

DISCOVERING MAŪEA: GRAMMAR, TEXTS, AND LEXICON

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By

Valérie M. P. R. Guérin

Dissertation Committee:

Yuko Otsuka, Chairperson

William O'Grady

Kenneth Rehg

Albert Schütz

Nicholas Thieberger


Marie-Christine Garneau

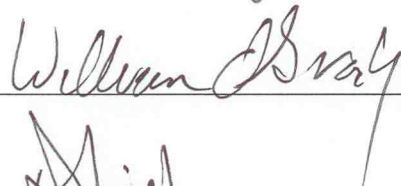
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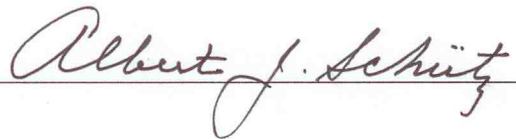

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Abstract

Ma'eva is an Oceanic language spoken on the eponymous island Ma'eva, off the eastern coast of Espiritu Santo, in Vanuatu. It is a severely endangered language, spoken by approximately 34 people. In an effort to safeguard information about Ma'eva, this dissertation provides a synchronic description of some of the grammatical features of the language. Background information about the language affiliation and the language situation on the island is first introduced. Some aspects of the phonology (such as the loss of linguo-labials) and the morphophonology of the language are then described, followed by a discussion on the complexity of the Ma'eva numeral system. This descriptive grammar also highlights morphosyntactic features that Ma'eva shares with other languages of the Oceanic language family, such as serial verb constructions and direct and indirect possessive constructions. In the appendices, three short texts are glossed and transcribed, and a bilingual dictionary of about 1800 entries is provided, along with a CD containing the audio files of the texts.

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Abbreviations

.	portmanteau morpheme (in gloss)
.	syllable boundary (in target language)
=	clitic boundary
-	morpheme boundary
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
APP	applicative
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
CONS	construct suffix
DAT	dative
DET	determiner/article
DETR	detransitivizer
DL	dual
FEM	feminine
FOC	focus particle
FUT	future
IMPF	imperfective
INCPT	inceptive
INST	instrument
IR	irrealis
IT	iterative
K.O	kind of
LIG	ligature
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
NO.	number
NMZ	nominalizer
PCL	trial/paucal
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRES	present
PST	past

PURP	purpose
REAL	realis
RED~	reduplicant
REF	reference number
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
S.O	someone
SP	species
S.T	something
SUB	substitutive
SUBJ	subjunctive
TR	transitive morpheme

1 Introduction

1.1 Background information.

Ma'ŕea is an Oceanic language spoken in Vanuatu, on the eponymous island of Ma'ŕea. This island is situated in the northern part of the country, and is a satellite of Espiritu Santo, the largest island in the archipelago.

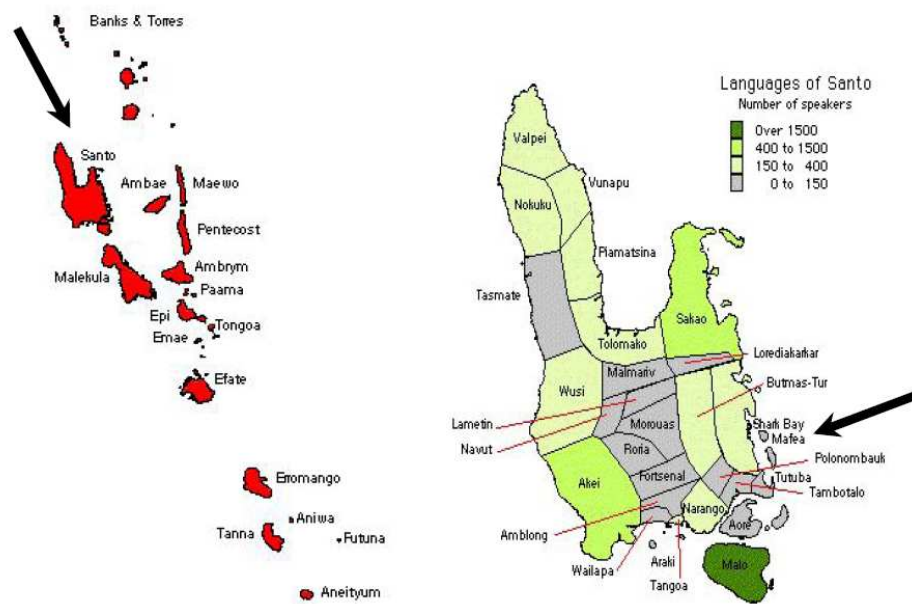


Figure 1.1: Maps of Vanuatu (left), Espiritu Santo and Ma'ŕea (right).¹

1.2 The Ma'ŕea community.

Ma'ŕea has a land surface of about 4.7 km². The island is flat around its coast, and there is a small hill in the middle, which leads to a bushy plateau where everyone cultivates at least

¹The maps produced in MapInfo by Nick Thieberger, based on Wurm and Hattori (1981), are available at: < <http://www.linguistics.unimelb.edu.au/thieberger/vanlangs/SANTO.HTM>>. Last accessed on March 11, 2008.

one garden. There are also some coconut plantations on the plateau, which is cleared of bush, but the largest plantations are found close to the shore, where everyone now resides.

The population is split into twelve settlements of extended families. The most recent national census was undertaken in 1999. It reports (2000:56-8) on a total population of 172 on Ma'vea, consisting of 72 women and 100 men. Their distribution in age group is detailed in figure 1.2 below.

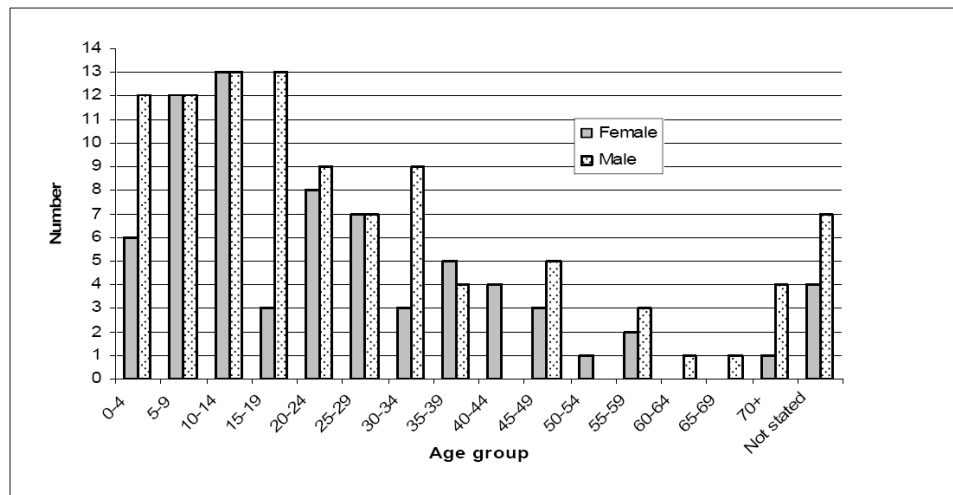


Figure 1.2: Ma'vea population by age. (Data from the 1999 Vanuatu National Census)

In order to assess the number of Ma'vea speakers in 2007, I interviewed three residents individually, asked them to list all residents on the island, and to determine who spoke the language. Based on these interviews, I estimate that the current total population amounts to approximately 210 residents, with 34 fluent Ma'vea speakers. The total population can be categorized in terms of their language skills and proficiency level, by age group, as shown below.

Table 1.1: Total population by age group and proficiency level

	Gen1	Gen2	Gen3	Gen4	Total
FS	6(+3)	13(+1)	15(+4)	-	34(+8)
NF	-	5	11(+1)	5	22
NS	5	10	17	114	146
Total	14	29	48	119	210

The numbers in parenthesis represent second language learners of Ma'ŕea, mostly women married to Ma'ŕea speaking men. Acronyms used in table 1.1 are defined as follows:

Proficiency

FS: Fluent Mavea speakers

NF: Non-fluent speakers with passive understanding of the language

NS: Non-speakers with little or no passive understanding

Age groups

Generation 1 (Gen1): 65 to 80 years old

Generation 2 (Gen2): 45 to 65 years old

Generation 3 (Gen3): 20 to 45 years old

Generation 4 (Gen4): 20 years old and below

The majority of Ma'ŕea residents belongs to the third and fourth generations. I estimate that there are approximately 119 children and young adults (Gen4) and about 91 adults (Gen1 to Gen3). Although it is difficult to correlate age with proficiency, roughly speaking, those individuals born around or after the country's independence (1980), and who now belong to Gen3 and Gen4, tend to be less fluent than those born before Independence. The 34 fluent speakers (FS) belong in Gen1 to Gen3. Non-speakers (NS) of Ma'ŕea (that is, monolingual Bislama speakers) primarily belong to Gen4. The NS found in Gen1 and Gen2 are spouses who did not learn Ma'ŕea as a second language. NS found in Gen3 are either spouses or children of a Ma'ŕea-speaking parent, while all NS in Gen4 were born and raised on Ma'ŕea. There are no monolingual Ma'ŕea speakers.

Note that there is also a small Ma'vea-speaking community in Deproma, a village on mainland Santo. The 1999 National Census reports 40 males and 37 females in Deproma. I estimate that in 2007, the Deproma community numbered about a hundred residents, with a maximum of 10 (middle-aged and aging) fluent and non-fluent Ma'vea speakers.

1.3 The Ma'vea language.

1.3.1 Genetic affiliation. Ma'vea belongs to the *North Vanuatu* linkage, a member of *Central/Eastern Oceanic* (CEO). Its position in the Oceanic language family is shown below (from Lynch et al. 2002:56, 108, 112-114. See also Lynch and Tryon 1985:33).

Proto Oceanic (POc)

Proto Admiralties

Western Oceanic

Central/Eastern Oceanic (CEO)

Southeast Solomonian family

Utupua and Vanikoro

Central Pacific linkage

Micronesian family

Southern Oceanic linkage

Nuclear Southern Oceanic linkage

North Vanuatu linkage

The *North Vanuatu* linkage comprises approximately 94 languages (Clark 1985:199). The subgrouping of those 94 languages is a matter for debate (see Clark 1985, Lynch et al. 2002:114, and Tryon 1976), but Clark (1985:221) notes that Espiritu Santo may form a genetic unit. Based on these classifications, and the geographic situation of Ma'vea we can assume that the Ma'vea language belongs to the Espiritu Santo subgroup of the *North Vanuatu* linkage.

1.3.2 State of endangerment. Brenzinger et al.'s (2003) framework identifies nine factors critical in determining the state of endangerment of a language.

- F1:** Intergenerational Language Transmission
- F2:** Absolute number of speakers
- F3:** Proportion of speakers within the total population
- F4:** Trends in existing language domains
- F5:** Response to new domains and media
- F6:** Materials for language education and literacy
- F7:** Governmental language policies
- F8:** Community members' attitudes towards their own language
- F9:** Amount and quality of documentation

Except for F2, all other factors are assessed on a scale from 0 to 5, where 5 indicates that the language is safe, used on a regular basis, supported by language policies, etc. F1 is based on Fishman 1991. F4 considers who speaks the language, when, with whom, and about what topics. F5 measures the extent to which the language copes with modernity. In order to assess the vitality of the language, I applied Brenzinger et al.'s (2003) framework to Ma'eva. The results are presented in Guérin 2008. I summarize here the major findings.

Table 1.2: Assessing the language vitality of Ma'eva

Factors	Ratings	Comments
F1	3	The language is no longer being learned as mother tongue by children in the home
F2	34	Various level of fluency
F3	2	About 16% of the total population speaks the language (34 out of 210)
F4	2	Limited/dwindling domains
F5	0	The language is inactive, not used in any new domain
F6	0	The language is not used in school
F7	5?	"The Republic of Vanuatu shall protect the different local languages . . . offers vernacular-language education in languages with 100 speakers or more"
F8	1	Few speakers are concerned with language loss
F9	0	No material exists to date, except for those now in circulation on the island

On Fishman's (1991) "Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale," Ma'eva straddles

stages 6 and 7. Older speakers are integrated in the community, and there is some inter-generational use of the language. The youngest Ma'vea speakers are of child-bearing age (Gen3). They do not typically use Ma'vea with their children. As a result, Ma'vea is no longer the dominant language in most families anymore and it is no longer being learned as a first language. Members of Gen3 may use Ma'vea or Bislama with older generations, but Bislama is preferred. They speak Bislama exclusively when they talk to their peers in the same age group or to a younger age group. I have not heard anyone in Gen4 speaking Ma'vea.

The domains of use of Ma'vea are “dwindling” (to use Brenzinger et al.’s (2003:10) terminology). Communication in Ma'vea is rather rare. It occurs mainly at home between husband and wife, parents and children (but not in all households), and during some private conversations outside of the home area (between peers in older age groups). In all other domains (such as church and church-related gatherings; “Kastom” ceremonies such as weddings or funerals; “Kastom” law dealing with resolution of disputes; recreational activities; education; interactions with the government; and business transactions), only Bislama is used. These results thus indicate that Ma'vea is a moribund language.

Factors contributing to the loss of Ma'vea include but are not restricted to (i) christianization by Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) and Church of Christ missionaries. All church related matters are performed in Bislama; and (ii) exogamy. It used to be the case that women came from nearby islands: Ambae, Malo, Tutuba, or South Santo, and so spoke languages closely related to Ma'vea. Recent trends (starting about fifty years ago, a period which coincides with christianization) reveal that some spouses come from islands that are farther away from Ma'vea (like the Banks or Pentecost), and thus speak languages that are not closely related to Ma'vea. Given that the use of Ma'vea has also declined, newly wedded women converse in Bislama only, and Bislama is now often the only language spoken regularly in the home; (iii) Bislama is needed in all business transactions. It has become

associated with upward social mobility, leaving Ma'vea to be the language of a stigmatized traditional past.

1.4 Previous work on Ma'vea.

To date, I am aware of only two Ma'vea word lists. The earliest one I found is in the collection of Arthur Capell's notes, archived at PARADISEC.² About 27 Ma'vea words can be found in the item AC2-VES308, where Ma'vea is referred to as *Mavia*. This undated collection is, according to Paradisec, part of a correspondence between Sidney Ray and T. T. Barnard. The other source is Tryon 1976. About two hundred words collected by Jacques Guy are reproduced in this publication, where Ma'vea is referred to as *Mafea*.

There are, however, grammatical descriptions of languages closely related to Ma'vea that helped me to write this dissertation, namely a grammar of Tamambo, which is spoken on Malo Island (Jauncey 1997); Araki, which used to be spoken on Araki Island (François 2002); and Lolovoli, a dialect of Ambae, spoken in eastern Ambae (Hyslop 2001). There also exists a grammatical description of Tutuba, spoken on Tutuba Island (Naito 2008), but it is written in Japanese and I have not been able to read it.

1.5 Methodology.

In order to gather the data for this dissertation, I conducted fieldwork on three separate occasions to Ma'vea Island, a total of eleven months of field work: June-August 2005, August-December 2006, and June-September 2007. Most of the data were gathered while I resided on the Ma'vea Island. However, I also travelled to Aore Island in 2006 and Tanna Island in 2007, and spent about a month on each island, where one of my main consultants was working.

²<http://paradisec.org.au/fieldnotes/image_viewer.htm?VES308,3,2,L> I am thankful to Nick Thieberger for pointing out this material to me.

The corpus for this dissertation is made up of elicited sentences and word lists from four main consultants: Peter (born 1979), Allan (born 1971), Sera (born 1956~58), and Elsie (born around 1943~45). However, the grammatical description I present here relies mainly on the analysis of stories recorded from about 20 consultants. Several genres were used: legends, personal stories, conversations, and elicited stories from (i) two picture books created by Gabriel Torno for the Language Documentation Training Center, (ii) the story book *Where the wild things are* (Sendak 1963), and (iii) the 2005 *Heinle picture dictionary*. To elicit names of fish, I used Vilcinskas 2002 and Goldin 2002. To elicit names of trees, I used Gowers 1976.³

I used the software *Transcriber* to pair audio-files with text. I then exported the text file with time-aligned coding to the software *Toolbox*, where the stories were glossed with my Toolbox dictionary. I also published an html version of the dictionary, using the software *Lexique Pro*. It is available at <<http://www2.hawaii.edu/~vguerin/dictionary/index-english/main.htm>> Audio files, Transcriber files and Toolbox files are all archived at ELAR in London, and will soon also be archived at PARADISEC.

1.6 Overview.

There are three major parts to this work:

- A descriptive grammar,
- A collection of four glossed and translated stories,
- A bilingual Ma'ŕea-English dictionary, followed by an English finderlist.

The bulk of this dissertation consists of a description of some aspects of the grammar of Ma'ŕea as it is spoken today. Although the analyses presented in this work are not devoid of theoretical assumptions, I have tried to limit my usage of technical terms. I used

³I would like to thank Piet Lincoln for the Goldin and Gowers guides, and Sebastien Lacrampe for the Vilcinskas guide.

grammatical notions that are recognized as typologically and cross-linguistically valid, for the description to be accessible to a broad audience of linguists.

The dissertation is organized as follows: chapter 2 discusses the phonology of Ma'vea. This chapter presents the phonemes of the language, some phonological and morpho-phonological rules, and also discusses idiolectal variation. Chapter 3 establishes parts of speech in the language. Chapter 4 examines derivational morphology. Chapter 5 discusses the Ma'vea counting system. Chapter 6 presents the noun phrase, its possible constituents, and their ordering. Chapter 7 describes possession in Ma'vea, including the (in)directly possessed noun classes and possessive classifiers. Chapter 8 presents prepositions and prepositional phrases. Chapter 9 examines the morphemes that make up a verbal complex, such as subject agreement prefixes, tense, aspect, and modality. Chapter 10 addresses some issues in transitivity, especially concerning the reflex of the POc transitive marker *i. Chapter 11 discusses core and nuclear serial verb constructions. Chapter 12 presents simple sentences, such as existential and equational constructions. Chapter 13 examines negation and question formation. Last, chapter 14 examines subordination, coordination, and topicalization. Appendix A contains four glossed stories, while the dictionary can be found in Appendix B.

Examples in the body of this dissertation appear in the following format:

- (1) ref 07032.031
Na-to' Vira **rar** Myriam.
1SG-call Vira 3PL.DL Myriam
'I called Vira and Myriam.'

The reference number (here *ref 07032.031*) indicates the name of the file the sentence is extracted from (07032) and the line inside the text where the sentence appears (031). In each example, at least one element appears in bold face. This is the element relevant to the current discussion.

1.7 Writing system.

In consultation with the Ma'êa community, I developed a writing system for Ma'êa (see Guérin 2008). This writing system does not distinguish the linguo-labials /p̥/, /m̥/, /v̥/, from respectively /p/, /m/, and /v/. In this dissertation, however, I do indicate linguo-labials. The phoneme/grapheme correspondences used in this dissertation are given in the following table.

Table 1.3: Phonemes and graphemes correspondence

Phoneme	/a/	/e/	/i/	/o/	/u/	/t/	/d/	/s/	/n/	/l/
Grapheme	a	e	i	o	u	t	d	s	n	l
Phoneme	/p̥/	/v̥/	/m̥/	/p/	/v/	/m/	/k/	/r/	/ŋ/	/w/
Grapheme	ḗ	ṽ	ṁ	p	v	m	k	r	ng	w word-initial, u elsewhere

The orthographic conventions that were agreed upon are mostly “shallow.” A shallow orthographic system:

- strives to present a one-to-one correspondence between a phoneme and a grapheme (Bird 1999:103, Sebba 2004:18-9, Seifart 2006:279).
- privileges reading, particularly the beginning reader and the non-fluent speaker (Seifart 2006:287).
- facilitates spelling, especially for languages (like Ma'êa) where there is no dialectal variation (Sebba 2007:19, Venezky 2004:139).
- graphically represents allomorphy (Seifart 2006:279).

Following this last principle, the imperfective marker /lo/ is written <l> or <lo> depending on its pronunciation, as shown below.

- (2) Mo-l-ṽa.
3SG-IMPF-go
'He is going.'

- (3) Mo-lo-va.
3SG-IMPF-go
'He is going.'

There are, however, some instances where the orthography “deepens,” and spelling favors morphology over pronunciation. The subject agreement marker /mo-/ 3SG is a case in point. It is pronounced [mo] before verbs beginning with consonants, and with the vowels [o, i, u].

- (4) /mo-inu=a/ [mo.i.nu.a]
3SG-drink=3SG
'S/he/it drank it.'

But with verbs starting with the vowels [o], [e] and [a], the /o/ of /mo-/ assimilates to the verb's initial vowel.

- (5) /mo-evu/ [me:v(u)]
3SG-complete
'It's finished.'

The community found it more desirable to write this subject agreement marker as <mo> at all times.

Bearing these conventions in mind, let us begin.

2 Phonology

In this chapter, I present the phonemic inventory of Ma'ŕea: consonants in section 2.1 and vowels in section 2.2. Stress assignment rules are presented in section 2.2.6; syllable structure in section 2.3. Section 2.4 briefly reviews intonation. Section 2.5 describes some morphophonological processes. Finally, the phonemic inventory of Ma'ŕea is compared to the Proto Oceanic (POc) and Proto North Central Vanuatu (PNCV) inventories in section 2.6.

