and relative clauses 175-77
with demonstratives 73
referentiality 51

and indefinite 58, *68-69*
and time adverbs 63
of events 108
of the possessor 48, 50
pragmatic ~ *vs.* semantic ~ 140
reflexive 38, 144
relative clauses 43, 102, 173-77
and aspect 127
and mood switching 167
marked as plural 54
with relativiser 75, *76*, **174-75**, 197
without relativiser 55, **175-77**, 197

~ S ~

sentence 156, **198**. *passim* → clause chaining; order of constituents; discourse; equational predicates
~ types 168-71. → assertion; interrogation; imperative; negation
complex ~ 172-81
sequential aspect (*pa*) 66, 118-22, 149, 152
as constrastive time focus 119-21
as future marker 119, **121-22**, 128
as temporal-logical linker 117, **119**, 120, **181**
in conditional systems **181**
with Irrealis 120-22
with Realis 117, 119-20
serial verb constructions 189
core-layer ~ → clause chaining
nuclear-layer ~ → verb serialisation
sociolinguistics **5-9**
spatial location 69, **127**. → demonstratives; names of place; directional; locative
geographical directions 194
speakers (number of) *5*
specific referent → referentiality
speech situation (reference to the)
and demonstratives 69-74
statistics in corpus *19*, 26, 46, 52, 69, 71-75, 80, 114, 119, 127, 157, **190**, 193
stress 19, 21-25. → prosody
distinctive ~ 21, 25
mobility 21
morphological effects 25, 28-29
subject 33, 42, 103-5, 151
dual ~ 84
non-referential indefinite ~s 62, 64
referential indefinite ~s 57, 155
zero ~ 152
subject clitics 34, 44-45, 103
and complete aspect 124
and NP predicates 152
and numerals 58, 80, 82
and pronoun predicates 43
and verb serialisation 105, **147**
as mood markers → modality
dual forms 84
morphology *44*, 106, 107
on complementiser 184
syntax **103-5**, 149
third realis (*mo*) 43, 44-45, 55, 56, 65, 77, **79**, 80, 86, 104, 174, 178, **190**, 199
trial forms 88
with existential predicates 66
subordination 173-81, 198. → clause chaining; interclausal relations
'if, when' (*vada*) 111, 112, 179-80, 182, **183**, 188
conjunction-preposition *mara* 46, 111, **158**, 171, **173**, 183
purpose clauses 111, 187
time ~ 91, 179, **182**, 188
verb-conjunction *de* 111, 112, 147, 177, 182, 184-**89**, 196
suffixes
morphological definition 21, 43
vowel assimilation 28
switch reference
lack of ~ 198
syllable 26-27
number of ~s and reduplication 30-32
syntax and semantics *passim*

~ T ~

tense and verbal time → future; aspect; modality
ambiguity 106

coded by mood 106, 107, 114, 115
vs. aspect 106, **115**, 123
time adverbs **158**
'already' and 'ever' **125-26**
'always' 90
'never' 65, 163
'now' as a deictic 72
'sometimes' 63
'still' **117**, 127
and referentiality 63
clue for tense interpretation 106
counting times 82
days of the week 81
generic noun 'day' → genericity
time clauses 181-82
topic 43, 104, 151
~ continuity 176
contrastive ~ 42
demonstratives in ~s 72, 73, **77**
new ~ 56
sentential ~s 77
vs. comment 153-54. → information hierarchy
transitiviser suffix *-i* 36, 46, **131**, 135
in Oceanic languages 36, 149
invisible in surface form 22, 89, 132-33, **135**, 137, 141
on adjuncts 89, 149
transitivity 130-32. → object suffixes
and information status of the object **140**
and non-referential object 58, 60-61, **138-40**
detransitivisation process **39**, **146**
intransitive *vs.* transitive verbs 131
morphological variations 132-34
oblique ~ → ditransitivity; oblique
scope of the quantifier 89
syntactic variations 132, ***136***, 135-45
vs. direct locative 130
trial forms 41, 84, 86-89, 149
plural used for two or three referents 83
use as a linker 87-89
truth value 109, **111**, 114, 166-67
and Irrealis 108
implicative verbs 110, 183
non-implicative verbs 111
typology and cross-language comparison **12-13**. → other languages
'one' as indefinite 56
'stay' > progressive 127
'want' > iterative 182
adverbs *vs.* clause strategy 166
clause chaining **198**
concession and mood 180
demonstrative > relativiser 174
existential > perfect 62
future 121
intensive adjectives and assertive speech act 92
mood attraction 186
negation and non-referentiality 64, 167
new topics and clause-chaining strategy 56, 58
number-marking 79
partitive > negation 165
perfect aspect 123
pragmatic *vs.* semantic referentiality 140
Realis *vs.* Irrealis 105, 180
stress effects 24
unmarked relative clauses 176
verb 'take' and multi-clause strategy 191

~ V ~

valency 145-47, 196. → argument structure; transitivity; object
Vanuatu languages *229*. → dialectology and areal comparison; Tangoa language
verb
~ 'make' and causative 147
~ 'say' (*de*) 62, 111, 112, **113-14**, 133, 147, 177, **184**
as a complementiser **184-89**
time subordinator **182**, 188
~ 'say' (*vadai*) 112, 179, 183, 187
~ 'stay' and progressive aspect 127
~ 'take' expressing instrument 160, 191
~ of cognition 186
~ of movement 71, 148, 157, **193**. → directional adverbs
~ of utterance 185

~ serialisation 94, 105, *136*, 137, 147-**48**, 149, 198
definition 35
derived → derivation
implicative ~ 110, 183
interrogative ~ 171
intransitive *vs.* transitive 131
manipulative ~ 111, 187
non-implicative ~ 183
symmetrical ~ 145-46
volitional ~ 111, **112-14**, 186
verb phrase (VP) 36, 103-32, **103**, 104
~ predicates 42, 151
limited by *ro* 115, **129-30**, *150*, 157
virtual reference → non-referentiality
grammaticisation 'want' > iterative 182
voice 145-47
passive *vs.* middle 146
vowel 16, 19
~ assimilation 28-29, 46, 71, 92
~ clusters 19, 24
assimilation 32
deletion of high ~s 21-23, 26-27, 30, 31, 133, 141
deletion of non-high ~s 26, 127
epenthetic ~ 134