Note that throughout this study, words exemplifying the phonemes are presented in their orthographic forms unless otherwise stated, that is, when they appear between square brackets representing a phonetic description, or between slashes for a phonemic description. The following notation is also used: syllables are separated by a period, the symbol # indicates the edge of a word, while morpheme boundaries are indicated by the symbol +.

2.1 Consonants.

The set of consonant phonemes is summarized in table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Consonants

	Linguo -labial	Bi -labial	Labio -dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retro -flex	Velar
Stop	p	p		t		ɖ	k
Fricative	v		v		s		
Trill					r		
Nasal	m	m			n		ŋ
Approximant							w
Lateral					l		

None of the plosives are aspirated; neither are they prenasalized (see below section 2.1.8) as they are in the related language Tamambo (Riehl and Jauncey 2005:256).

2.1.1 Gemimates. Four consonants can also be geminated. Gemimates have a low functional load.

(6)	/l/-/l:/	lua	‘vomit’	llua	‘roll s.t’
		malao	‘Megapodius bird’	mallao	‘Turtle island’
	/r/-/r:/	ru	‘go in’	rru	‘insist’
		ro	‘after, then’	rro	‘fast’
	/m/-/m:/	lama	‘light’	amma	‘before’
	/n/-/n:/	na	‘but’	nna	‘3sg’
		no-	‘classifier’	nno	‘2sg’

In rapid speech, gemination is almost imperceptible. The pronoun *nna* ‘3SG’, a high-frequency word, is often pronounced [na]. I did not notice the gemimates /r:/ and /l:/ until my consultants gave me minimal pairs.

2.1.2 Minimal pairs. Minimal and near minimal pairs are presented below to illustrate the consonant phonemes presented in table 2.4.

(7)	/m̥/-/m/	m̥ata	‘dead’	mata	‘snake’
	/m̥/-/n/	m̥aɸar	‘k.o tree’	napar	‘today’
	/p̥/-/p/	p̥aio	‘shark’	pai	‘shoulder’
	/p̥/-/t/	p̥aka	‘bow’	taka	‘spiny rabbit fish’
	/v̥/-/v/	v̥eia	‘to make’	vea	‘to insult’
	/v̥/-/p/	varava	‘female pig’	para	‘spider’
	/v̥/-/p̥/	aʋa	‘crab’	aɸa	‘wing’
	/v̥/-/s/	vuro	‘war’	sureia	‘hide s.t’
	/n/-/r/	sana	‘dirty’	sara	‘clean’
	/d̥/-/r/	dodo	‘cloud’	roro	‘noise, sound’
	/t/-/d̥/	utu	‘louse’	udu	‘tooth’
	/n/-/ŋ/	tan	‘begin’	tang	‘cry, mourn’

The phonemes are examined in detail in the following subsections. In particular, we will look at the contrast between linguo-labials and labials (maintained by only two speakers on Ma’vea Island) in section 2.1.3, and the allophones [β], [f], and [v] in section 2.1.4. I use the phoneme /v/, spelled <v> to refer to this set of non contrastive segments. Section 2.1.5 illustrates /p/ and its allophones; section 2.1.6 describes the contrast between /t/ and /d̥/. The status of the approximant /w/ is detailed in section 2.1.7. Finally, section 2.1.8 argues

that there are no prenasalized stops in Maŕea.

2.1.3 Linguo-labials. Linguo-labials (also known as apico-labials) are quite rare amongst the world’s languages. In Vanuatu, they constitute an areal feature for South Santo and North Malakula (Clark 1985:205, François 2002:15, Lynch 2005:389, Maddieson 1987:23).

2.1.3.1 Data from Tryon 1976. Table 2.6 below presents data extracted from Tryon 1976. It includes the 59 lexemes recorded with lingo-labials. Note that the total number of linguo-labials is 66 in this set. Several lexemes contain two linguo-labials, such as *m̄am̄avan* ‘play’ and *v̄av̄ine* ‘woman’.⁴

The distribution of the linguo-labials in Tryon’s set is as follows:

Table 2.5: Distribution of linguo-labials in Tryon 1976

	i	e	a	o	u
ḑ	1	5	6	1	-
m̄	2	3	23	-	-
v̄	14	2	7	-	-

As can be seen in this very limited corpus, there is only one instance of a linguo-labial preceding a round vowel. This is in accord with (i) François’s (2002:16) finding for Araki; (ii) Lynch’s (2005:391) argument that linguo-labials arose from POC bilabials that were found before non-rounded vowels; and (iii) Tryon’s (1976:13-25) comment that the changes from POC bilabials to linguo-labials occurred before non-back vowels.

⁴I did not include in table 2.5 two linguo-labials found in the word for ‘nine’ and ‘suck’ because in these words, the linguo-labials do not precede a vowel.

Table 2.6: Linguo-labials in Tryon 1976

arrow	ʋine	flower	ʋira	right hand	ńatua
ash[es]	makoʋi	four	ʋati	sail	aʋanina ⁵
axe	ńataʋono	give	laʋia ⁶	seed	ʋiri
banana	ʋatali	go	ʋano	seven	raʋe rua
biche de mer	ńene	men's house	ańali	shark	ʋaio
fish, brid	ńasi	how many	iʋisa	six	ńarava
blind	ńataʋoko	laugh	ńana	you(pl)	kańim
bow	ʋaka	left hand	ńarao	suck	ońńa ⁷
breadfruit	ʋeo	light	ńasala	sweat	ńańaone
butterfly	ʋeʋe	lightning	ʋila	tomorrow	inoʋi
come	ńa	live	ńauri	tongue	ńeńe
correct	ńaso	long	ʋaraʋu	walk	ʋanʋano
cut	aʋea	meat	ʋisio	warm	oʋo
dead	ńata	moon	ʋitu	wash	lsoʋia ⁸
door	ńate sala	neck	ʋońi	we(excl)	kańam
dry coconut	ńatiu	nine	raʋ ʋati	where	moltoa ʋe ⁹
fall	soʋi	outrigger	sańa	wing	aʋa
father	tańa	play	ńaʋan	woman	ʋaʋine
five	lińa	pull	raʋeia	yesterday	nanoʋi
rat	ariʋi				

2.1.3.2 Data from my own fieldwork. In a 1600-entry dictionary I compiled, I found 347 linguo-labials.¹⁰ The distribution of these phonemes (and their labial counterparts) is reported in table 2.7.

⁵The word for 'sail' is *aʋani*, *aʋanina* means 'its sail'.

⁶The word *laʋia* means 'take, bring'.

⁷This word was not recognized by my consultants.

⁸'To wash one's child' is *soʋia*.

⁹The word for 'where' is *aʋe*. *Molto aʋe* translates the question 'where is s/he/it?'

¹⁰I did not use subentries, as the lexeme in the subentry is bound to be related to the entry lexeme.

Table 2.7: Distribution of linguo-labials and labials

	i	e	a	o	u
p	23	37	95	57	69
m	5	10	93	17	2
v	11	14	106	85	66
ḑ	13	26	39	1	-
ṁ	4	15	109	1	-
ṽ	55	18	61	5	-

As can be seen in the above table, the majority of linguo-labials (209 out of 347, about 60%) are used before /a/. The fact that the majority of the sequence *linguo-labial vowel* is of the shape /ma/ is explained by the fact that *m̃a* ‘to come’ is used as a prefix to encode resultative states, as in:

- (8) langai ‘open’
 ṁalanga ‘opened’

Even after removing all but one resultative from the data, /m/ still overwhelmingly occurs before /a/, with 89 instances.

In Araki, the phoneme /y/ does not occur with /i/, a fact that François attributes to either the incompatibility of the two phonemes or insufficient data (François 2002:16). In Ma’vea, on the other hand, the sequence /yi/ is quite productive. According to John Lynch (p.c., Feb 7, 2007), even though there is no incompatibility between the two phonemes in Ma’vea, it might be the case that this incompatibility exists in Araki.

2.1.3.3 Linguo-labials and language variation: Reversing the shift. In a study of linguo-labials occurring in several languages of Vanuatu, Lynch (2005) notes that the POC labials /m/, /p/, and /v/ underwent a shift to linguo-labials before [-rd] vowels, but that in many languages, the shift was either reversed (that is back to “plain” labials) or the linguo-labials merged with other (usually dental) consonants (see also Clark 1985:205).

The six languages that Lynch examined rarely show a sign of reversal to the original POc labial. As Lynch (2005:402) states, if a shift is reversed, it has to be hypothesized, since there is no longer evidence that this shift ever occurred in the first place.

There is evidence in Tutuba supporting the idea that the shift has been reversed. Out of a 1000-word corpus, Naito (2006:222) found only ten lexemes with the linguo-labial stops /b/ and /m/, and no linguo-labial fricative. The phonemes /b/ and /m/ are found in the same environment as /b/ and /m/. However the latter phonemes constitute an overwhelming majority.

Naito (2006:224) reports on an experiment in which she asked younger speakers to listen to an adult pronouncing linguo-labials while turning his back on them, and then while facing them. None of the hearers could tell when the speaker used linguo-labials and when he used labials, not even with visual cues. The Tutuba data suggest that POc labials were once linguo-labials in Tutuba, and (recently) underwent a reversal to the “original” POc phonemes. Lexical items containing linguo-labials are pronounced interchangeably with labials by speakers of all ages (Naito 2006:224), suggesting that the shift is nearly complete.

Ma’*vea* is a language closely related to Tutuba. According to Tryon (1976:133), Tutuba and Ma’*vea* share 73.3% of cognates, based on a comparison of 221 items. As is the case in Tutuba, the Ma’*vea* data gathered in recent years show that linguo-labials have been lost from the speech of almost all speakers. In total, out of all the Ma’*vea* speakers I interacted with (around 20 people), only three maintained linguo-labials in their speech: two speakers on Ma’*vea* island (out of a community of about 34 speakers), and (as far as I can tell) one speaker in Deproma (on Espiritu Santo Island). Out of these three, only one used them consistently. The other two speakers use linguo-labials or labials interchangeably. In other speakers’ speech, linguo-labials have all been reanalyzed as labials: /y/ is pronounced as

[v] or [f], /m/ is pronounced as [m], and /p/ is pronounced as [p].¹¹

The shift back to labials is only partially age-based. My main consultant, EVK, used linguo-labials on a fairly regular basis. She was in her sixties when I gathered the data. Some speakers with whom I had the chance to interact, who were older than EVK and just as proficient in the language, never used linguo-labials. On the other hand, another consultant, in his fifties, was found to use linguo-labials only while narrating the traditional legend *Tavua rar Sio* ‘Conch and Kingfisher’ and nowhere else.

The loss of phonological distinction might be interpreted as a sign of language obsolescence (Campbell and Muntzel 1989:186), given that linguistic changes prompted by language obsolescence tend in general towards simplification (Seliger and Vago 1991:6). However, I do not believe that the loss of linguo-labials in Ma’vea is, in itself, a sign of language decay. As Hamp (1989:201-203) argues, phonological changes need not be “a sign of incipient death.” The fact that the majority of elder speakers do not use linguo-labials anymore could suggest that their parents had already lost them or that today’s elders stopped using them themselves while acquiring the language about fifty to seventy years ago. However, according to my consultants, the Ma’vea language was actively spoken during World War II and in the 1950s, when missionaries came to the island. Thus, it is more likely that the loss of this marked phoneme was motivated by external factors, such as contact with other speech communities, notably Bislama speaking communities (as hypothesized for Tutuba in Naito 2006). According to Clark (1985:205), due to their highly marked articulation, linguo-labials are likely to be eliminated by further sound change.

Another possible reason to exclude the loss of linguo-labials as a sign of language obsolescence comes from the languages Tutuba and Araki. Tutuba is actively spoken, even by young children today, but there are just a handful of lexical items containing linguo-labials, and few speakers who use them. Araki, on the other hand, is almost extinct, with only

¹¹Without visual clues, /v/ sounds to me like [ð], /m/ like [n], and /p/ like [t].

about fifteen fluent speakers remaining (François 2002:5). But these fluent speakers still use linguo-labials. Thus the loss or maintenance of linguo-labials cannot be correlated with language decay.

2.1.4 The phoneme /v/ and its allophones. I found in the community wide allophonic variation regarding the phoneme /v/. For quite some time, I could not decide whether [f] and [v] were allophones or separate phonemes, given that they are used in similar environments. In older versions of my dictionary (in which /f/ and /v/ are listed in separate entries), I found a tendency to prefer [f] word-finally and before [+bk] vowels, as shown in table 2.8.

Table 2.8: Distribution of [f] and [v]

	i	e	a	o	u
f	5	7	67	48	41
v	6	7	39	37	25

In the following sections, I present evidence that [f] and [v] are allophones, and that /v/ is the underlying phoneme.

2.1.4.1 [f] and [v] are allophones. No convincing minimal pair contrasting [f] and [v] could be found in the data. The closest I could find is:

- (9) [fararu] ‘ghost crab’ [varvara] ‘talk’

However, [fararu] is sometimes pronounced with a [v].

The two segments [f] and [v] surface as allophones of the linguo-labial /v̥/.

- (10) **ari̋vi** [arif] ~ [ariv] ‘cat’
ṽatali [fatal] ~ [vatal] ‘banana’
ṽisio- [fisio-] ~ [visio-] ‘flesh’

Between vowels, the voiced segment is almost always chosen, but two of my consultants used [f] even in this position.

- (11) Mo-valao. [mofalao] ~ [movalao]
 3SG-run
 ‘He runs.’

In onset position, [f] and [v] are in free variation (see table 2.8 above). In coda position, the voiceless and the voiced fricative also compete, although the voiceless fricative [f] may be preferred.

- (12) [suruf] ~ [suruv] ‘sleep’

Overall, free variation and the lack of minimal pairs point towards the fact that [f] and [v] are in allophonic variation (see also Crowley 1998:8-9 for a similar variation among [f], [v], and [β] for /v/ in Erromangan (Sye), spoken in southern Vanuatu).

Now that allophonic variation is established, the underlying phoneme is to be determined. I present below evidence suggesting that [f] and [v] are allophones of /v/.

2.1.4.2 The phoneme /v/. The next question is to decide which of the two segments [f] and [v] is the underlying phoneme. One hypothesis is to posit that [f] appears underlyingly, and that voicing takes place in intervocalic position. There are however some considerations suggesting that [v] is the underlying form.

Between vowels, other voiceless consonants do not usually undergo voicing. For example, the voiceless stops /p/, /p̥/, and /k/ never become voiced in intervocalic position. Some examples follow.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| (13) | /p̥apar/ | *[babar] | [papar] | ‘oyster’ |
| | /mo+p̥isu+a/ | *[mobisua] | [moʔisua] | ‘he points at it’ |
| | /apu/ | *[abu] | [apu] | ‘fire wood’ |
| | /vapopo/ | *[vabobo] | [vapopo] | ‘firefly’ |
| | /sakele+i+a/ | *[sageleia] | [sakeleia] | ‘sit (tr)’ |
| | /aka/ | *[aga] | [aka] | ‘canoe’ |

I found only one instance of /s/ pronounced [z], and one instance of /p/ voiced to [b]. The phoneme /t/ is the most unstable, but its voicing is sporadic, and, again, it seems to be lexeme-based and not rule-governed. These variations were found in the speech of most speakers.

(14)	/i \dot{y} isa/	[i \dot{y} iza]	‘how much’
	/wepe/	[webe]	‘pigeon’
	/ata \dot{u} /	*[adau] ~ [atau]	‘behind’
	/dal/	[dal]	‘around’
	/tal \dot{a} ia/	[tal \dot{a} ia]	‘wind up, coil up’

If /f/ is the underlying phoneme, we have to admit that intervocalic voicing in Ma’ \acute{e} a is restricted to the labio-dental fricative.

Other facts suggest that /v/ is the underlying phoneme. The reconstructed phonemic inventory of PNCV (Clark 1985:223) contains /v/ but no voiceless equivalent. According to Tryon (1976:13), POc *p evolved to Ma’ \acute{e} a [ɣ] and [v], again there is no mention of [f]. Labial fricatives in languages neighboring Ma’ \acute{e} a are voiced. The phonemic system of Tamambo contains /β^w/ and /β/ (Jauncey 1997:19). The phonemic inventory of Lolovoli contains /β/ (Hyslop 1998:28), Tutuba has /v/ pronounced [f], [ɸ], and [β] (Naito 2006:221), while in Araki, the fricatives are /β/ and /ɣ/ (François 2002:14). There is no phonemic /f/ in these related languages or in the reconstructed mother language.

2.1.4.3 A sound change in progress? I believe that the extensive allophonic variation of /v/ started a case of personal-pattern variation, defined as individual variation among speakers within a single village, where the variation is not age- or proficiency-based, nor socio-economically determined (Dorian 1994:648, 652, 657, 664, 668).

Evidence for idiolectal variation comes from the sporadic use of the allophones [β], [p], and [h] for /v/. Only a handful of middle-aged speakers used [β] in intervocalic and word-final positions. The youngest speaker I interviewed even used [h] instead of /v/ in a single lexeme.

(15) /povon/ [pohon] ‘heavy’

The same speaker also substituted [p] for /v/. This allophonic variation occurs only in word-initial position.

(16) [funopuma] ~ [punopuma] ‘place name’
 [farava] ~ [parava] ‘female pig’

When I repeated those two words after him with [p], he corrected me and used [f] instead of [p].

Could it be that [f] is a rather recent innovation in the phonemic system of Ma’vea? Consider the phonemic inventory of the language (reproduced in part below). Stops are overwhelmingly voiceless. Devoicing the original phoneme /v/ to [f] could lead to more uniformity in the system.

Table 2.9: Fricatives and stops

	Linguo -labial	Bi -labial	Labio -dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Velar
Stop	p	p		t	ɖ	k
Fricative			v	s		

I would like to suggest at this point that although [f] started as an allophone of /v/, it may now be gaining ground as an independent phoneme. Crowley (2004:14) notes the instability of [f] and [v] in Bislama. He goes on to argue that if a merger takes place, it is in the direction of the voiceless consonant. This observation has implications for Ma’vea. The consultants I worked with are all bilingual in Bislama. Those who use [f] even in intervocalic position are well educated. It is likely that Bislama influences their speech style, and similarly the speech of other Ma’vea speakers. Future research should monitor the use of [f] and [v] and measure the extent to which the lack of voicing contrast in Bislama influences Ma’vea.

2.1.5 The phoneme /p/. The bilabial voiceless stop /p/ has four allophones, namely [f], [v], [β], and [p]. The choice of an allophone is conditioned by the position of /p/ in the word. These variations were found in the speech of individual speakers and across a range of speakers.

We saw in example (16) above that in word-initial position /v/ can be realized as [p]. However, the allophonic variation between [p] and [f] for /p/ in onset position has not been found. Word-initially, [p] is chosen. In word-final position, any of the allophones may surface.

- (17) /lap John/ [laf] John ~ [lav] John
 ‘for John’ [laβ] John ~ [lap] John

In this coda position, the stop is so “laxly” articulated that it can easily be mistaken for a fricative. This allophonic variation is also found in borrowed words. The Bislama lexeme *kap* ‘cup’ may be pronounced with any of the allophones, given that /p/ is a coda.

When a suffix is added to the lexeme /lape/ ‘for’ (so that /p/ is in between vowels), the allophone that surfaces is always [p].

- (18) /lape+ao/ [lapeao] ‘for me’

The following rule summarizes the distribution of /p/:

- (19) p → v~f~β/ ___#

2.1.6 The phonemes /t/ and /ɖ/. When Tryon’s data were collected (in the 1970s, by Jacques Guy), the dental-alveolar stop /t/ contrasted with a retroflex /ɖ/.

- (20) Data from Tryon (1976:181, 251)
 [utu] ‘louse’
 [uɖu] ‘tooth’

Today, there is still a contrast in manner of articulation between the alveolar and the retroflex, but in addition, the retroflex is now voiced.

- (21) [utu] ‘louse’
 [uɖu] ‘tooth’

It is unclear at this stage whether Jacques Guy’s transcriptions were inaccurate, or whether the data reveal a change in progress.

I have reproduced below the words containing /t/ in Tryon 1976, and their corresponding pronunciation with /ɖ/ in 2005-2007.

Table 2.10: /t/ and /ɖ/

	1976	2005-7
ant	titiu	ɖiɖiu
stone	marati	maradi
cloud	toɔ	ɖoɖo
grass	tuvu	ɖuvu
yam	ɕam	ɖam
good	tu	ɖu
think	tuseia	ɖuseia
neck	ɕomi	ɖomi
shoulder	aɕalo	ɖalo
we(incl)	ita	ida
tooth	utu	uɖu
stinking	ɕaja	ɖaja
blood	ɕae	ɖae

It is interesting to note that non-fluent speakers of Ma’ŕea do not hear the contrast between [ita] ‘octopus’ and [ida] ‘2PL.INCL’. Crowley (2004:14) acknowledges that Bislama speakers do not regularly maintain the contrast between voiced and voiceless stops. The same process seems to take place among the younger generations of Ma’ŕea speakers. This trend may be due to their regular use of Bislama, and their reduced exposure to Ma’ŕea.

2.1.7 The glides /w/ and [j].

2.1.7.1 Absence of glides in neighboring languages. There are no phonemic glides in Araki (François 2002:14). François (2002:19-20) shows that two consecutive vowels

(such as V[+hi] and V[+lo]) may form a phonetic diphthong (as in [*u.ʼa.ku* versus *ʼwa.ku* ‘my neck’]. If a sequence of two vowels is found word-finally, the first vowel in the sequence receives stress (as in *a.βu.ʼla.i* ‘glad’, François 2002:20). A final VV sequence in Araki thus counts as two separate syllables, with the penult stress carried by the first V.¹²

According to Jauncey (1997:29), there are no phonemic glides in Tamambo. The vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized as glides in the following environments. The rules provided below are taken from Jauncey (1997:29-31).¹³

(22) Tamambo: Sequence of two vowels

/i/ [-stress] → [j] / ___V[-front]

/u/ [-stress] → [w] / ___V[-bk]

(23) Tamambo: Sequence of three vowels

/i/ → [j] / V[-hi]___

/u/ [+stress] → [w] / V[-front]___

For example, /*dau*i/ ‘coconut crab’ can be pronounced [*ʼda.wi*] or [*da.ʼu.i*].

In Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:28, 33), /w/ is the only glide present in the phonemic inventory. Hyslop (2001:37-39) shows that phonetic diphthongs occur when (i) two vowels are consecutive and (ii) the second vowel is higher than the first vowel, such that all phonetic diphthongs are “rising” (sic, Hyslop 2001:39) in Lolovoli.¹⁴ In a sequence of two vowels, if the second vowel is lower than the first, no phonetic diphthongs are formed.

2.1.7.2 The glide /w/ in Mañea. The glide /w/ serves as the onset of a word in only three lexemes: [*weti*] ‘vein’, [*wε̃pe*] ‘Pacific imperial pigeon’, and [*waj*] ‘water’. The latter

¹²François (2002:20) notes in footnote 22 that the sequence *aia* is sometimes heard as [*a.ja*], instead of the expected [*a.ʼi.a*], a point, he says, that “needs checking.”

¹³Note that Jauncey uses the feature [front], and that the rules she supplies to account for the distribution of the glides in a sequence of three vowels (reported in (23)) actually include only one vowel.

¹⁴The nine phonetic diphthongs listed in Hyslop 2001:39 are all falling in sonority.

is reconstructed in POc as *waiR and in PNCV as *wai, suggesting that the POc phoneme *w is maintained in Ma'vea. Further evidence for the presence of the glide /w/ in Ma'vea is found in word-final position where both [u] and [w] are found. The choice of /w/ or /u/ word-finally is lexically determined, supporting the existence of both /w/ and /u/.

- (24) [ˈtaw.taw] *[ta.u.'ta.u] 'heap'
 [ˈkɔw] *['ko.u] 'fowl'
 [m̩a.'ti.u] *['m̩a.tiw] 'coconut'

Based on the data, I assume that the glide /w/ is present in the phonemic inventory of Ma'vea.

2.1.7.3 The absence of the glide /j/ in Ma'vea. Tryon (1976:29) notes that “items reflecting [POc] *y were not found” in Ma'vea, among other languages. Clark argues (1985:204) that PNCV *y has “few if any overt segmental reflexes” in the languages he analyzed. We will see in section 2.2.3 below that all instances of the glide [j] are underlyingly the vowel /i/ or /e/ and that there is thus no need to posit /j/ in the phonemic inventory of Ma'vea.

2.1.8 Are there prenasalized stops in Ma'vea? Pre-nasalized stops are reconstructed in POc (Lynch et al. 2002:64-65). They are part of the Tamambo phonemic inventory (Jauncey 1997:25), and also occur in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:31), but not in Araki (François 2002:15).

In Tryon's (1976) data, two prenasalized stops are listed in four words (out of the 210 words that Jacques Guy gathered.) They only occur syllable-initially in the data. The cluster is homorganic: the nasal has the same place of articulation as the following stop.

- (25) [ro^mpoina] 'smell' [ntaβseia] 'know'
 [ntaia] 'see' [ntau] 'fear'

I re-elicited the above words and my consultant did not recognize Tryon's *ro^mpoina* 'smell.' Instead, my consultant provided me with [pojna] 'his smell' and *rong poi* literally

‘to sense a smell’, pronounced [roŋ poj] as reported in table 2.11. The words for ‘know’ and ‘observe’ were given in isolation with a vowel as onset. Only one lexeme, *ntao* ‘be afraid of’, was pronounced in isolation with the sequence [nt].

Table 2.11: The sequence [nt] in 1976 and 2005-7

1976		2005-7	
ro ^m poina	‘smell’	[poj.-na]	‘his/her/its smell, odor’
		[roŋ.poj]	‘to smell s.t’ (Lit: to sense a smell)
ntaβseia	‘know’	[on.tav.se.ja]	‘to know s.t’
ntaia	‘see’	[on.ta.ja]	‘observe, look after’
ntau	‘fear’	[nta.o]	‘be afraid, fear s.t’

2.1.8.1 Evidence against prenasalized stops. In the lexicon I gathered, there are just two lexemes which start with what seems to be a prenasalized stop in onset position.

- (26) **ntao** ‘fear s.t’
ndia ‘knot s.t’

The combinations [nt] and [nd] contrast in onset position with [t] and [d].

- (27) **ntao** ‘fear s.t’ **tao** ‘nest, make a nest’
ndia ‘knot s.t’ **didi** ‘entangled’

Based on this limited data, it is difficult to determine whether the sequence [nt] and [nd] are prenasalized stops or a cluster. However, I believe that the combinations [nt] and [nd] are clusters.

The first evidence against prenasalized stops comes from the fact that when the words in (26) are pronounced in isolation, the nasal is syllabic. Further evidence comes from affixation. When a prefix is added to the above lexemes, such as the third person singular subject agreement marker *mo*, the nasal and the stop appear in different syllables, which would not be expected if [nt] were a segment.

- (28) [mon.tao] ‘He is afraid.’
 [mon.di.a] ‘He knots it.’

2.1.8.2 Addition of a vowel onset. Moreover, I believe that the vowel /o/ has been reanalyzed as part of the stem of the lexemes with the [nt] onsets, as shown in table 2.11, and in the following examples. It is possible that this /o/ was originally part of the third person subject marker *mo-* or the imperfective *lo-*.

- (29) ref 06045.158
 Mo-v ro i-**ontavse** kańam.
 3SG-say then 3SG.IR-know 1PL.EXCL
 ‘She said then she would know us.’

- (30) ref 06024.060
 Ko-l-**ontai** avua.
 2SG-IMPF-look.after turtle
 ‘You are looking after the turtle.’

- (31) ref 07048.065
 Ki-tol-**ontao** pupu.
 1PL.EXCL-PCL-afraid grandpa
 ‘We were afraid of grandpa.’

However, in the following examples, the initial vowel [o] is either missing (examples (32) to (35)), or another vowel is used as in (36).

- (32) Elicitation 2006, ANL.
 John mo-sopo-rong i-**ntavse** sasa-na.
 John 3SG-NEG-feel 3SG.IR-know work-3SG.POSS
 ‘John avoids his work.’

- (33) ref 07081.040
 Ra-**ntai** Eileen.
 3PL-look.after Eileen
 ‘They look after Eileen.’

- (34) ref 07032.029
 Ra-toř na kańatol palai ki-**ntao**.
 3PL-call but 1PL.PCL likewise 1PL.EXCL-afraid
 ‘They called but we too were afraid.’

- (35) Elicitation 2007, EVK.
 Mo-v i-**ndi** asi.
 3SG-say 3SG.IR-knot rope
 ‘He wants to knot a rope.’
- (36) ref 07043.007
 Nao na-l-**antai** Salot.
 1SG 1SG-IMPF-look.after Charlotte
 ‘Me, I was looking after Charlotte.’

Although the vowel [o] is used predominantly in the corpus before [nt], speakers’ variation in the choice of the vowel preceding this consonant sequence could suggest that the addition of an initial vowel to the stem of words starting with [nt] (and possibly [nd]) is a relatively recent phenomenon. Motivations for this addition are potentially phonotactic, a means to remove consonant clusters from the beginning of a word.¹⁵ A quick look at the dictionary (see also section 2.16) reveals that only a handful of words start with complex onsets (although consonant combinations are possible across syllable boundaries).

2.2 Vowels.

Ma’vea shows reflexes of the five phonemic vowels of POC listed in Lynch et al. 2002:65. There are no phonemic long vowels in Ma’vea, but it is possible to have a long vowel at morpheme boundaries (see section 2.5.1). In the following graph, the first two formants of the five vowels are plotted against each other. The graph is based on the pronunciation of a female speaker in her sixties. At least thirty tokens of each vowel were used. The consonants in the tokens were varied but not equally distributed in place and manner of articulation. The ellipses were fitted using the “direct least-square fitting” algorithm described in Pilu et al. 1996.¹⁶ Please note that the outliers (>2 standard deviations from the mean) were

¹⁵Prothetic vowels before NC clusters also occur in Pohnpeian (Ken Rehg, p.c., Oct 16, 2008).

¹⁶I would like to thank Sukanta Basu for his help with the graph. The MATLAB codes for fitting and drawing the ellipses were obtained from the following website, last accessed August 16, 2008. http://homepages.inf.ed.ac.uk/rbf/CVonline/LOCAL_COPIES/PILU1/demo.html

disregarded during the fitting process.

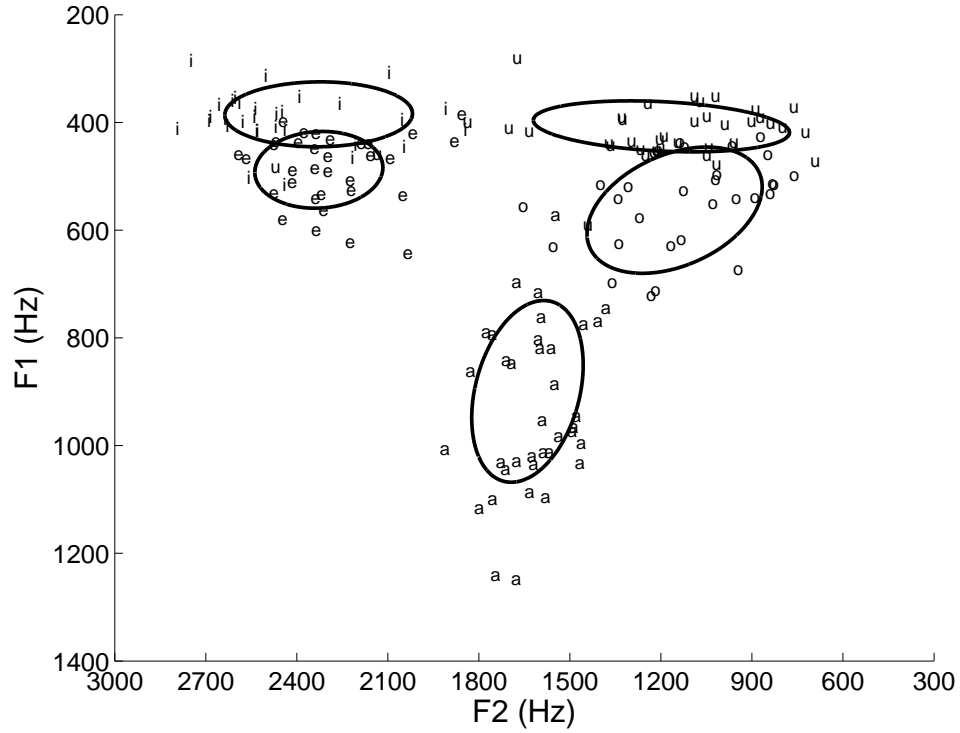


Figure 2.3: Plots of the first two formants for a female speaker

For the purpose of the rule formations, throughout the paper I qualify the vowels as follows:

Table 2.12: Vowels features

	i	e	a	o	u
high	+	-	-	-	+
back	-	-	+	+	+
low	-	-	+	-	-
round	-	-	-	+	+

(37)	/i/	[+hi, -bk]	/e/	[-hi, -bk]
	/u/	[+hi, +bk]	/a/	[+lo]
	/o/	[-hi, +bk, +rd]	/i,e/	[-bk]
	/i,u/	[+hi]	/u,o/	[+rd]
	/u,o,a/	[+bk]	/e,o,a/	[-hi]
	/a,o/	[-hi, +bk]	/a,e/	[-hi, -rd]

2.2.1 Minimal pairs. Evidence for the vowel phonemes is presented in the form of (near) minimal pairs and triplets below.

(38)	/a/-/u/-/o/	ara	‘fence’	aru	‘sea oak tree’
		aro	‘here’		
	/a/-/e/	aʋa	‘crab’	aʋe	‘armpit’
	/a/-/i/-/o/	asa	‘genital’	asi	‘rope’
		aso	‘mushroom’		
	/i/-/e/	ise	‘who’	ese	‘name’
	/i/-/u/	did	‘tangled’	dudu	‘chambered nautilus shell’
	/e/-/u/-/o/	pepe	‘liver’	upu	‘clothe’
		popo	‘germinated coconut’		

2.2.2 Free variation. Words at least two syllables long and ending with the [-hi, +bk] vowels /a/ or /o/ may be pronounced with a final [e]. For example, in a story about a *tavua* ‘conch’, both *tavua* and *tavue* were used interchangeably.

Other forms where a final /a/ may be realized as [e] include the following:

(39)	ima	~	ime	‘house’
	aʋia	~	aʋie	‘Malay apple’
	supa	~	supe	‘chief’
	eluba	~	elube	‘thatch roof’
	avua	~	avue	‘turtle’

Lexemes with a final /o/ realized as [e] include:

(40)	voko	~	voke	‘white’
	loko	~	loke	‘laplap’

This “fronting” process from /a/ and /o/ to [e] occurs only in unstressed final syllables. The rule can be formulated as:

(41)	V[-hi, +bk, -stress]	→	[-bk, -lo] / ___#
------	----------------------	---	-------------------

2.2.3 The vowel /i/ and its allophone [j]. The vowel /i/ is pronounced [i] in word-initial position, between two consonants, or in word-final position after a consonant, as shown in the following examples.

- (42) [i.'no.ɣi] 'tomorrow'
 [pi.le.'pa.ŋo] 'k.o sea snake'

There is only one exception to this rule, the word /io/ 'yes', which is a loanword from Bislama. This word can be realized as [jo] or [i.o], depending on one's speech rate, as in Bislama.

/i/ is also realized as [i] in penultimate position, when it carries stress (more is said on stress in section 2.2.6 below).

- (43) [si.o] 'kingfisher'
 [a.'i.ma] 'home'
 [ta.u.'ri.a] 'to hold s.t.'
 [ɣa.'i.te] 'one'
 [va.'i.se] 'small'

The phoneme /i/ is realized as [j] in word-final position, or after a vowel.

- (44) [ka.'raj] 'flying fox'
 [pa.'laj] 'alike'
 [vaj.se.'se.a] 'small'

The phoneme /i/ may optionally be pronounced [j], if followed by /u/ or /o/, depending on the rate of pronunciation. That is, in fast connected speech, /i/ may become [j].

- (45) [ma.'ti.u] [ma.'tju] 'coconut'
 [vi.'ri.u] [vi.'rju] 'dog'
 [vi.si.'o+na] [vi.'sjo+na] 'its meat'

In a sequence of three or more vowels, when /i/ is the second vowel, it is realized as [j]. Most sequence of three or four vowels with /i/ in second position involve the transitive marker /i/, a reflex of POC transitive suffix, followed by an object clitic.

- (46) /ko+tara+i+a/ [ko.ta.'ra.ja]
 2SG+cut+TR+3SG
 'You cut it.'

We can summarize our findings with the following rules, which state that unstressed /i/ becomes [j] after a vowel, and optionally before a [+bk] vowel. We will see in more detail in section 2.2.6.2 how glide formation and stress interact.

- (47) i [-primary stress] → j / V__

- (48) Optional rule
 i → j / __V[+bk]

In all other environments, /i/ is realized as [i]. These rules account for the distribution of [j]. There is thus no need to posit a glide /j/ as phonemic. In the rest of this chapter, all instances of /i/ are thus spelled <i>, even when phonetically realized as [j].

2.2.4 The vowel /u/ and its allophone [w]. Consider the form:

- (49) /mo+tau+ra/
 3SG+hold+3PL
 'He holds them.'

In (49), /u/ receives penult stress and is pronounced [u].

- (50) [mo+ta.'u.+ra] 'He holds them.'

However, the vowel /u/ is realized as [w] between vowels.

- (51) u → w / V__V
 [mo.+ 'ta.w+a] 'He holds it.'

Given that only [w] is realized between vowels, it is difficult (if possible at all) to determine if /w/ or /u/ is present underlyingly in forms such as [ta.'la.wa] 'k.o palm leaf'. In such cases where there is no variation, I assume that the glide /w/ is present underlyingly.

2.2.5 Other vowels. The vowels /o/ and /a/ are pronounced “cardinally” whether they carry stress or not. Some examples follow.

(52) /o/ → [o] [na.o.'po.no] ‘Place name’

(53) /a/ → [a] [a.'sa.o] ‘far’

The vowel /e/ is also mostly pronounced [e].

(54) /e/ → [e] [nu.e.'nu.e] ‘picture’

However, when /e/ follows /a/ or /o/ at the end of a word, it creates a phonetic diphthong and is pronounced [j]. There are two falling surface diphthongs in Mařea: [aj] and [oj]. They are discussed below in section 2.2.6.3 below.

2.2.6 Word Stress. Stress is not phonemic. Primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable in most cases, as we shall see below in 2.2.6.1.

(55) 'i.ta ‘octopus’ 'sa.sa ‘work
 ta.'ni.řa ‘sardine’ i.'ri.ři ‘fan’

Stress can lengthen the vowel. In careful, slow, or hyper-corrected speech, the stressed vowel is considerably lengthened.

(56) /mo+tete/ [mo.'te:.te]
 3SG-fly
 ‘It flies.’

Secondary stress falls on every second syllable to the left of the syllable receiving primary stress.

(57) ta.řa.na.'tu.ku ‘my husband’
 ,a.ta.'po.lo ‘dragon plum tree’
 ,sa.sa.'o.ro ‘wall’

2.2.6.1 Exceptions to penultimate stress. Exceptions to penult stress include disyllabic lexemes containing a subject agreement marker and a monosyllabic verb. As shown in the following example, stress falls on the last syllable, possibly because subject markers

are extra-metrical and do not take part in stress placement. A similar fact is found in Lewo (Early 1994:67).

- (58) /mo+ʋa/ [mo.'ɣa]
 3SG-go
 'He goes.'

There are some instances where stress falls on a closed final syllable. Some examples are presented in (59).

- (59) [oj] 'liquid' [o.'i+n] 'its liquid'
 [pa.tu] 'head' [pa.'tu+m] 'your head'

These examples contrast with example (60), where the last syllable is closed, but stress remains on the penult syllable.

- (60) [mo.+ 'ma:.nan] 'He is ashamed.'

The main difference between (60) and (59) is that in (59), a suffix is added to the root. The lexeme [patum] 'your head' contains the suffix /-m/ '2SG.POSS'. This morpheme historically derives from POc *mu. The lexeme [oin] 'its liquid' contains the construct suffix -n, which historically derives from POc *ni. To account for the data, I tentatively assume that, although the last vowel of these suffixes has been lost on the surface, they are present underlyingly. In (59) therefore, stress can still be considered penult. Note that final vowel deletion in other monomorphemic words does not affect stress placement.

- (61) [si.'le.ti] 'worm'
 [si.'let] 'worm'

In (60) on the other hand, stress is on the penult syllable, suggesting that historically, a vowel may have been present in word-final position and [n] was an onset, but from a synchronic perspective [n] is treated as a coda. There also exist verbs with a stressed closed final syllable, as in (62), which contrasts with (60).

- (62) [mo.+ ,ta:.pa.'ir] 'He jumped with fear.'

It is unclear at this point why there are different stress patterns in (60) and (62). I leave this for future research.

2.2.6.2 Stress placement, glide formation, and syllabification: Remaining issues. Thus far, I have assumed that syllabification takes place before penult stress is assigned. This is exemplified below for the derivation of / $\underset{\sim}{y}aite$ / ‘once’.

- Syllabification

[$\underset{\sim}{y}a.i.te$]

- Stress placement

[$\underset{\sim}{y}a.'i.te$]

I have also assumed that rules of glide formation apply after stress is assigned, and that a stressed vowel cannot become a glide. This is shown below for / $\underset{\sim}{y}aite\eta$ / ‘only one’, / $mo+tau+a$ / ‘he holds it’, and / $d\ae+ku$ / ‘my blood.’

Table 2.13: Stress placement and glide formation

	/ $\underset{\sim}{y}aite\eta$ /	/ $mo+tau+a$ /	/ $d\ae+ku$ /
Syllabification	[$\underset{\sim}{y}a.i.te.\eta$]	[$mo.ta.u.a$]	[$d\ae.e.ku$]
Stress placement	[$\underset{\sim}{y}a.i.'te.\eta$]	*[$mo.ta.'u.a$]	[$d\ae'e.ku$]
Glide formation	[$\underset{\sim}{y}a.j.'te.\eta$]	N/A	N/A
Resyllabify	[$\underset{\sim}{y}a.j.'te.\eta$]	N/A	N/A
Output	ok	*	ok

This ordering, however, makes the wrong prediction for the verbal complex / $mo+tau+a$ /, which is pronounced with a glide [$mo.'ta.wa$]. Note that if we reverse the ordering, and apply glide formation before syllabification, we get the right output for [$\underset{\sim}{y}a.j.'te.\eta$] and [$mo.'ta.wa$], but, this time, we have the wrong form *[$d\ae.j.ku$].

In order to account for the data, I tentatively assume that there are two instances of “glide formation”, as shown in table 2.14. The first instance applies before syllabification,

in case /i/ or /u/ are between vowels.

- (63) Glide formation
 $V[+hi] \rightarrow \text{glide} / V_V$

The second instance of “glide formation” applies later on in the derivation, after “stress placement.”

Table 2.14: Glide formation and Stress placement

	/v̥aitɛjɐ/	/mo+tau+a/	/d̥aɛ+ku/
Glide formation	N/A	[mo.ta.w.a]	N/A
Syllabification	[v̥a.i.te.ɲɐ]	[mo.ta.wa]	[d̥a.e.ku]
Stress placement	[v̥a.i.'te.ɲɐ]	[mo.'ta.wa]	[d̥a'e.ku]
Glide formation	[v̥a.j.'te.ɲɐ]	N/A	N/A
Resyllabify	[v̥aj.'te.ɲɐ]	N/A	N/A
Output	ok	ok	ok

This analysis has its shortcomings. For example, it predicts that the word /vaisesea/ ‘small’ be pronounced [va.i.se.'se.a], given the assumption that a stressed vowel cannot become a glide. This word, however, is pronounced in all my sound files as [v̥aj.se.'se.a]. Note that all sound files are recordings of fast, connected speech, and that it is possible to assume that a vowel receiving secondary stress could become a glide, optionally, depending on one’s speech rate. More elicited data is required to understand how glide formation and stress interact.

2.2.6.3 Phonetic diphthongs. Two phonetic diphthongs are formed with /e/ in word-final position, occurring after the vowel /a/ or /o/. Consider the words below.

- (64) [d̥aj] ‘blood’ [paj] ‘shoulder’
 [soj] ‘brother’ [oj] ‘liquid’

Evidence that these diphthongs are not phonemic comes from affixation. The phonetic diphthong breaks into two separate syllables when a suffix is added, changing the syllabifi-

cation of these words.

- (65) [d̥a.e.ku] ‘my blood’
 [so.e.ku] ‘my brother’
 [pa.i.ku] ‘my shoulder’
 [o.in] ‘its liquid’

The second vowel of the root receives stress after suffixation applies. The following rule summarizes the findings.

- (66) $V[-hi, -bk, -stress] \rightarrow j / V[-hi, +bk] ___\#$

2.3 Phonotactics.

The syllable structure of Ma’vea is as follows:

- (67) (C) (C) V (G)
 (C)

Some examples of possible syllables are listed below.

- (68) **V** i.no.ʔi ‘tomorrow’
VG [a.j] ‘kava’
VC an ‘eat’
CV ke.o ‘spider web’
CVC ńa.tan ‘because’
CCV nno ‘2SG’
CCVG [va.vru.j] ‘k.o tree’
CCVC sal.ta.vles ‘k.o tuna’

There is only one lexeme in the data to exemplify the syllable structure CCVC, and only one lexeme with the structure CCVG (where the glide is underlyingly the vowel /i/, as shown in section 2.2.3 above). All other syllables starting with a complex onset are open.

Closed syllables are often the result of vowel deletion. For example, the word /usu/ ‘Polynesian plum’ is pronounced in careful speech as [usu], but mostly as [us]. However, for other words, like [tapair] ‘jump with fear’, there is no variation in the pronunciation, thus no evidence of a deleted final vowel.

2.3.1 Word length. Minimally, a lexical word is made up of a single vowel. There is only one example of a lexical word made up of a single vowel in the data.

(69) **u** ‘be wrinkled’

Note, however, that this lexeme is never found on its own in a sentence. It always takes a subject agreement marker, such as *mo-* ‘3SG’. More commonly, the shortest lexical words are made up of a vowel and a consonant, or two vowels forming a phonetic diphthong. The most commonly found single syllable word has the form CV. Few instances of VC were found.

(70) **[si]** ‘angry’
[aj] ‘kava’
[um] ‘goat fish’
[an] ‘eat’

2.3.2 Consonant distribution. Examples of the consonants’ distribution are presented in table 2.15 below.

In my 1600-entry dictionary, all consonants other than the geminate /m:/ were found in onset position. All consonants other than /d/, /p/, and the geminates can occur in the coda. Any consonant but /r:/ can occur intervocalically. The restricted distribution of these phonemes may be due to limited amount of data.

Table 2.15: Consonants' distribution

Phoneme	Onset	Intervocalic	Coda
p	papa 'wash hand'	sopo 'negation'	adorup 'swordfish'
w	wae 'water'	[patawa] 'garbage'	[kow] 'fowl'
t	tolu 'three'	utu 'louse'	katap 'orchid'
k	karae 'flying fox'	loko 'laplap'	ita manak 'squid'
v	veas 'wild man'	avua 'turtle'	-v 'say, want'
ʋ	ʋitu 'moon'	ruʋa 'escape'	eʋeʋ 'k.o crab'
s	sala 'road'	ńasi 'fish, bird'	avis 'hard work'
r	roa 'gecko'	uri 'skin'	er 'not have'
m	moli 'orange'	ima 'house'	ńalum 'quiet'
n	natu 'child'	inoʋi 'tomorrow'	dun 'damsel fish'
ŋ	ngoro 'snore'	langai 'open'	leng 'cannot'
l	lasa 'cup'	vulu 'hair'	ańal 'nakamal'
ṃ	ńata 'dead'	tańa 'father'	aoń 'k.o tree'
ɖ	dam 'yam'	udu 'tooth'	
ɓ	ɓaka 'bow'	eɓe 'mat'	
l:	llura 'brown'	mallu 'under'	
n:	nniroa 'observe'	kunna 'bend'	
r:	rru 'insist'		
m:		amma 'before'	

2.3.2.1 Consonant combinations in word initial position. Consonant clusters found in the onset position of a word are reported in table 2.16 below. Geminates are included in this table, notwithstanding the fact that, when they are preceded by a prefix of the form CV, they straddle the coda of that first syllable and the onset of the second syllable. Note that words containing a sonorant followed by a stop, such as *rkata* 'stick to s.t', are pronounced in isolation with a syllabic sonorant, as in [r̥.ka.ta].

Table 2.16: Consonant combination in onset position

Cluster	Example	Meaning	No. of Occurrences
rk	rkata	‘stick to s.t.’	1
rp	rpasi	‘burn s.t.’	2
vl	vle	‘climb’	3
sp	sṗitia	‘pierce’	1
pl	ple	‘spread wings’	2
nd	ndia	‘knot’	1
nt	ntao	‘fear’	1
ll	lleo	‘awake’	9
rr	rro	‘quick’	2
nn	nniṗeia	‘slice’	5

Vowel deletion is found to create complex onsets.

- (71) /vi.ri.a/ ‘black’ [mo+**vria**] ‘S/he/it is black.’
 /vu.ru/ ‘cough’ [mo+**vru**] ‘S/he coughs.’

If the complex onset is at the beginning of a predicate, the quality of the missing vowel can (sometimes) be recovered by using a prefix ending with a consonant. Consider the following examples. The form /vuso/ ‘clear’ is realized as [vso] or [vuso] depending on the form of the subject agreement marker.

- (72) ref 06016.011-012
 Ra-**vso** uta sa-ira.
 3PL-clear.garden garden CLF.LOC-3PL
 ‘They clear their garden.’
- (73) ref 06016.012
 Da-r-**vuso** uta sa-ku.
 1PL.INCL-DL-clear.garden garden CLF.LOC-1SG.POSS
 ‘We clean my garden.’

In (72), the vowel /u/ is dropped, leading to the combination [vs]. In (73) on the other hand, to avoid the illicit sequence of three consonants *[rvs], the vowel /u/ occurs.

Note that inserting a prefix ending with a consonant does not always reveal if a vowel is underlyingly present.

- (74) [mo+r.pa.si] ‘He burned it.’
 [ra+r.**r**.+rpasi] ‘They two burned it.’
 [mo+.sʔi.ti.+a] ‘He pierced it.’
 [ra+r.**r**.+sʔitia] ‘They two pierced it.’

This could be interpreted as: (i) there is no underlying vowel in the words /rpasi/ and /sʔitia/, or (ii) some sequences of three consonants across morpheme boundaries are possible, under conditions that remain to be determined. I leave this issue open here.

2.3.2.2 Consonant combinations across syllable boundary. Across syllable boundaries, there may be at most two consecutive consonants. Table 2.17 below provides the list of combinations that were found in the corpus across a syllable boundary.

The table reads as follows: the left column lists the first consonant in a series of two. The top row gives the second consonant. The numbers indicate the number of instances in which the combination was found in the data.

Note that in the examples presented in (75), two consecutive consonants are distributed over two syllables.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (75) | vat.ne.ia | ‘remove guts’ | pat.liu | ‘mountain’ |
| | pov.so | ‘banana flower’ | tam.lo | ‘man’ |
| | var.nao | ‘forehead’ | ngur.ngur | ‘chin’ |
| | laʋ.laʋ | ‘deliver a child’ | va.por.po.ro | ‘wart on the skin’ |

Table 2.17: Consonant combination across syllables

		Second consonant													
		t	k	ǃ	v	ɱ	m	ŋ	r	n	l	s	p	ǔ	d
First consonant	t		1	1	2		2	2	2	2	3		1		
	k	1							3			2	2		
	k	1							3			2	2		
	ǃ	1							1	1	6	1			
	v	5	2						3		1	5			
	ɱ								1			1			1
	m	3					5		2		2	1			2
	ŋ								2		2	2			1
	r	5	4	5	3	4	1	5	2	1	6	5	6	2	
	n	8		1		1	2			7		1	4		3
	l	13		2	6	4	5	1	1		8	6	2	2	4
	s			1		1					1		2	1	1
	p	1								3	1	2	2		
	ǔ	1												1	
	d								1						

2.3.3 Vowel distribution. There are no restrictions as far as the position of vowels in a word is concerned. All vowels are found at the beginning of a word, at the end of a word, or between consonants. As we will see below, up to three vowels are found in a morpheme, and up to five vowels can be found across morpheme boundaries.

2.3.3.1 Two consecutive vowels. The combinations of two consecutive underlying vowels reported in table 2.18 below are all morpheme internal. The combination of vowels at morpheme boundaries was not included, so that the sequence [ea] in [veas(i)] ‘wild man’ is reported below, but the sequence [ea] in [ve+a] ‘insult s.o’ is not counted because the [a] is the third person object clitic. As table 2.18 shows, morpheme internally, there cannot be two consecutive identical vowels.

Table 2.18: Two consecutive underlying vowels

		Second vowel				
		i	e	o	u	a
First vowel	i		3	10	9	9
	e	4		9	2	19
	o	6	1		2	18
	u	2	5	3		21
	a	37	4	42	18	

2.3.3.2 Three consecutive vowels. There are few instances of three consecutive vowels found morpheme internally. Examples include:

- (76) [saoa] ‘sick, sickness’
 [siao] ‘year’

Possible combinations of three underlying vowels in a single morpheme are tabulated below.

Table 2.19: Underlying representation of three consecutive vowels

aio	1	iai	1
ioa	2	aiu	1
aoa	1	iao	1
aia	2		

2.3.3.3 Vowel combinations across morphemes. There can be up to five consecutive underlying vowels across morpheme boundaries. These strings of vowels are the result of the suffixation of the transitive morpheme *-i* followed by an object clitic. Some examples follow.

- (77) /lao+i+a/
 cut+TR+3SG
 ‘cut it’

- (78) /sue+i+ao/
 lull+TR+1SG
 ‘lull me’

The list of three and four consecutive underlying vowels across morpheme boundaries is presented in table 2.20.

Table 2.20: Underlying representation of vowel combinations across morpheme boundaries

ioa	1	aoa	1	iao	1
aia	25	iua	3	eao	1
oua	1	oia	7	aua	4
eia	41	aoia	1	oaia	1
auia	2	ueia	1		

2.3.3.4 Vowel deletion. The vowels /i/, /u/, and /o/ tend to delete word-finally when the word is at least two syllables long, a phenomenon discussed for Araki (François 2002:21-23, 25).

- (79) /masi/ [mas] ‘bird, fish’
 /tolu/ [tol] ‘three’
 /varaŋo/ [varaŋ] ‘finger’

These vowels may reappear with suffixation or in careful, hyper-articulated speech. This is reminiscent of thematic consonants in Oceanic languages, that is, consonants which reflect the original POC consonants, but which have been lost in modern languages. These thematic consonant reappear when a suffix is added to a stem (Evans 2003:209). As we can see below, the vowel /i/ at the end of the lexeme pong(i) is only heard when a possessive suffix is added.

- (80) Elicitation, 2006. EVK.
 Mo-usa **pong** i tolu.
 3SG-rain day LIG three
 ‘It rained for three days.’

- (81) Mo-vol **pongi**-n John.
 3SG-buy day-CONS John
 ‘He hired John for the day.’ (Lit: he bought John’s day)

In the same environment the vowels /e/ or /a/ are not deleted.

- (82) /paŋe/ *[paŋ] ~ [paŋe] ‘belly’
 /sila/ *[sil] ~ [sila] ‘spoon’

However, some grammatical words lose their final /e/ in rapid speech. The high frequency word /aite/ (indefinite article) was often found to be pronounced [a.i.t]. The demonstrative /ale/ is often produced as [al]. This is not the case with /a/.

In words that are at least two syllables long, the [+hi] vowels /u/ and /i/ in V1 delete after a labio-dental fricative (in fast speech) in C1.

- (83) /vule/ [vule] ~ [vle] ‘climb’
 /viria/ [viria] ~ [vria] ‘be black’
 /vuru/ [vuru] ~ [vru] ‘cough’

I believe this deletion takes place before syllabification or stress applies, as shown below.

- (84) /mo+vusoŋ+ao/ [mo.vsoŋ.‘ao] *[mo.,vu.sŋ.‘ao]
 3SG-teach-1SG
 ‘He teaches me.’

Note, however, that this deletion does not apply to nouns.

- (85) /viriu/ [viriu] ~ *[vriu] ‘dog’

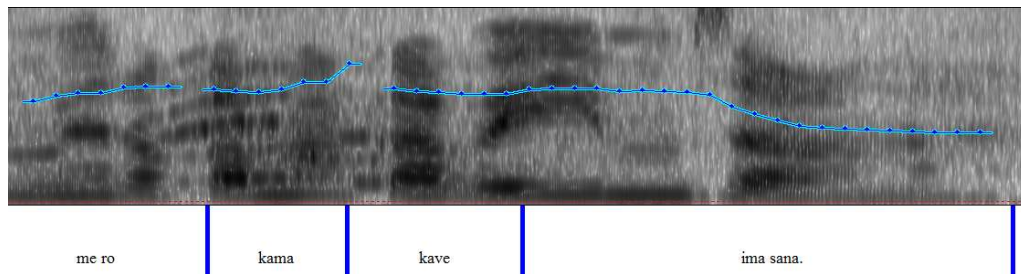
More data is needed to address this fact. Note that in Tamambo, /u/ deletes in fast speech before /l/ in a similar position in a word (Jauncey 1997:42).

2.4 Prosody.

There are different intonation patterns for different types of clauses, briefly listed here. In all examples, a PRAAT spectrogram follows the example sentence. The blue line represents the pitch. More research is needed in this area of the language.

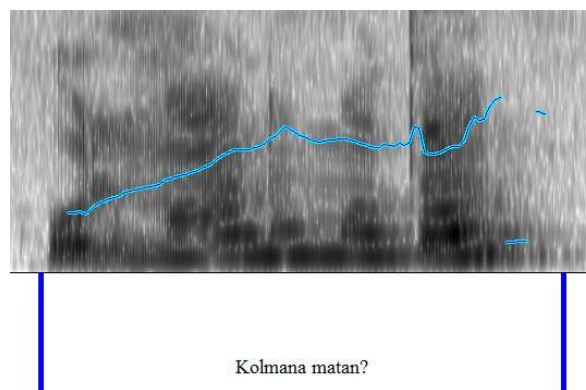
2.4.1 Declarative sentences. The intonation of a declarative sentence is a falling intonation at the end of the sentence.

- (86) ref 06045.109
 Me ro ka-ńna ka-ńe ima sa-na.
 FUT then 1SG.IR-come 1SG.IR-make house CLF.LOC-3SG.POSS
 ‘I will come make his house.’



2.4.2 Content questions. If the question word is at the end of a sentence (such as *ńatan* ‘why’ or *ańe* ‘where’), the intonation contour may be rising (as in (87)) or falling, as shown in (88).

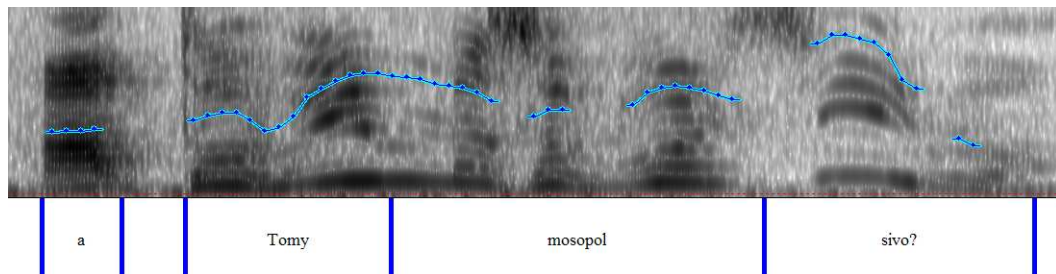
- (87) Ref. 06020.041
 Ko-l-ńana **ńatan?**
 2SG-IMPF-laugh why
 ‘Why are you laughing?’



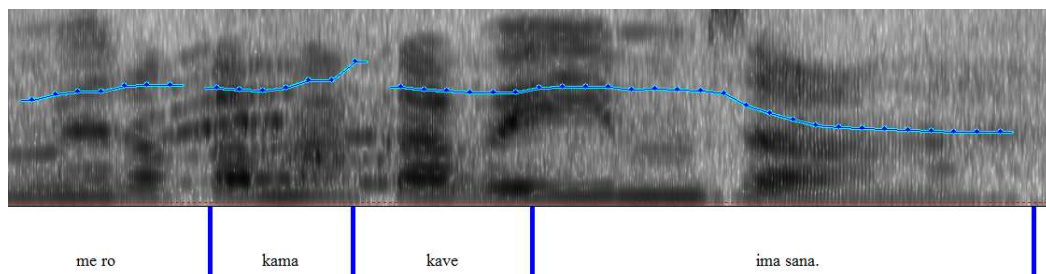
2.4.3.1 Yes-no questions versus declarative sentences. To differentiate a yes-no question from a declarative sentence, a different intonation pattern is used, as can be seen in the spectrograms. Both examples are taken from the same speaker, and originate from the same text. The first spectrogram shows the intonation pattern for a yes-no question. The second graph, for comparative purposes, shows the intonation pattern for a declarative sentence.

As the spectrograms show, while yes-no questions have a rising-falling intonation, declarative sentences have a falling intonation.

- (90) ref 06045.003
 A, Tomy mo-sopo-l-sivo?
 ah Tomy 3SG-NEG-IMPF-go
 ‘Ah, has Tomy not yet gone?’



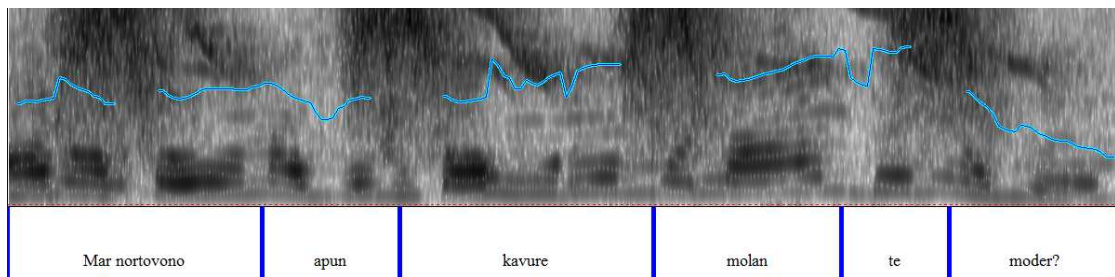
- (91) ref 06045.109
 Me ro ka-ńna ka-ńve ima sa-na.
 FUT then 1SG.IR-come 1SG.IR-make house CLF.LOC-3SG.POSS
 ‘I will come make his house.’



2.4.3.2 Tag yes-no questions. The other type of yes-no question makes use of a yes-no ‘tag’ *te modere* ‘or not’ at the end of the question. The falling intonation pattern for these types of yes-no question is represented in the following spectrogram.

(92) ref 07054c.004

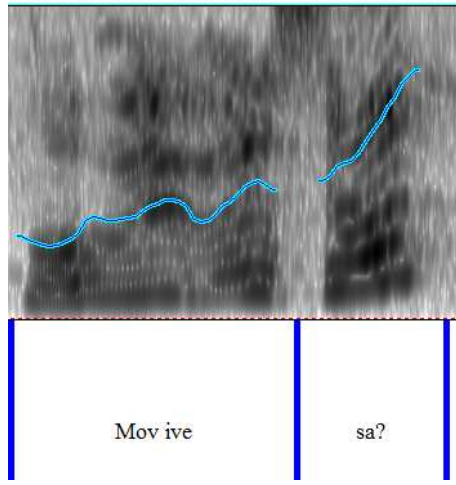
Mar nortovon apu-n kavura mo-l-an **te mo-dere?**
 this now fire-CONS copra 3SG-IMPF-burn or 3SG-no
 ‘Now is the fire for the copra burning or not?’



2.4.4 Echo questions. In the following example extracted from a dialogue, speaker A says something that speaker B does not quite hear. Speaker B then asks speaker A to repeat her comment. The rising intonation for this echo question is provided in the spectrogram below.

(93) ref 07054.012

Mo-v i-ve **sa?**
 3SG-say 3SG.IR-make what
 ‘What did she say she’d do?’



2.5 Morphophonology.

2.5.1 Vowel assimilation across morpheme boundaries. In the following three subsections, I present data on three morphemes ending with /o/: *mo-* ‘3SG’, *sopo-* ‘NEG’, and *mo-* ‘COND.’ The final vowel /o/ of these morphemes fully assimilates to the [-hi,-rd] vowel /e/ or /a/ of the root to which they are prefixed. The vowel is realized on the surface as a long vowel.

2.5.1.1 Subject agreement prefix /mo/. The third person singular subject agreement marker is /mo/. It is prefixed to predicates.

(94) Mo-usa.
3SG-rain
‘It rains.’

(95) Mo-inu=a.
3SG-drink=3SG
‘He drinks/drank it’

The final vowel of this agreement marker assimilates to the vowels /a/ or /e/ of the following predicates. The vowel is realized on the surface as a long vowel.

- (96) /mo-an pete/ [ma:n pe:te].
 3SG-eat taro
 ‘He eats taro.’
- (97) /m̩apu-na mo-evu/ [m̩apuna me:vu].
 breath-3SG 3SG-finish
 ‘He is dead.’ (Lit: His breath is finished.)

Other agreement markers ending with /o/ do not assimilate when positioned in the same environment.

- (98) [ko-an pete] *[ka:n pete]
 2SG-eat taro
 ‘You eat taro.’

2.5.1.2 Negation /sopo/. The final vowel of the negative prefix *sopo-* optionally assimilates to the vowels /e/ and /a/.

- (99) ref 06019.009
 [ka-v ka-mo-**sop**-a:n vavruj].
 1SG.IR-say 1SG.IR-COND-NEG-eat k.o.seed
 ‘If I do not eat the vavru seed...’

Assimilation does not occur with other vowels.

- (100) [ki-**sopo**-ut waj].
 1PL.INCL-NEG-fetch water
 ‘We don’t fetch water.’

2.5.1.3 Conditional /mo/. The vowel of conditional prefix /mo-/ optionally assimilates to a [-hi,-rd] vowel.

- (101) ref 06019.009
 [ko-**m**-a:n n:a].
 2SG-COND-eat 3SG
 ‘If you eat it...’

In front of other vowels, the form /mo-/ is retained.

- (102) ref 06043.101
 [me ko-on inaite i-**mo**-ulua aj].
 FUT 2SG-look something 3SG.IR-COND-grow AI
 ‘You will see that something will be growing on it.’

Note that assimilation also occurs in case the morphemes *sopo-* ‘NEG’, *mo-* ‘3SG’, and *mo-* ‘COND’ precede the vowel /o/, as in:

- (103) ref 06042.044
 /mo-sopo-one=a/ [mosopo:nea]
 3SG-NEG-see=3SG
 ‘He did not see it.’

2.5.2 Vowel deletion before a stressed syllable. In words or phrases at least three syllables long, an unaccented vowel preceding a stressed syllable is likely to be deleted.

- (104) [m̃a.'ra.ʋa] [m̃ar.'ʋe.+na]
 six six-3SG.POSS
 ‘six’ ‘sixth’
- (105) /aroso+n uta sa+ku/ [ar.'son.'u.ta.'sa.ku]
 dirt+CONS garden CLF.LOC+1SG
 ‘my garden’s dirt’
- (106) ima sa+ku [im.'sa.ku]
 house CLF.LOC+1SG
 ‘my house’

Deletion does not apply if it produces an illicit consonant combination, as with the following form:

- (107) uta sa+ku [u.ta.'sa.ku] *[ut.'sa.ku]
 garden CLF.LOC+1SG
 ‘my garden’

It is possible that there is a phonotactic ban on the sequence [ts]. As shown in table 2.17, there are no words in the dictionary with that sequence.

2.5.3 Vowel fronting and raising. There are two instances in the morphophonology of Ma'ŕea where the [-hi, +bk] vowels /a/ and /o/ are either fronted to [e], or raised to [u] when a suffix is added to a root, or when a root is reduplicated. These two cases are briefly described below.

2.5.3.1 Suffixation. As seen in table 2.20 above, across morpheme boundary, the most numerous sequences of three consecutive vowels is /eia/, with 41 instances. This high frequency is due to a rule that fronts the [-hi, +bk] vowels /a/ and /o/ to the vowel /e/, when the bimorphemic suffix /ia/ is attached to the root. Some examples follow.

(108)	lua	‘vomit’	luesia	‘vomit on’
	sala	‘float (vi)’	saleia	‘float (vt)’
	ŕasavula	‘capsized’	savleia	‘capsize’
	uta	‘garden’	uteia	‘make a garden’
	ŕina	‘arrow’	ŕineia	‘shoot arrow’
	silā	‘wooden knife’	sileia	‘cut s.t. pasty with a wooden knife’
	voso	‘grab’	onta-vose-ia	‘know (Lit: look after+grab)’
	onono	‘see’	onea	‘look at’

We can formulate a rule as follows:

$$(109) \quad V[-hi, +bk] \rightarrow V[-bk, -lo] / \text{---}(C)V[+hi, -bk]$$

This rule is productive in other Oceanic languages, and possibly affected POc, too (Evans 2003:105-107).

There are so far only two exceptions to this rule.

(110)	aira	‘wet’	airasia	‘wet s.o.’	*[airesia]
	rio	‘check on, visit’	rioia	‘spy on’	*[rieia]

Also, in a similar environment, the [+hi, +bk] vowel /u/ does not change quality, as shown below.

(111)	pau	‘knee’	pauia	‘push with the knee’
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2.5.3.2 Reduplication. The final vowel /a/ of a reduplicated form is raised to [e] or [o], depending on the vowels surrounding it. In the following examples, /a/ becomes [o] between /u/.

- (112) /**sua**/ ‘paddle, row’ /**suosua**/ ‘paddle, row’ (intensifier)
 /**raru**a/ ‘3PL.two’ (they two) /**raruorua**/ ‘two together’

The derivation could be as follows:

- (i) Underived form **sua**
 (ii) Reduplication **suasua**
 (iii) Vowel change **suosua**

The rule is given below.

- (113) $V[+lo] \rightarrow V[-lo, +rd] / V[+hi, +bk] ___ CV[+hi, +bk]$

There is only one exception to this rule so far.

- (114) /**ura**/ ‘island’ /**ureura**/ ‘islet’ *[uroura]

A similar process raises /a/ to [e] between /i/.

- (115) /**pia**/ ‘dust’ /**piepia**/ ‘dust’
 /**řina**/ ‘arrow’ /**řineřina**/ ‘arrow-fishing’

The rule is given below.

- (116) $V[+lo] \rightarrow V[-bk, -lo] / V[+hi, -bk] ___ CV[+hi, -bk]$

These processes also affect forms that are inherently reduplicated, as can be seen below.

- (117) /**ařia**/ ‘Malay apple’
 /**ařieřia**/ ‘Squirrelfish’ (as red as a Malay apple)
 /**puropura**/ ‘swell up’ (cf. *pura* ‘puffer fish’)
 /**pasuosua**/ ‘Scylla serrata crab’ (cf. *sua* ‘paddle’)
 /**punopuna**/ ‘k.o plant’ (*pun(a/o))

2.6 A historical perspective.

2.6.1 POc, PNCV, and Ma'nea. The list of POc phonemes given by Clark (1985) contains twenty phonemes. It is equivalent to the inventory found in Tryon 1976 (based on Grace 1969). The chart of POc phonemes proposed by Ross (1988:31) contains twenty-two phonemes. The main difference from Clark 1985 is the addition of the palatal stop /j/. Finally, the list of phonemes for POc given by Lynch et al. (2002:63-64) is similar to the one presented in Ross 1998, adding the voiceless palatal stop /c/ to Ross's (1988) inventory.

The following chart lists correspondences between the phonemes of POc (adapted from Ross 1998:19), PNCV (from Clark 1985:223-225), and Ma'nea (from Tryon 1976:13-25). Two or more symbols separated by the slash “/” represent different symbols for the same phoneme (as in Ross 1998:19, based on Ross 1988 and Grace 1969). Symbols separated by a comma indicate allophonic variation.¹⁷

(118) The phonemes of POc, PNCV, and Ma'nea

POc	m	ŋm,mw	n	ñ	ŋ
PNCV	m	mw	n,ny	n,ny	ŋ
Ma'nea	m,ṁ	m,ṁ	n	n	ŋ

POc	w	y	l	q	R	j	c
PNCV	w	y	l	ʔ	r, R	∅	∅
Ma'nea	w	-	l	∅	∅	∅	∅

POc	p	t	d/r	s	k
PNCV	v,w	t	r	s	k
Ma'nea	v, ṽ	t	r,t	s	k,∅

POc	mp,b	ŋp,mpw,bw	nt,d	nd,nr,dr	ns	ŋk,g
PNCV	b	bw	d	nr	z	q
Ma'nea	p, ṽ	p	t	r	s	k

¹⁷I must admit that I am quite confused with the different notations of the POc phonemes, and hope to have done justice to the cited authors.

POc	i	e	a	u	o
Ma'vea	i, Ø	e, o	a	u	o

I report in the table below Tryon's comments on some segments.

Table 2.21: Ma'vea and POc consonants in Tryon 1976

POc	Ma'vea	Comments
p	v, <u>v</u>	*p become v before back vowels and <u>v</u> elsewhere
mp	p, <u>p</u>	*mp becomes p before back vowels, and <u>p</u> elsewhere
d	r, t	The plosive appears to reflect *nd, whose reflexes have merged with *nt
m	m, <u>m</u>	*m remains m before POc back vowels and <u>m</u> elsewhere
ŋm	m, <u>m</u>	ŋm becomes m before non-front vowels, and <u>m</u> elsewhere
y		Items reflecting *y were not found
e	e, o	after o

2.6.2 PNCV and Ma'vea. The examples below lists correspondences between PNCV (as found in Clark 1985 and in an unpublished manuscript) and the Ma'vea data I gathered. Further research is needed to firmly establish the correspondences between PNCV and Ma'vea.

- *l > l
*lolo > lolo 'inside'
*Dale'o > leo 'voice'
*lavi 'give, take' > laxia 'take'
- *z > s
*zama > sama 'outrigger'
*zigo > singo 'mouth'
*zimi > simiria 'suck'
- *s > s
*sa'ati > isati 'bad'
*mwasoyo > masoa 'star'
- *n > n
*rani > ran 'day'
*sinaka 'food' > sinaj 'yam'
*vavine > yayina 'woman'
- *s > Ø
*sa(b,p)ri 'scatter' > avuria 'cast, pelt'
- *' > Ø
*Dale'o > leo 'voice'
*ro'oti > oti 'bundle'

- *sa'ati > isati 'bad'
- *matu'a > matua 'right hand'
- *'avua > avua 'turtle'
- *g > ŋ
 - *rogo > roŋoa 'sense'
 - *saga > saŋa 'fork'
- *r > r
 - *qarai > karaj 'flying fox'
 - *riki 'small' > rikrikis 'drizzle'
- *t > t
 - *matu'a > matua 'right hand'
 - *sa'ati > isati 'bad'
- *q > k
 - *qalato > kalat(o) 'nettle tree'
 - *qere > kere 'butt'
- *bw > p
 - *bwau > pau 'knee'
 - *subwe > supa 'chief'
- *R > Ø
 - *Rua > ua 'high tide'
 - *tavoRa > tavao 'Indian almond'
 - *vaRu > yae 'k.o hibiscus'
- *R > r
 - *taRa'i > taraia 'chop'
- *k > Ø
 - *baeko > peo 'breadfruit'
 - *muki > mi 'earthquake'
 - *sake > sa 'go up'
- *k > k
 - *riki 'small' > rikrikis 'drizzle'
- *v > p
 - *tavua 'mountain' > tapu 'mount'
- *v > v
 - *'avua > avua 'turtle'
 - *vulu > vulu 'hair'
 - *vose > voso 'paddle(n.)'
- *vw > v
 - *vwa > vua 'fruit'
 - *vwavwa > vava 'mouth'
 - *ravwe > rava 'pig'
- *v > v̥ / ___V[-rd]
 - *rave > rayia 'pull'
 - *visiko > visio 'flesh'
 - *tavalu > tayalu 'side'
- *b > p̥ / ___V[-rd]
 - *baeko > peo 'breadfruit'
 - *ta-rabe > rape 'body'
- *m > m̥ / ___V[-rd]
 - *matu(ki) > matiū 'coconut'
 - *tama > tamā 'father'
 - *zimi > simiria 'suck'
- *m > m
 - *muki > mi 'earthquake'
- *mw > m
 - *tamwata > tamata 'calm'
 - *samwa > samuia 'chew'
- *w > Ø
 - *weli > eli 'worm'
- *y > Ø
 - *yaru > aru 'ironwood'
- metathesis
 - *(v,b)ea > ape 'where'
 - *ruvi 'plant' > rivua 'plant yam'
 - *sei > ise 'who'

3 Word classes

The notion of *word* is pervasive in linguistics, despite the fact that there are no clear definitions of what a word is (see for example the list of definitions in Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002:5). There are several criteria used for describing different types of words. An orthographic word can be defined as a string of segments, forming a unit, delimited by two spaces on a page. The fact that phonological processes such as stress assignment are sensitive to word boundaries (see for example Anderson 1985b:151) supports the existence of phonological words. A grammatical word is defined (in part) as internally immutable, so one can say “un-happy” but the sequence of morphemes cannot be changed so that *happy-un is not permissible. According to Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:13,27) grammatical and phonological words need not coincide. The prime example is a clitic, which Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:25) consider to be a grammatical word, but not a phonological word. In this research, I use the term “lexeme” interchangeably with “term,” “word” and “(free or independent) morpheme.”

The next point of contention is to find criteria to categorize lexemes into parts of speech. Whether or not parts of speech constitute a universal feature of language is debated extensively in the literature. For example, according to Payne (1997:32), the lexicon of a language contains at least two major grammatical categories: noun and verb; while the other two major categories (adjective and adverb) are not necessarily expressed as separate categories in a language (see also Bhat 2000:48). Payne (1997) also mentions that most languages contain minor grammatical categories such as adpositions and conjunctions. On the other hand, some languages are or were described as not having distinctions between the major parts of speech noun and verb (for example, Austronesian languages or American Indian languages, see Evans and Osada 2005:352, Schachter 1985:11). It seems that typologists have now come to the conclusion that at least nouns and verbs are language universals (Croft 2000:66, Schachter 1985:11).

Once we accept that parts of speech are a universal feature of language, we are faced with another problem: determining what counts as a verb, a noun or an adjective in a particular language. Given the existing cross-linguistic variation, a list of morpho-syntactic criteria to identify a grammatical category in one language may not be applicable in another language (Bhat 2000:48, Croft 2000:65-67). The issue is even more complex once we acknowledge the fact that word classes are “flexible” (Hengeveld and Rijkhoff 2005:406), and “untidy at their boundaries” (Payne 1997:32). A single lexeme may be used in several syntactic functions and thus may belong to several classes.

There are, however, criteria to assign “prototype” verbs and nouns into open classes (and subclasses): a semantic criterion, a morphological (structural) criterion, and a syntactic (distributional and functional) criterion (Payne 1997:33,47); while the criteria to classify “modifiers” such as adjectives and adverbs are more language-specific than universal (Payne 1997:63-70). According to Schachter (1985:3), the grammatical criteria (structural, functional, and distributional) “provide an adequate basis for part-of-speech classification” for a particular language, while the semantic criterion usually fails to do so. He goes on to argue that “parts-of-speech classes must be distinguished from one another on the basis of a **cluster** of properties, none of which by itself can be claimed to be a necessary and sufficient condition for assignment to a particular class” (Schachter 1985:6, original emphasis).

In the following sections, I identify parts of speech in Ma’vea based on a cluster of properties for each word class. Nouns are presented in section 3.1, pronouns in 3.2, verb types in sections 3.3 to 3.5, and adjectives and adjectival predicates are detailed in section 3.6. Minor parts-of-speech (adverbs, prepositions, classifiers, etc.) are presented in sections 3.7 to 3.11.

3.1 Nouns.

The following classes of nouns are found in Ma’vea.

Table 3.22: Ma'ëa Noun classes

			Open class	Closed class
Noun	Proper	Free	Personal names	Calendar and vocatives
		Bound		Locatives and relationals
	Common	Free	Nouns	
		Bound		Body parts and kinship terms
Pronoun		Free		Independent pronouns
		Bound		Affixes and clitics

All nouns have in common the fact that they are referential. They refer to an abstract or physical entity in the world. In the following sections, each subclass is reviewed.

3.1.1 Proper nouns. Proper names can be subdivided into: personal names, calendar names, vocatives, relational terms, and locationals. They all have in common that they cannot be used with an article or a determiner, as opposed to common nouns. Other characteristics are detailed in each subsection below.

3.1.1.1 Personal names. While in POc (Lynch et al. 2002:71) personal nouns were preceded by the article *i or *e (the former being reflected in Lolovoli, Hyslop 2001:74), this is not the case in Ma'ëa, as shown below.

- (119) **Vovrodal** mo-sum **Vopua**.
 Vovrodal 3SG-kiss Vopua
 'Vovrodal kisses Vopua.'

Personal nouns in Ma'ëa do not take an article, unlike common nouns. On the other hand, they tend to show a gender distinction. Most male names start with *mol-* and female names tend to start with *vo-* or *va-*. A sample list is given in table 3.23.

Table 3.23: Male and female personal names

Male	Female
Moltas	Vopua
Mol'vatol	Vovaro
Moltoaima	Vosike
Molavea	Valeo
Moliala	Vomoliala
Mol'paio	Vatarul
Daldal	Li'na
Vuropaitia	

The bound morpheme *vo-* (or *va-*) is a feminizing morpheme (Lynch 2001:233). It is used to feminize male kinship terms (see also chapter 4).

- (120) natu- 'son' **vanatu-** 'daughter'
 palia- 'father in law' **vopalia-** 'mother in law'

Some traditional male names are formed on common nouns. *Mol'paio* for example is made up of two morphemes *mol* (which I was told is a short form for *moli*, a chiefly title) and *paio* 'shark'. As such personal names are an open class. Other traditional personal names could be construed as sentences.

- (121) Mo-l-to aima.
 3SG-IMPF-stay home
 'He is staying home.'

Personal names also include names of animals that are personalized in stories.

- (122) ref 06020.014
 Ro **vomae** mo-ńña mo-one=a ro mo-v: ‘**Arińvi**, nao,
 then bird 3SG-come 3SG-see=3SG then 3SG-say cat 1SG
 ka-l-tapula.’
 1SG.IR-IMPF-return
 ‘Then Dove said: ‘Cat, I’m going back.’’

3.1.1.2 Calendar names. There are no words for the days of the week in Mańea, but there are words for the twelve months of a year. Only older speakers know these calendar names. Nevertheless, they tend to use the Bislama words for months in conversation.

- (123) ref 07059l.029
 Siao aite mo-lo-ńa mo-tikel **July** ro.
 year one 3SG-IMPF-go 3SG-reach July here
 ‘One year until this July.’

Some younger Mańea speakers know the months’ names, but they do not necessarily know why the months are named the way they are. The complete list of calendar names follows, with explanations on the meaning of the terms.

- (124) Calendar names
- | | | |
|----------------------|----------|---|
| Supeliu | January | Time when the yam’s sprout has grown over its stick (from <i>supa</i> ‘chief’ and <i>liu</i> ‘beyond.’) |
| Rupu | February | Old yams are all eaten up. |
| Adi | March | The hurricane month, the “biting” month (from <i>adi</i> ‘black ant.’) |
| Maoto vorvoro | April | The <i>maoto</i> plant is budding.
Time to plant yam. |
| Maoto lavaoa | May | The <i>maoto</i> plant is blooming.
Time to plant yam. |
| Sarako | June | The yam’s leaves are drying and falling down. |

Udura pono	July	The <i>udura</i> tree is budding.
Udura lavoa	August	The <i>udura</i> tree is blooming.
ḂmaraḂa	September	The yams are ready to harvest.
Elada	October	Time when the sea worm <i>eli</i> is caught.
Elavoa	November	Abundance of all sorts of food.
ElḂngadidi	December	There are no more yams to eat, only cold food is eaten like bananas. Yams are considered a hot food.

Calendar names are either weather-related or based on agricultural practices. Bislama loan words are also used to refer to Christian events such as Christmas or Easter.

(125) ref 07048.003

Mo-v ki-tol-sa ki-tun na UtalaḂe, **na Ista aite**.
 3SG-say 1PL.EXCL-PCL-go.up 1PL.EXCL-roast LOC Santo LOC Easter one
 ‘He said we would go for a picnic on Santo, one Easter.’

The closed class of calendar names straddles the proper and common noun classes. Like common nouns (and as opposed to proper nouns), they can take an article, such as *aite* ‘one’ in the example above. They can appear after the locative/goal marker *na* (shown in the example above), whereas common nouns that do not point to a location cannot appear in this slot.

3.1.1.3 Vocatives. Vocatives are used to address a person, as seen in the following example with *so* ‘friend’.

(126) ref 06037.041

Mo-v: ‘**So**, nno ko-tun sa?’
 3SG-say friend 2SG 2SG-roast what
 ‘He said: ‘Friend, what are you cooking?’’

The closed class of MaḂea vocatives comprises the terms *so(ko)* ‘friend’, a term of address to a younger person, *Ḃmadoudua* ‘old woman’, *tata* ‘mum’, *mama* ‘dad’, and *papur* ‘uncle’; while *pupu* ‘grandpa’ is a possible loan from Bislama.

The vocative *m̃adoudua* ‘old woman’ is used by a husband to call or refer to his wife. This noun is also a common noun, as it can take an article, as shown in (127).

- (127) ref 06036.001
 Sur pong aite, **m̃adoudua aite**.
 for night one old.woman one
 ‘One day, (there was) an old woman.’

Vocatives can be used as arguments, as in the examples below (unlike vocatives in Lolovoli, Hyslop 2001:73).

- (128) ref 07075.019
Mama mo-sa aima.
 dad 3SG-go.up home
 ‘Dad went home.’

- (129) ref 07072.027
 Na-tan na-ŵa na-var **tata** na-v: ‘Tata, nao na-rong dav m̃ata-ku
 1SG-begin 1SG-go 1SG-speak mom 1SG-say mom 1SG 1SG-feel seem eye-1SG.POSS
 me i-sat!
 FUT 3SG.IR-bad
 ‘I went to speak with mom: ‘Mom, I feel like my eye is bad.’’

The closed class of kinship terms can also be used as vocatives, as in the following example.

- (130) ref 06027.007
 Mo-v: ‘**Siso tasi-ku!** Ko-mo-adi taur sio lape=ao?
 3SG-say snail brother-1SG.POSS 2SG-COND-can hold king.fisher DAT=1SG
 ‘He said: ‘Sea snail my brother! Could you hold the king fisher for me?’’

The major difference between the class of kinship terms and vocatives is morphological: kinship terms are bound morphemes which occur in direct possessive constructions, whereas vocatives are free morphemes.

3.1.1.4 Locatives. There are three subgroups in this word class. They are each detailed below. They have in common the fact that they are all questioned with the wh-word *aǰe* ‘where’.

3.1.1.4.1 Place names. Proper nouns referring to locations outside Ma’vea Island include:

(131)	Olotu	‘Luganille’	Aese	‘Ais’
	Utalaǰe	‘Espiritu Santo’	Antaǰapo	‘Malo’
	Oǰae	‘Ambae’	Anav	‘Malakula’

Settlements on Ma’vea include: *Saoroi*, *Amsaran*, *Pelmol*, and *Tamdu*. Small inhabited islands around Ma’vea include: *Aputu*, *Malǰarav*, and *Mal’vanua*, (where *mal-* comes from *malo* ‘reef’). Islands that are far away from Ma’vea are referred to with their Bislama names, such as *Bankis* for ‘the Banks’.

In South Efate (Thieberger 2004:131) 110 out of 114 place names start with the prefix *e-*. In Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:77) and Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:177) most location nouns start with *a-*, a prefix which originate from the POC locative marker **qa* (Malcolm Ross p.c., Nov 14, 2007). In Ma’vea, only a few place names begin with *a-*, as shown in (131). This prefix is also found in several terms of the other two locative subclasses: relational and locational nouns.

3.1.1.4.2 Locational terms. The set of items referring to locations have a common distributional property. They can occur after an intransitive verb of movement such as *ǰa* ‘go’, *si* ‘go down’, *sa* ‘go up’, and *ǰa* ‘come’, or intransitive verbs of location, such as *to* ‘be located, stay’, and *tur(u)* ‘stand (up)’. The list of locational terms is provided below. Some examples follow.

(132)	aima	‘at home’	asao	‘far’
	alao	‘down, towards the sea shore’	aulu	‘on top, above, inland’
	atano	‘to the ground’	varea	‘outside’
	alere	‘everywhere’		

(133) ref 06016.029
 Ro sur pong aite ꞑao mo-l-to **aima**. Ro ale, ꞑilae mo-sa **aulu**.
 then for night one bird 3SG-IMPF-stay home then then bird 3SG-go.up above
 ‘One day, Swamphen was at home, then Plover went up.’

(134) ref 06024.004
 Ra-r-si **alao** ro, ra-r-sur aka...
 3PL-DL-go.down shore then 3PL-DL-pull canoe
 ‘They (two) went to the shore, they pulled the canoe...’

Locationals differ from spatial adverbs in that they can be modified by a prepositional phrase introduced by *na* ‘location/goal’.

(135) ref 06022.003
 Mo-sa **aulu na** uta sa-na.
 3SG-go.up above LOC garden CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘He went up to his garden.’

(136) ref 06019.011
 Mo-raꞑe mo-si **alao na** tasi.
 3SG-pull 3SG-go.down shore LOC sea
 ‘He pulled (it) to the sea shore.’

(137) ref 06021.006
 Mo-si **atano na** vatano.
 3SG-go.down ground LOC ground
 ‘He went down on the ground.’

(138) ref 07037.020 ¹⁸
 Ki-r-lo-kot~kot **alere** na vono.
 1PL.EXCL-DL-IMPF-RED~wander everywhere LOC bush
 ‘We were wandering everywhere in the bush.’

¹⁸The locational *alere* ‘everywhere’ is most probably composed of the locational deictic *ale* ‘there’ and the plural marker *re*.

There are some (semantic) incompatibilities between directional verbs and locational terms. The term *avulu* ‘up, inland’ cannot be used with the verb *si* ‘go down’. Likewise, the verb *sa* meaning ‘to go up, towards the hill top’ is incompatible with *alao* ‘sea shore’. These two verbs, *si* ‘go down’ and *sa* ‘go up’, are also used to refer to locations outside of Ma’vea. One goes up to Espiritu Santo (East of Ma’vea), but one goes down to Tutuba (South of Ma’vea) and not vice-versa.

3.1.1.4.3 Relational terms. Relational terms refer to a location relative to something else, such as ‘the side of’, or ‘the right of’. The list is given below.

- (139) Relational terms
- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| livua | ‘middle’ | madasi | ‘in between’ |
| nao | ‘in front of’ | ĩmatua | ‘right’ |
| ĩmarao | ‘left’ | avona | ‘edge, end’ |
| mallu | ‘under’ | ta’valu | ‘side’ |
| lolo | ‘inside’ | | |

This set of items is similar to locational terms in that they are all questioned with the wh-word *a’pe* ‘where’. They differ, however, from adverbs and locationals in that (i) they can be bound and as such be used with a possessive suffix (as in Lolovoli, Hyslop 2001:76), (ii) they can be modified by a relative clause, as shown in (140), and (iii) they can occur in object position, as arguments of a verb, as exemplified in (141) and (142), or as object of a preposition in (140) below.

- (140) ref 07080.098
- Ki-on re famli **na ta’val** [**ma** nao].
 1PL.EXCL-look PL family LOC side COMP 1SG
 ‘We look at my side of the family.’ (Lit: the family at the side that is mine.)

- (141) ref 06024.058
- Ra-las avua mo-ev ro, ra-taur **avona-n** asi...
 3PL-fasten turtle 3SG-finish then 3PL-hold end-CONS rope
 ‘They fastened the turtle, then they held the rope’s end...’

- (142) ref 06024.026
 Ne sa mo-ře **tařalu-n** ařa-m?
 FOC what 3SG-make side-CONS wing-2SG.POSS
 ‘What happened to the side of your wing?’

In the following examples, the relational terms occur directly after an intransitive verb in Set 1. In Set 2, they are preceded by the preposition *na*.

• **Set 1**

- (143) ref 06021.010
 Mo-l-řa **mallu-n** re vuae.
 3SG-IMPF-go under-CONS PL tree
 ‘He went under the trees.’
- (144) ref 06019.033
 Nna mo-l-tur **tařalu-n** pala.
 3SG 3SG-IMPF-stand.up side-CONS bed
 ‘He was standing at the side of the bed.’
- (145) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Mo-l-var~vara mo-tur **nao-n** tamlo nirev.
 3SG-IMPF-RED~tell 3SG-stand front-CONS man all
 ‘He is talking standing in front of everybody.’
- (146) Elicitation, 2007, ANL.
 Aru mo-tur **nao-n** ima.
 tree 3SG-stand front-3SG.POSS house
 ‘The sea oak tree is in front of the house.’
- (147) ref 06021.035
 Natu-na aite mo-l-to **lolo-n** sun.
 child-3SG.POSS one 3SG-IMP-stay inside-CONS hat
 ‘One of his children was inside the hat.’

• Set 2

- (148) ref 06030.017
 Mo-ńa mo-ńa mo-to **na mallu-n** pua.
 3SG-come 3SG-go 3SG-stay LOC under-CONS bamboo
 ‘He came and stayed under the bamboo.’
- (149) ref 07085.128
 Ok ka-var sur last one ma nna mo-to **na ńarao-ku**.
 ok 1SG.IR-tell about last one COMP 3SG 3SG-stay LOC left-1SG.POSS
 ‘Ok, I’ll talk about the last one that (he) is on my left.’
- (150) Elicitation, 2005, SLL.
 Arińi le mo-l-to **na tańalu-n** sasaoro.
 cat DET 3SG-IMPF-stay LOC side-CONS wall
 ‘The cat is next to the wall.’
- (151) Arińi le mo-l-to **na nao-n** ima.
 cat DET 3SG-IMPF-stay LOC front-CONS house
 ‘The cat is in front of the house.’
- (152) Ima le mo-l-to **na livua-n** vo~vono.
 house DET 3SG-IMPF-stay LOC middle-CONS RED~bush
 ‘The house is in the middle of the forest.’

In the following examples, relational terms appear without a possessive suffix. They function as locational terms. The context helps determine the missing location. In (153) for example, it is the inside of a hat that is at stake, while in (154), it is inside the bush.

- (153) ref 06021.038
 Natu-na palai mo-l-to **na lolo**.
 child-3SG.POSS likewise 3SG-IMPF-stay LOC inside
 ‘His child too was inside.’
- (154) ref 06016.030
 Ęilae mo-sa aulu ro, mo-ńa **na lolo**.
 bird 3SG-go.up above then 3SG-go LOC inside
 ‘Plover went up, then he went inside.’

(155) ref 07082.019
 Ra-tope=i **na livua.**
 3PL-break=TR LOC between
 ‘They break (it) in the middle.’

(156) ref 06020.010
 Me ro ka-sopo-atiti i-avtai **taʋal.**
 FUT then 1SG.IR-NEG-bite 3SG.IR-appear side
 ‘I won’t bite through the side.’

3.1.1.4.4 *Āmarʋit(u)* ‘close’. The word *āmarʋit(u)* ‘close’ straddles the sets of locative terms and the class of prepositions. It can appear after intransitive verbs of movement or location. Like locationals, it can be modified by a prepositional phrase, as shown in (157).

(157) ref 06019.014
 Mo-l-ʋa **āmarʋit na** ʋanua.
 3SG-IMPF-go close LOC island
 ‘He went close to the island.’

Like prepositions, it can be followed by a noun phrase without a marking of possession that is required for most relationals.

(158) ref 06031.023
 Mo-kil sa na pere-n vuae lavoā ma ra-r-lo-tur
 3SG-look go.up LOC branch-CONS tree big COMP 3PL-DL-IMPF-stand.up
marʋitu ai...
 close AI
 ‘He looked up at the branches of the big trees that (they) stood close to it...’

(159) ref 07068.089
Āmarʋitu vunatae-n ʋaka.
 close root-CONS banyan
 ‘Close to the banyan trunk.’

I leave it open here whether *āmarʋitu* ‘close’ is a locational noun, a preposition, or both.

3.1.2 Common nouns. The class of common nouns is divided into two major subclasses: bound common nouns and free common nouns. They have in common that they can all (i) be used in argument position, (ii) be quantified with a numeral or morphologically marked for number (via reduplication or addition of the prefix *na-* depending on the subclass); (iii) be modified by a determiner, (iv) serve as the head of a relative clause, and (v) be questioned with the wh-words *ise* ‘who’ or *sa* ‘what’.

3.1.2.1 Bound common nouns. Based on semantic criteria, this class can be subdivided into nouns referring to kinship terms, nouns referring to body parts, bodily functions, or other human features (such as one’s name or age), and nouns referring to whole-part relations. On distributional grounds, this class is found in direct possessive constructions, and thus morphologically marked with possessive morphemes.

3.1.2.1.1 Kinship terms. As mentioned previously, kinship terms, like personal names, can be feminized.

(160)	natu-	‘child, son’	vanatu-	‘daughter’
	mapi-	‘male grandchild’	vomapi-	‘female grandchild’
	palia-	‘father-in-law’	vopalia-	‘mother-in-law’

Other terms, inherently marked for gender, are listed below.

(161)	taña-	‘father’	tupu-	‘grandchild, grandparent’
	venatu-	‘aunt’	sope- / sapuri-	‘maternal uncle’
	natu-	‘child’	tañanatu-	‘husband’
	ñarau-	‘wife’	soe-	‘brother (of a girl)’
	vose-	‘sister (of a boy)’	tau-	‘sister or brother-in-law’

Kinship terms can inflect for number when number is not specified with a numeral. Plural is marked by the prefix *na-*.

(162)	natu-na
	child-3SG.POSS
	‘his child’

- (163) **na**-natu-na
 PL-child-3SG.POSS
 ‘his children’
- (164) ref 07066.012
 Mo-sora **na**-m̄arau-na.
 3SG-send PL-wife-3SG.POSS
 ‘He sent his wives.’
- (165) ref 06045.155
Na-vose-na **ra**-m̄a aro.
 PL-sister-3SG.POSS 3PL-come here
 ‘His sisters came here.’

The fact that the kinship term *navosena* ‘his sisters’ is plural is shown by the cross-referencing subject agreement marker on the verb, *ra-* ‘3PL’.

If the number is specified, it occurs after the kinship term. In this case, the plural prefix *na-* is not used.

- (166) Elicitation, 2007, ANL.
Va-tasi-ku **i** **tol** ra-lai mo-evu, na nao mo-l-dere.
 FEM-sibling-1SG.POSS LIG three 3PL-marry 3SG-finish but 1SG 3SG-IMPF-no
 ‘My three sisters are already married, but me, not yet.’

Kinship terms behave like personal nouns in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:75), but like common nouns in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:170). In Ma’vea, they are like proper names in that they can be feminized, and they can also be used as vocatives. But they share more properties with common nouns, despite the fact that they form a closed class. Like common nouns, they can be morphologically marked for number. They can also be quantified and be marked by a determiner, as shown in the following example.

- (167) Elicitation, 2007, EFK.
 Na-on **tasi-m** **lere** **i** **liṃa** na Utalaṃe.
 1SG-see sibling-2SG.POSS DET.PL LIG five LOC Santo
 ‘I saw your five brothers in Santo.’

3.1.2.1.2 Body parts. Body parts constitute a closed class, too long to be listed here, but the reader is referred to the dictionary in the appendix.

Words for body parts can be reduplicated to mark them as plural, like the noun *varango*-‘finger’ below. Plurality is confirmed by the fact that the verb takes the plural subject agreement marker *ra-*.

- (168) ref 07085.096
Var~varango-n ra-sopo-asea.
 finger-3SG.POSS 3PL-NEG-self
 ‘His fingers are webbed.’ (Lit: His fingers are not alone.)

Like common nouns and as opposed to proper nouns, words for body parts can be modified by determiners, albeit rarely. The sentence below is the only example in the corpus where a determiner follows an directly possessed body part.

- (169) ref 06016.096
 Mo-at ravti **madi-ku le.**
 3SG-bite break calf-1SG.POSS DET
 ‘It bit and broke my calf.’

3.1.2.1.3 Whole-part relations. Nouns in this category share similar features with body parts. They are bound nouns and take the construct suffix *-n*. They can be reduplicated to mark them as plural, as shown below.

- (170) ref 07022.020
 Ra-lo-mařan **per~pere-n** vuae vaitina.
 3PL-IMPF-play RED~branch-CONS tree big.PL
 ‘They are playing on the trees’ big branches.’

A noun phrase expressing whole-part relation can also be modified with a determiner.

- (171) ref 07022.022
 Ra-l-sev~sev na **pere-n** vuae lere.
 3PL-IMPF-RED~hang LOC branch-CONS tree DET.PL
 ‘They are hanging on the trees’ branches.’

3.1.3 Free nouns. The class of free nouns encompasses all the types of nouns that have not been described in the above sections. Unlike bound common nouns, free common nouns are not reduplicated to indicate plurality. Forms such as **vir~viriu* for ‘dogs’ or **im(a)-ima* for ‘houses’ are unattested in the corpus. These nouns form their plural with a plural determiner, a numeral, or both.

- (172) ref 07069.037
Viriu lere i rua ra-r-lo-ńmereng sa le?
 dog DET.PL LIG two 3PL-DL-IMPF-bark what DET
 ‘What are these two dogs barking at?’

Free nouns can be further divided into mass and count nouns, where mass nouns like *ono* ‘sand’ cannot be quantified.

- (173) **ono i rua*
 sand LIG two

Consider the following examples. The word *duvu* ‘grass’ is cross-referenced on the verb with *ra-* ‘3PL’ in (174), and with *mo-* ‘3SG’ in (175).

- (174) ref 06016.027
 Ro ra-r-lo-to mo-ńva, **duvu ra-ulua**.
 then 3PL-DL-IMPF-stay 3SG-go grass 3PL-grow
 ‘Then they were staying, grass grew.’

- (175) ref 07084.027
 Na sara ma **duvu mo-ulua** ai.
 LOC place COMP grass 3SG-grow AI
 ‘The place where grass grows (there).’

It is possible that in (175), *duvu* ‘grass’ is treated as a singular because it is construed as a mass noun, while it is used as a count noun in (174), triggering plural agreement. Further evidence to confirm the existence of the two subclasses of count and mass nouns in Mańea remains to be found.

3.2 Pronouns.

Pronouns can be divided into two subclasses: free and bound. The class of bound pronouns is made up of possessive suffixes, object enclitics, and prefixed agreement markers. The distinction between clitics and affixes is explained in section 3.2.2. Free pronouns consist of personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns do not inflect for case or gender, but they show number distinctions: singular, dual, paucal (referring to a group of 3 or 5), and plural. There is also a distinction between exclusive and inclusive first person non-singular. According to Ross (2004:498), these features are typical of a canonic Oceanic language.

3.2.1 Independent personal pronouns. Free pronouns can substitute for a full noun (proper or common) in subject position. Forms in the following tables with a slash, such as *darua/o* ‘1.EXCL.DL’ indicate that two pronunciations are possible, *darua* and *daruo*.

Table 3.24: Independent pronouns

Person	Number			
	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal/trial
1INCL	na(o)	(n)ida	darua/o	datol
1EXCL		kañam	kañarua/o	kañatol
2	nno	kañim	kamruo/a	kamtol
3	nna	nira	raruao/o	ratol

Ma’ea is a pro-drop language. When independent subject pronouns are used, it is often to put emphasis on that person, to contrast him/her with another one in the story or conversation or to refocus attention on a character previously mentioned but not in the immediate discourse environment. In the following example, the speaker (a bird) curses another bird. To emphasize the difference with the other bird, and distance himself from that bird, the speaker uses an independent pronoun.

(176) ref 06016.060-061

Me ro **nno** me ko-l-suruv atano, na **nao** me ro ka-suruv aul
FUT then 2SG FUT 2SG-IMPF-sleep ground but 1SG FUT then 1SG.IR-sleep above
pere-n vuae.
branch-CONS tree

‘You, you will sleep on the ground, but I, I’ll sleep in the tree.’

Note also that the independent pronouns and the future marker can “switch places,” as in (176). The pronoun subject can occur to the right or to the left of the future *me ro*. There is no phonological evidence that the pronoun is topicalized.

In the following example, the subject pronoun *nna* ‘3SG’ is used contrastively.

(177) ref 07065.059

Taro-n ma varava tanuma mo-l-to pemel ro **nna**
time-3SG.POSS COMP pig devil 3SG-IMPF-stay like.this then 3SG
mo-taravun sa.
3SG-rise go.up

‘(The time) while the devil-pig was staying like this, then HE got up.’

The referent of *nna* ‘he’ is a man whose identity has been previously established in the story. The narrator uses the overt pronoun to oppose *nna* ‘he’ (that is the man) to the devil-pig (who could also be referred to as *nna* ‘he/it’).

3.2.2 Bound pronouns. The class of bound pronouns can be divided into affixes and clitics. Prefixes, reported in table 3.25, are subject agreement markers.¹⁹ They agree in number and person with the subject. They are obligatorily found at the beginning of a predicate phrase. Notice that only two forms inflect for mood.

¹⁹According to Bresnan and Mchombo (1987:745, 755-764) subject markers in Chichewa are ambiguous between grammatical agreement and arguments. When used as agreement, they agree with an NP in subject position. When used as argument, they take as antecedent an NP Topic (see also Lichtenberk (1997:305) for a similar dual analysis of the suffix *-a* in To’aba’ita). It is possible that the same ambiguity is present in Ma’vea. However, throughout this dissertation, I make the assumption that subject markers are agreement markers and not arguments.

Table 3.25: Subject agreement markers

Person	Number				
	Singular		Plural	Dual	Paucal/trial
	Realis	Irrealis	Realis and irrealis		
1INCL	na-	ka-	da-	dar-	datol-
1EXCL			ki-	kir-	kitol-
2	ko-	ko-	ki-	kir-	kitol-
3	mo-	i-	ra-	rar-	ratol-

Object enclitics are found at the end of a verbal complex. They are listed in table 3.26. Note that there is no reconstructed object clitic for the first and second person plural in POC (Evans 2003:17) so the gap in table 3.26 is not unusual.

Table 3.26: Object enclitics

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1INCL	-ao	-(i)da
1EXCL		
2	-o	
3	-a	-(i)ra

Independent pronouns are found in object position (of a verb or a preposition) when there is no corresponding object clitic. For example, the verb *kolai* ‘lie’ takes the clitic object =*ao* ‘1SG’ in the first example, but an independent pronoun in the second example below.

- (178) ref 06006.019
 Varua, nno ko-**kolai=ao**!
 bird 2SG 2SG-lie=1SG
 ‘Cardinal! You lied to me!’

(179) ref 06025.025

Ra-v: ‘Nno ne ko-l-kev, na ko-**kolai kañarua.**’
3PL-say 2SG FOC 2SG-IMPF-whistle but 2SG-lie 1PL.EXCL.DL
‘They said: ‘YOU were singing, but you lied to us.’

The difference between simple clitics and affixes is argued for by Zwicky and Pullum (1983:503-4), among others. The properties of these bound forms are summarized in the following table.

Table 3.27: Clitic versus affix (Adapted from Zwicky and Pullum 1983)

		Affix	Clitic
P1	High degree of selection of the host	Yes	No
P2	Arbitrary gaps in the paradigm	Yes	No
P3	Morphophonological idiosyncrasies	Yes	No
P4	Semantic idiosyncrasies	Yes	No
P5	Treated as unit for syntactic operations	Yes	No

To this list of properties, I wish to add two more: P6, the possibility of an affix but not a clitic to co-occur with a corresponding NP (that is a subject, an object, or a possessor), and P7, the fact that affixes are obligatory but not clitics. In the light of these distinctions, I argue that subject and possessive bound forms are affixes, while objects bound forms are enclitics. In the following section, I present some evidence supporting this analysis.

3.2.2.1 Possessive suffixes. Possessive suffixes attach to bound nouns, some prepositions, and classifiers. Forms that are in bold in table 3.28 are identical to subject independent pronouns. I take it as an indication that they are free, not bound suffixes.

Possessives are somewhat selective of the host they attach to (P1). They can only be suffixed to a restricted set of items, namely classifiers, some prepositions, and bound nouns. In the following example, the possessive *-ku* ‘1SG.POSS’ is attached to the classifier *a-*, used primarily with things to be eaten.

Table 3.28: Possessive suffixes

Person	Number			
	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal/trial
1INCL	-ku	-(i)da	darua/o	datol
1EXCL		-m̄am	-m̄amrua/o	-m̄amtol
2	-m	-m̄im	-mrua/o	-mtol
3	-n(a)	-(i)ra	raru/a/o	ratol

- (180) ref 06016.058
 Ko-aʋanao dam **a-ku**.
 2SG-steal yam CLF.eat-1SG.POSS
 ‘You stole my yam.’

There are arbitrary gaps in the paradigm of possessive suffixes (P2). As shown in table 3.28, possessives for ‘1.EXCL.DL’, ‘1.EXCL.PCL’, ‘3DL’, and ‘3PCL’ are free forms, not bound suffixes.

Some morphophonological idiosyncrasies (P3) include the variation between [a] and [o] at the end of some forms. Based on these properties, I treat possessive markers as suffixes and not clitics.

3.2.2.2 Subject agreement prefixes. Subject agreement markers attach to the beginning of a verbal complex. They can be followed by a number marker (such as dual or paucal), a polarity marker, an aspect marker, or by a verb stem, as shown below. One may argue that they are not selective of their host (P1). However the host is always the verbal complex.

- (181) **Ra-r-ʋa**.
 3PL-DL-go
 ‘They (2) go/went.’

- (182) **Ra-sopo-řa.**
 3PL-NEG-go
 ‘They don’t/didn’t go.’
- (183) **Ra-l-řa.**
 3PL-IMPF-go
 ‘They are/were going.’
- (184) **Ra-řa.**
 3PL-go
 ‘They go/went.’

They are obligatory (P7), like possessive suffixes. They can co-occur with a subject NP (P6). There are arbitrary gaps in their paradigm (P2). As we can see from table 3.25, only two forms inflect for the irrealis mood, namely the first and third person singular. Other forms are used with both realis and irrealis moods. The forms *i-* and *ka-* are portmanteau morphemes, and as such, semantically idiosyncratic (P4).

In addition, subject markers show morphophonological idiosyncrasies (P3), as shown below for the third person singular *mo-*. When followed by a predicate starting with [e] or [a], *mo-* is pronounced [m]. This morphophonological change does not occur with other vowels, nor with other subject markers ending in /o/ such as *ko-* ‘2SG.’

- (185) /mo-evu/ [mev(u)]
 3SG-finish
 ‘It’s finished.’
- (186) /mo-ango/ [mango]
 3SG-yellow
 ‘It’s yellow.’
- (187) /mo-inu=a/ [moinua]
 3SG-drink=3SG
 ‘He drank it.’

(188) /mo-one=a/ [moonea]
3SG-see=3SG
'He saw it.'

(189) /mo-ulo/ [moulo]
3SG-bark
'It barked.'

Based on these observations, subject agreement markers are treated as prefixes, not clitics.

3.2.2.3 Object pronouns as clitics. Object pronouns are not obligatory (P7): they are used in complementary distribution with a corresponding object NP (P6). In the first example below, the verb *onea* 'see' is used with a full NP while in the second example, it is used with the object pronoun. It is ungrammatical to have both the object clitic and the full NP object, as shown in (192).

(190) ref 06036.004
Mo-**on ura** aite.
3SG-see prawn one
'She saw a prawn.'

(191) ref 06036.005
Ro mo-**one=a**.
then 3SG-see=3SG
'Then she saw it.'

(192) *Mo-**one=a ura** aite.
3SG-see=3SG prawn one

Although there are some gaps in their paradigm (P2) as seen in the above table, object pronouns show no morphophonological or semantic idiosyncrasies (P3 and P4). They are not selective of their host (P1). They attach to whatever lexeme is the last lexeme of a verbal complex, as shown below.

(193) ref 06036.005
 Ro mo-**one**=**a**.
 then 3SG-see=3SG
 ‘Then she saw it.’

(194) ref 06014.037
 Mo-**taur** **lalat**=**i**=**a** na nile.
 3SG-hold tight=TR=3SG LOC nail
 ‘He hold it tight with nails.’

In (193), the object clitic =*a* attaches to the transitive verb *one* ‘see’, while in (194) the object clitic attaches to transitive marker that follows the adverb, and marks the edge of the verbal complex.

Based on these properties, object pronouns are treated as clitics, not suffixes.

The discussion is summarized in the following table. Recall from table 3.27 above that a majority of ‘yes’ indicates affixhood and a majority of ‘no’ indicates cliticity.

Table 3.29: Affix and clitic

		Subject	Object	Possessive
P1	High degree of selection of the host	Some	No	Some
P2	Arbitrary gaps in the paradigm	Yes	Yes	Yes
P3	Morphophonological idiosyncrasies	Some	No	Some
P4	Semantic idiosyncrasies	Yes	No	No
P5	Treated as unit for syntactic operations	Yes	Yes	Yes
P6	Can co-occur with corresponding NP	Yes	No	Some
P7	Are obligatory	Yes	No	Yes

3.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns. Four demonstrative pronouns are found in the corpus: *aro*, *nel(e)*, *maro*, and *male*. The last two forms also have plural variants, respectively *maror* and *malere*. The first two forms, *aro* and *nel(e)*, can also be used as a demonstrative determiners (see section 6.4.2).

There is only one example in the data, where the demonstrative determiner *aro* ‘this here’ is used as a pronoun and is followed by a relative clause.

- (195) ref 06005a.019
 Mo-ǎe mo-pal **aro** [**ma** mo-pailu].
 3SG-make 3SG-like here COMP 3SG-bent
 ‘He makes (it) like this one here that is bent.’

There are few examples of *nel(e)* used as demonstrative pronoun.

- (196) ref 06023.014
 Ro **nel**, na-kuro=a...
 then this.here 1SG-leave=3SG
 ‘Then this one, I left it...’

- (197) ref 06020.061
Nel avona-n ululdunia.
 this end-CONS story
 ‘This (is) the end of the story.’

- (198) ref 07078.034
 Siǎi mo-kolai karae ro **nel** mo-kolai=a.
 parrot 3SG-lie bat then this.here 3SG-lie=3SG
 ‘Parrot lied to Flying Fox, then this one lied to her.’

The demonstrative *maro* ‘this one’ and *male* ‘that one’ seem to encode the proximal versus distal notions. The form *maro* refers to an entity that is close to the speaker, as in (199). *Male* is often used in the texts when the speaker wants to distance him/herself from the referent, as shown in (200).

- (199) ref 07085.006
 Or me ro ka-var sur **maro** ma matua-ku madia.
 maybe FUT then 1SG.IR-talk about this.one COMP right-1SG.POSS first
 ‘Maybe I will talk about this one that (is) on my right first.’

- (200) ref 06045.049-050
 Na vatavata le mo-pelmel paingur, **male** me i-l-ǎe Tomy
 but woman DET 3SG-like.this stubborn that.one FUT 3SG.IR-IMPf-make Tomy
 pelmel.
 like.this
 ‘But this woman is stubborn like this, that one will be making Tomy the same.’

The plural of these demonstrative pronouns is formed by suffixing the plural word *re*.

(201) ref 06035.074
 Ma pula-ira **maror** i v̄at.
 COMP CLF-3PL these.ones LIG four
 ‘(The ones) that (are) theirs (are) these four ones.’

(202) ref 06045.164
Malere da-sopo-varvara nira.
 these.ones 1PL.INCL-NEG-talk 3PL
 ‘These ones, we don’t talk to them.’

The forms of the pronouns *maro* and *male* suggest that they could be a combination of the complementizer *ma*, and the locative adverbials *aro* ‘this, here’, or *ale* ‘there’. These demonstrative pronouns could thus be understood as headless relative clauses: *maro* ‘the one that is here (close to speaker)’ and *male* ‘the one that is there (close to hearer)’.

3.3 Verbs.

Although in the course of a discourse, a single word like *nao* ‘me’ or *io* ‘yes’ can be used as a phrase, the shortest sentence possible in Maŵea usually involve a predicate phrase. This section concerns verbal predicates, noting in passing that nouns, adjectives, and numerals can also be used as predicates (as shown in chapter 12).

Verbal predicates, like adjectival predicates, are marked obligatorily with a subject agreement prefix, and optionally with mood, aspect, or polarity markers (as in most Oceanic languages, Evans 2003:10). Syntactic tests used to determine whether or not a lexeme is a verb include placing the relevant lexeme after a modal such as *adi* ‘can’. Only verbs can occupy this syntactic slot.

(203) Mo-adi *verb*
 3SG-can verb
 ‘S/he can...’

But this test has its limitations: not all verbs can be placed in this slot. This test is not appropriate for verbs of cognition such as ‘know’.

In the rest of this section, I present the different verb classes that exist in Ma'ëa. Much of the discussion on verb classes is based on Evans's (2003) work on valency-changing devices in POc, on Hyslop 2001, and on Ross 2004. I will refer to S as the sole argument of an intransitive verb, A as the subject of a transitive verb, and O as the object of a transitive verb. Two major properties are used to classify verbs into classes: (i) the valency changing devices they co-occur with, whether the device is valency increasing or valency decreasing, and (ii) the relation between the sole argument of an intransitive and its grammatical relation when the verb is transitivized (following Evans 2003:12-13).

Note that throughout this chapter (as well as in chapter 10) I follow the POc literature (such as Evans 2003, Ross 2004) and assume that some verb roots are intransitive and undergo some derivation to be transitivized. Likewise some verb roots are transitive and detransitivized by means of valency-changing affixes. An alternative analysis, namely that the root is unmarked for transitivity, and that both the transitive and intransitive uses of the root are derived, will not be considered here.

Verb classes in Ma'ëa are divided as follows: The subject of an actor subject verb (A-verb) has the thematic role of Actor. The subject of an undergoer subject verb (U-verb) has a thematic role Undergoer. Intransitive U-verbs can be stative verbs (abbreviated to U-stative) or involve some change in condition (U-dynamic verbs). Transitive verbs are also divided between the A and U-class. A transitive verb is an A-verb if, when detransitivized, the A of the transitive corresponds to the S of the intransitive. A transitive verb is a U-verb if, when detransitivized, the S of the intransitive corresponds to the O of the transitive. Each verb class (reported in table 3.30) is detailed in the following subsections.

Table 3.30: Verb classes

Verb	Class	Valency changing device
Intransitive	A-verb	Transitive suffix
		Transitive prefix
		(Periphrastic construction)
	U-stative	Periphrastic construction
		No transitive
	U-dynamic	Transitive suffix
A/U	No transitive	
Transitive	A-verb	Reduplication
	U-verb	Prefix <i>ńa</i>
	A-verb	No intransitive
Ambitransitive	A-verb	N/A
	U-verb	N/A
Ditransitive		N/A

3.3.1 Intransitive verbs.

3.3.1.1 Actor subject verb (A-verb). The sole argument of this intransitive verb is the actor. There are two morphological ways to transitivize an intransitive A-verb. The most commonly found means is the addition of a transitivizing suffix. It adds an undergoer object so that the S becomes A, as shown below.

(204) ref 07069.032

Ra-r-**ń**eru.

3PL-DL-bark

‘They bark.’

(205) ref 07069.020

Ra-r-lo-**ń**ere=**ng**=a.

3PL-DL-IMPf-bark=TR=3SG

‘They barked at it.’

Most A-verbs, to which a transitive suffix can be added, are semantically related: they are corporeal verbs expressing bodily functions, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 3.31: Intransitive-transitive A-verbs

intransitive	transitive
lua ‘vomit’	luesi ‘vomit on’
ńana ‘laugh’	ńanatei ‘mock s.o’
ńere ‘urinate’	ńeres ‘urinate on’
tang ‘cry’	tangsi ‘mourn’
deo ‘defecate’	desi ‘defecate on’
lito ‘spit’	litovi ‘spit on’
siri ‘fart’	sirti ‘fart on’

The addition of a transitive morpheme adds a location/goal (as in POc, Evans 2003:99). It is interesting to note that the transitivizing suffix has several allomorphs: *si*, *tei*, *vi*, *ti*, and *ng*. According to Evans (2003:103), “these thematic consonants reflect the original stem-final consonants that have been reanalyzed as part of the transitive suffix.”

Another morphological way to transitivize an A-verb is to add a causative morpheme, a reflex of the POc causative morpheme *pa[ka]. This process adds an actor subject, and S becomes O. There is only one intransitive A-verb in the corpus which is transitivized in this manner, the verb *an* ‘eat.’

- (206) ref 06020.005
 Ari’vi palai **mo-l-an pasura**.
 cat likewise 3SG-IMPF-eat papaya
 ‘The cat too was eating the papaya.’

- (207) ref 06030.011
Mo-l-ńang-an varua ro tur’áite.
 3SG-IMPF-CAUS-eat cardinal here every.day
 ‘He feeds the cardinal bird everyday.’

Evans (2003:86) notes that “many, if not all, actor subject verbs also had transitive forms with the causative prefix *pa[ka] in POc.” In Ma’vea, since the reflex of *pa[ka] is not productive and since it exists only in some fossilized forms, we expect A-intransitive verbs

to be causativized in a periphrastic construction instead, with the verb *úeia* ‘make.’ Some of these verbs are listed below.

- (208) **aṗaṗa** ‘fight’ **arara** ‘crawl’ **dovoso** ‘think’
sasa ‘work’ **valao** ‘run’ **ngusa** ‘blow one’s nose’

- (209) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Ṽaṽina le mo-l-ṽe natu-na mo-l-**up~upu**.
female DET 3SG-IMPF-make child-3SG.POSS 3SG-IMPF-RED~cloth
‘The woman is making her child get dressed.’

3.3.1.2 Undergoer verb (U-verb). The sole argument of an underived U-intransitive verb is the undergoer. There are two subclasses of U-verbs. They have in common that when transitivized, an actor is added in subject position and S becomes O. Evans (2003:51, based on Ross 1998) notes that in POC there are two classes of U-verbs: U-stative, transitivized with *paka, are inherently stative, and U-verbs transitivized with *i could have either a dynamic or stative interpretation. In Maṽea, I make the distinction between U-dynamic and U-stative because they differ in the type of transitivization methods they require (U-dynamic with a clitic and U-stative with a periphrastic construction), and because only U-dynamic verbs can be marked with the imperfective aspect, as we shall see below.

3.3.1.2.1 U-dynamic. These verbs can denote a process or a state. So far I was only able to identify two verbs in this class: *aira* ‘be(come) wet’ and *sala* ‘be floating’. In order to derive a transitive verb, a suffix is added. The derived transitive of *aira* ‘be(come) wet’ is *airas* ‘wet s.o, water s.t’. The derived transitive of *sala* ‘be floating’ is *saleia* ‘float s.t’.

- (210) ref 07048.048
 Aka du mo-l-sala.
 canoe good 3SG-IMPF-float
 ‘The good canoe was floating.’
- (211) ref 06029.017
 Mo-sale=i=ra na tasi.
 3SG-float=TR=3PL LOC sea
 ‘He floated them in the sea.’

3.3.1.2.2 U-stative. The S argument of a U-stative verb is in a certain state or is described as having certain properties. This class is transitivized with the causative *pa[ka] in POc. In Ma’ea, however, the reflex of this POc morpheme is virtually non-existent. This class of verbs is transitivized with a periphrastic construction, using the verb *’eia* ‘make’. A sample of verbs in this class is given in the table below.

Table 3.32: Intransitive U-Static verbs

Intransitive	Transitive construction
’manan ‘ashamed’	Na-’ve Joe mo-’manan ‘I make Joe ashamed.’
’pisi ‘extinguished’	Na-’ve apu mo-’pisi. ‘I extinguish the fire.’
’leo ‘awake’	Na-’ve Joe mo-’leo ‘I make Joe wake up.’
’nepu ‘drown’	Na-’ve Joe mo-’nepu ‘I make Joe drown.’
’nov ‘cooked’	Na-’ve rice mo-’nov ‘I make the rice cook.’
’naso ‘straight’	Na-’veia mo-’naso ‘I make it straight.’

The verb *mate ‘be dead’ in POc is reconstructed as a U-stative verb (Evans 2003:79). It also belongs to this verb class in Ma’ea, as it requires the verb *’e* to be transitivized.²⁰

²⁰The verbal complex *’e ’mate=i=a* possibly forms a serial verb construction. The verb *’mata* cannot take the transitive clitic: *Mo-’mate=i=a (intended meaning: ‘he killed him.’)

(212) Mo-ńata.
3SG-dead
'He is dead'

(213) Mo-ńe ńate=i=a.
3SG-make dead=TR=3SG
'He killed him.'

Other U-stative verbs include property terms (color, dimension, taste); and physical properties of animate and inanimate entities describing form, weight, or temperature, etc. Property denoting terms in Mańea form a subclass of U-stative verbs in that they can modify a noun or be used as a predicate, as opposed to the rest of U-stative verbs.

(214) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
Otol-i-n avua **ra-damolmol**.
egg-CONS turtle 3PL-round
'Turtle eggs are round.'

(215) **Otol damolmol** mo-ńa-polo.
egg round 3SG-DETR-broken
'The round egg is broken.'

Some adjectival predicates are given in the following examples.

- **Noun modifier**

(216) ńatal **vaisesea** mo-ńene.
banana small 3SG-ripe
'The small banana is ripe.'

(217) Maradi **povon** le.
stone heavy DET
'The heavy stone.'

(218) Kou **viria** mo-ńata.
fowl black 3SG-dead
'The black fowl is dead.'

- **Predicate**

- (219) *Ų*atal le mo-**vaisesea**.
 banana DET 3SG-small
 ‘The banana is small.’
- (220) Maradi mo-**povon**.
 stone 3SG-heavy
 ‘The stone is heavy.’
- (221) Kou le mo-**viria**.
 fowl DET 3SG-black
 ‘The fowl is black.’

There are no examples in the data where this type of U-stative predicate is transitivized, but there is an example where the adjectival predicate *viria* ‘black’ is used in a periphrastic causative construction.

- (222) ref 06041.034
 Kou mo-pulu=a **mo-Ųe mo-vria** evui.
 fowl 3SG-dye=3SG 3SG-make 3SG-black all
 ‘Fowl painted him, she had made him completely black.’

Note, however, that not all U-stative verbs can be used as modifiers. As shown below, the U-stative predicates *dovo* ‘rotten’ and *Ųmata* ‘be dead’ cannot be used as noun modifiers.

- (223) *Ų*Masi mo-**dovo**.
 fish 3SG-rotten
 ‘The fish is rotten.’
- (224) **Ų*Masi **dovo** mo-pon.
 fish rotten 3SG-smell
 (Intended meaning: ‘The rotten fish smells.’)
- (225) Kou mo-**Ųmata** ro mo-dovo.
 fowl 3SG-dead then 3SG-rotten
 ‘The fowl is dead and rotten.’
- (226) *Kou **Ųmata** mo-dovo.
 fowl dead 3SG-rotten
 (Intended meaning: ‘The dead fowl is rotten.’)

Not all adjectives can be used predicatively. In my corpus, a handful of adjectives function solely as modifiers and cannot be used as predicates. They include *vati* ‘bare’ and *natu* ‘next’. I am not in a position to determine when a U-stative verb can or cannot be used as a noun modifier, nor when an adjective can or cannot be used as a predicate.

Chung and Timberlake (1985:215) argue that process verbs but not stative verbs can take aspectual marking such as the progressive aspect. In Ma’vea, U-dynamic verbs can be marked with the imperfective aspect, but not U-stative verbs, as shown below.

(227) **Mo-l-sala.**
 3SG-IMPF-float
 ‘It is floating.’

(228) **Mo-tamlesea.**
 3SG-old
 ‘He is old.’

(229) ***Mo-l-tamlesea.**
 3SG-IMPF-old

However, at least one adjectival predicate, namely *ulvo* ‘be young’ can take the imperfective aspect.

(230) **Mo-l-ulvo.**
 3SG-IMPF-teen
 ‘He is young.’

The concept of being old is seen as a stative condition. There are no subsequent states that can be reached once one is old. To be young or a teen on the other hand can be marked with the imperfective, because this stage in adulthood is considered a dynamic event, which changes over time.

3.3.1.3 A/U-verbs with no transitive counterpart. There is a subset of intransitive verbs for which no transitive counterpart was found. Some of those verbs include weather

predicates (*pong* ‘night’, *duru* ‘full moon’, *usa* ‘rain’, *dodoa* ‘be cloudy’), verbs of “staying” (*to* ‘be at, remain’, *linao* ‘stay at’, *laru* ‘remain’), and some motion verbs such as *avtai* ‘come out’ and *tapula* ‘return’. These last two verbs can be used with an actor subject or an undergoer subject with low degree of agency, such as *tovui popo* ‘coconut sprout’, as shown below.

(231) ref 07028.020

Ko-*va* **ko-avtai** na *ĩ*matiu pula-n Edison.
 2SG-go 2SG-appear LOC coconut CLF-CONS Edison
 ‘You go and come out in Edison’s plantation.’

(232) ref 06043.113

Mo-on ma **tovu-i** **popo** **mo-avtai** ai.
 3SG-look COMP growth-CONS coconut 3SG-appear AI
 ‘He saw that the coconut’s sprout was coming out of it.’

3.3.2 Transitive. Transitive verbs take two arguments, A and O, and the O can be either a full NP or an object clitic. There are two morphological processes to derive an intransitive verb out of a transitive: reduplication and the addition of the prefix *ĩ*ma-, which is a reflex of the POC valency decreasing morpheme *ma. These two derivations apply to two different classes of verbs, A-verb and U-verb, respectively. The semantic principles under which transitive verbs can be classified as A-verbs or U-verbs in Ma^{vea} are similar to those in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:87). U-verbs rank highly on the transitivity cline established by Hopper and Thompson (1980:252), and higher than A-transitive verbs in that (i) the A of a U-transitive verb is high in potency; (ii) the O of a U-transitive is totally affected by the event; and (iii) once intransitivized, the derived U-intransitive cannot be marked with the imperfective aspect because the event is presented as telic and punctual.

3.3.2.1 A-verb. Reduplication derives an intransitive verb where the A and S correspond. Some examples are given below.

- (233) ref 06016.043-044
 Ra-r-**an** **nna**. Ra-r-**an~an** mo-lo-*ũa*. . . .
 3PL-DL-eat 3SG 3PL-DL-RED~eat 3SG-IMPF-go
 ‘They eat it. They eat for a while. . .’

Table 3.33: Reduplicated transitive A-verbs

Transitive	Intransitive
an ‘eat’	anan ‘eat’
itia ‘have sex with’	itit ‘copulate’
kot ‘walk pass’	kotkot ‘wander’
otia ‘disturb’	otot ‘be disturbing’
volia ‘sell’	volvol ‘buy’
ũatua ‘weave’	ũaũatu ‘be weaving’
ruia ‘hunt’	ruru ‘hunt, walk in the bush’

3.3.2.2 U-verb. When adding the detransitivizing prefix *ũa-* to a U-transitive verb, the O becomes the S of the derived intransitive. This process is quite productive in Maũa. A representative sample is provided in the following table.

Table 3.34: Detransitivized U-verbs

Transitive	Intransitive
poloa ‘break, pierce’	ũapolo ‘broken, pierced’
savleia ‘capsize’	ũasaluva ‘capsized’
duna ‘soak’	ũadun ‘drowned’
langai ‘open’	ũalanga ‘opened’

- (234) ref 06024.031
 Me ro ka-**dun** aka.
 FUT then 1SG.IR-drown canoe
 ‘I will sink the canoe.’
- (235) ref 07048.053
 Mo-povon ro mo-**ũa-dun**.
 3SG-heavy then 3SG-DETR-drown
 ‘It is heavy, so it sank.’

3.3.2.3 Transitive with no intransitive counterpart. Some transitive verbs do not have an intransitive counterpart in the corpus.

- (236) **vasaia** ‘clean’ **vusoa** ‘pluck’
sulia ‘burn’ **siŕeia** ‘peel’
siliŕia ‘sew’ **ŕidia** ‘dig out’
sokoira ‘hurt, sprain’

As we shall see below, some of these verbs can be reduplicated to derive noun modifiers.

3.3.2.4 Object: Clitic versus pronoun. There is a subset of transitive verbs in the corpus with two arguments, A and O, but the O cannot be an object clitic. It is either a full NP or an independent pronoun. This is shown below with the verb *sepur* ‘carry’ and the verb *karte* ‘scratch’.

- (237) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Ra-sepur **nna**.
 3PL-carry 3SG
 ‘They carry him.’

- (238) *Mo-sepur(=**i**)=**a**.
 3PL-carry=TR=3SG

- (239) Wire mo-karte **nao**.
 wire 3SG-scratch 1SG
 ‘The wire scratched me.’

- (240) *Mo-karte(=**i**)=**ao**.
 3SG-scratch=TR=1SG

Another set of transitive verbs has a dual pattern: they can be used either with a clitic or a full pronoun, such as *viria* ‘throw’ below.

- (241) ref 06020.053
 Mo-l-alal inao, mo-v i-**viria**=**a**.
 3SG-IMPF-search thing 3SG-say 3SG.IR-throw=3SG
 ‘He was searching for the thing, he wanted to throw it.’

(242) ref 06006.013

Varua mo-v: ‘Ko-ravti sun le, ko-**vir** **nna.**’
bird 3SG-say 2SG-pull.out hat DET 2SG-throw 3SG
‘The cardinal bird said: ‘Take off this hat, throw it!’

Other verbs with a dual pattern include *perpero* ‘forget’, *saleia* ‘listen’, *vesul* ‘whistle’, and *kolai* ‘lie’. These verbs occur in the text corpus with a full NP object, but when elicited, they are found with clitic objects. I believe there is variation among speakers. Younger speakers tend to accept both patterns and produce the structure with full NPs, while older speakers prefer the structure involving a clitic. This is true of ditransitive verbs too, as shown below.

Although it might be the case that any transitive verb can take a non-clitic object, the fact that some transitives can only take a non-clitic object remains to be further investigated.

3.3.3 Ambitransitive. A verb is ambitransitive if it can be used both as a transitive and as an intransitive verb with the same underived form.

There are two types of ambitransitives emerging from the data. The first class is made up of A-verbs: the S and the A correspond.

Table 3.35: Ambitransitive A-verbs

Verb	Intransitive	Transitive
rasua	‘rummage, scour’	‘bail out’
ngutngut	‘hum’	‘hum (a song)’
sa’vi	‘pound’	‘pound X to make a paste of X’
olo	‘surf’	‘surf (a wave)’
vesul	‘whistle’	‘whistle at’

The class of ambitransitive A-verbs also contains verbs denoting bodily functions, such as *lua* ‘vomit’ and other verbs listed in table 3.31.

(243) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Mo-**lua**.
3SG-vomit
'He vomited.'

(244) Mo-**lua** loko.

3SG-vomit laplap
'He vomited laplap.'

The second class of ambitransitive contains U-verbs: the S and the O correspond.

Table 3.36: Ambitransitive U-verbs

Verb	Intransitive	Transitive
oŵ	'smolder'	'sit on (eggs), incubate'
pailu	'be bent'	'bend'
dongaia	'be swaying'	'sway, shake'
apua	'be anchored'	'anchor'
pos	'be turned'	'turn'

The U-transitive verb *dongai* 'sway' is used as a transitive in (245) and intransitively in (246).

(245) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.

Lang mo-**dongai** vuae.
wind 3SG-sway tree
'The wind is swaying the tree.'

(246) Upu mo-**dongai**.

loincloth 3SG-sway
'The loincloth is swaying.'

3.3.4 Ditransitive. Ditransitive verbs have three arguments: the subject actor, the patient or recipient, and the theme. They include *luseia* 'vomit s.t on', *viria* 'throw s.t at', and *usia* 'ask s.t to s.o'. As shown in the following examples, the recipient precedes the theme. The object arguments always seem to appear in that order.

(247) ref 06020.047
 Mo-avur **ita ono.**
 3SG-cast octopus sand
 ‘He threw sand at the octopus.’

(248) ref 06016.020
 Ko-adi **sile nao dam le?**
 2SG-can give 1SG yam DET
 ‘Can you give me this yam?’

One of the objects can be cliticized on the verb. The NP with the semantic role *theme* is never cliticized. Only the recipient can be realized as an object enclitic. The examples below demonstrate this fact.

(249) ref 06016.021
 Ro *řao* mo-v ‘Mo-dere, me ro ka-sopo-**sile=o nna.**’
 then bird 3SG-say 3SG-no FUT then 1SG.IR-NEG-give=2SG 3SG
 ‘Then Swampen said: ‘No, I won’t give it to you.’’

(250) ref 06042.058
 Ro ko-**vara=i=ao nna.**
 then 2SG-tell=TR=1SG 3SG
 ‘Then you told it to me.’

(251) Elicitation, 2005, EVK.
 Mo-tuvas=**i=a tevi.**
 3SG-whip=TR=3SG broom
 ‘He whipped him with a broom.’

Consider the following example, taken from a personal story where the speaker narrates an event that happened to him, reports this event to a group of elders, who in turn report the event to government officials.

(252) ref 07037.109
 Ro mo-vara=**i=a** **nna**.
 then 3SG-tell=TR=3SG 3SG
 ‘Then he told it to him.’

The sentence is potentially ambiguous. The clitic = *a* ‘3SG’ could be representing the event that was reported (the theme) or the person to whom it was reported (the recipient). Likewise, the independent pronoun *nna* ‘3SG’ could refer to both these entities. This sentence is, however, not ambiguous due to the fact that only recipients can be cliticized.

I believe there is variation among speakers. Younger speakers tend to produce ditransitive constructions with two full NPs, while older speakers prefer the structure involving a clitic.

3.3.5 Unrelated transitive and intransitive. Last, there is a class of verbs whose transitive and intransitive counterparts are morphologically unrelated.

Table 3.37: Transitive and intransitive morphologically unrelated

Transitive	Intransitive
kolai ‘lie to s.o.’	lipolipo ‘tell lies’
sureia ‘hide s.t.’	song ‘be hiding’
tiua ‘sharpen s.t.’	an ‘sharp, biting’
sakaia ‘put on top’	sakele ‘sit’
siṗesiṗe ‘blow s.t.’	sere ‘be blowing’

3.4 Auxiliaries.

Three auxiliary verbs were found in the data.

(253) **adi** ‘can’
leng ‘cannot’
ria ‘must’

Auxiliaries are similar to verbs in that they require the subject agreement prefix. They differ from main verbs in that (i) they are always followed by a bare verb, and (ii) it is most unusual to find them marked with aspectual markers such as the imperfective *-lo*. One of my consultants, however, volunteered the following example.

- (254) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Mo-*ře* mo-pal **mo-l-adi** sava!
 3SG-make 3SG-like 3SG-IMPF-can dance
 ‘He does like he can dance!’

This sentence would be uttered in a scornful way, to mock someone.

The auxiliaries *adi* ‘can’ and its negated counterpart *leng* indicate (un)willingness or (in)ability (dynamic modality, Palmer 2001:10) when used with realis mood. The auxiliaries *adi* ‘can’ and *ria* ‘must’ indicate permission or obligation with irrealis mood (deontic modality, Palmer 2001:9). Examples follow.

- (255) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Na-**adi** řatu aitenge sivo na pong aite.
 1SG-can weave one exactly LOC night one
 ‘I can weave exactly one (mat) per day.’

- (256) ref 07082.056
 Āmatan turřaite ra-l-is pire talmalum ra-**leng** is pire
 because every.time 3PL-IMPF-pinch plant afternoon 3PL-can’t pinch plant
 tarlavua.
 morning
 ‘Because they always break the cycad leaf in the afternoon, they cannot break it in the morning.’

- (257) ref 06024.013
 Ro kou mo-v: ‘Ka-**adi** sop kamtol?’
 then fowl 3SG-say 1SG.IR-can follow 2PL.PCL
 ‘Then Fowl said: ‘Could I follow you?’’

- (258) ref 07082.144
 Me ro **ko-ria** v̄ang-an tamlo ma ra-ńa sur ina no-m.
 FUT then 2SG-must CAUS-eat man COMP 3PL-come about thing CLF-2SG.POSS
 ‘Then you must feed the men who came for your thing.’

3.5 Flexibility.

We saw in the previous sections that an adjective can be used as both a noun modifier and a predicate.

- (259) maradi **povon** le
 stone heavy DET
 ‘the heavy stone’

- (260) Maradi mo-**povon**.
 stone 3SG-heavy
 ‘The stone is heavy.’

Other word classes can perform multiple roles. We already saw that there is a class of verbs called ambitransitive that can be used as transitive and intransitive. There also exists a set of lexemes that can function as predicate or as nominal, such as *kalat* ‘tongs’ below.

- (261) ref 07072.020
 Nna mo-oso ńata-ku na **kalat**.
 3SG 3SG-stick eye-1SG.POSS LOC tongs
 ‘She poked my eye with tongs.’

- (262) ref 07026.019
 Ko-**kalat** maradi.
 2SG-tong stone
 ‘Remove the stones with tongs.’

The same morphologically unmarked lexeme *kalat* may assume two different functions: the noun ‘tongs’ in (261) and the verb ‘remove with tongs’ in (262).

Not all nouns can be used predicatively and not all verbs can be used as nouns. The noun *aka* ‘canoe’, for example, cannot be used as a predicate to indicate the act of canoeing.

The verb *ʔatneia* ‘remove guts’ cannot also refer to the noun ‘guts’. I cannot predict which noun can be used as a verb, and vice-versa. Noun-verb pairs are given in table 3.38 below (see also section 4.5.2).

Table 3.38: Noun-verb pairs

Form	Noun	Verb
auau	‘type of laplap’	‘to make <i>auau</i> ’
dae	‘blood’	‘to bleed’
ṁasi	‘color’	‘to be colorful’
mi	‘earthquake’	‘to be an earthquake’
ngara	‘cry’	‘to cry’
pero	‘dream’	‘to dream’
petu	‘side opposite the blade’	‘to be blunt’
rasua	‘pail’	‘to bail out’
sasa	‘work’	‘to work’
sava	‘dance’	‘to dance’
sira	‘semen’	‘to ejaculate’
roro	‘sound’	‘to make noise’

Most verbs forming noun-verb pairs are intransitive, but a few transitive verbs are also found, such as *arari* ‘fish scale/to scale a fish’, or *duseia* ‘think of’ and *dusei-ku* ‘my thought.’

3.6 Adjectives.

As mentioned above in section 3.5, adjectives in Maʔea can be used as predicates. The present section is devoted to the subclass of adjectives that can only be used as noun modifiers. So far, only a handful of adjectives were found in the corpus. While three of these adjectives are independent lexical items (that is, they are not related to any other item in the corpus), the others are derived from transitive verbs by means of reduplication.

The three adjectives that are unrelated to other lexical item are: *natu* ‘next’, *vati* ‘bare, empty’, and *ṁaia* ‘wilted’. Note that although *ṁaia* seems to start with the anti-causative

morpheme *ńa-*, there is no actual lexeme **aia* or **ia* from which it could be derived, suggesting that this is a fossilized form. Some examples follow.

(263) Elicitation. 2006. ANL.

Me ka-tapula na te sara na ńitu **natu**.
 FUT 1SG.IR-return LOC some place LOC month next
 ‘I will come back some time next month.’

(264) ref 07079.033

Ki-sopo-r-ńanńano pili **vati**.
 1PL.EXCL-NEG-DL-walk hand bare
 ‘We did not come empty-handed.’

Noun modifiers can be derived from transitive verbs by means of reduplication. In general, these adjectives are derived from transitive A-verbs, as shown in the table below.

Table 3.39: Adjectives derived from transitive A-verbs

Adjective	Meaning	Verb
upu silsiliń/sisilńi	‘sewn calico’	silńia ‘sew’
dam tartari	‘grated yam’	taraia ‘chop, grate’
ńmatiu ososoń	‘husked coconut’	osońa ‘husk’
vuae sańsań	‘arrow-shaped wood’	sańia ‘cut in the shape of an arrow’
ńmatiu singsing	‘shelled coconut, copra’	singa ‘shell out’
ima pulpulu	‘painted house’	pulua ‘paint’
ńmatiu rosros	‘grated coconut’	rosia ‘grate’
upu pirpiri	‘crumpled calico’	piria ‘crumple’
vuae domdomo	‘cut wood’	domea ‘cut’

There are only two adjectives derived from transitive U-verbs in the corpus. The transitive verb first becomes intransitive with the anti-causative morpheme *ńa-*. This intransitive verb is then reduplicated to form a noun modifier.

(265) **poloa** ‘break’ **ńa-polo** ‘broken’ pirin **ńa-pol~pol** ‘broken shell’
avua ‘dig’ **ń-avua** ‘split’ vatano **ń-avuo~vua** ‘split-dry soil’

3.7 Adverbs.

There are two main classes of adverbs: phrasal adverbs and sentential adverbs.

3.7.1 Sentential adverbs. These adverbs take scope over the entire sentence. As such they occur on the right or left edge of a sentence, after or before the verb's core argument(s).

They can be subclassified in semantic terms, as presented in the following table.

Table 3.40: Sentential adverbs

Locative	kon(a)ro	'here'
	(a)ro	'here'
Temporal	amma	'before'
	talapong	'tonight'
	iuese	'in two days'
	nauese	'two days ago'
	tarlavua	'morning'
	nortovon(o)	'now'
	napar	'today'
	ino'vi	'tomorrow'
	nano'vi	'yesterday'
Frequency	tur'vaite	'always, everytime'
	te pong	'sometimes'
Aspectual	pa	'still, yet'
Modal	or	'maybe'

3.7.1.1 Locative adverbs. They are two sets of locative adverbs, one that I will refer to as the A-set since all members start with [a], and the other that I will refer to as the K-set, as all members start with [ko]. They display a six-way distinction based on the proximity to the speaker, the hearer, and whether the relative distance is up, down, or across (see Hyslop 2001, chap.IX for a similar system in Lolovoli).

(266) Spatial adverbs²¹

aro	~	kon(a)ro	‘here, at speaker’s location’
aine	~	konain(e)/koneine	‘there, at hearer’s location’
ale	~	konale	‘there, away from both interlocutors, but closer to hearer than speaker’
atu	~	konatu	‘over there, away from both interlocutors’
atisi(vo)	~	konatisi(vo)	‘over there up, far away from both interlocutors’
atisa	~	konatisa	‘over there down, far away from both interlocutors’
ati’va	~	konati’va	‘over there across, far away from both interlocutors’

The forms indicating the direction ‘up’ *atisi(vo)*, *atisa* ‘down’, or *ati’va* ‘across’ are most probably derived from *atu* ‘away from both interlocutors’. Some examples follow.

(267) ref 06016.046-047
 Nno ko-to **aro** nao ka-on ka-’va **konati’va**. Ka-val kil ’va na
 2SG 2SG-stay here 1SG 1SG.IR-look 1SG.IR-go over.there 1SG.IR-pass look go LOC
 vo~vono **konatu**.
 RED~bush over.there
 ‘You stay here, I will go look over there. I will pass towards the bush over there.’

(268) ref 06044.050
 Ra-kuro **koneine** ‘Ai sar’ ro ra-sa **konain** ‘Panpan’.
 3PL-leave there ai sar then 3PL-go.up there panpan
 ‘They left there ‘Ai sar’, then they went up there, ‘Panpan’.’

(269) ref 06015.081
 Na-rong mo-sopo ’parav inaité mo-tikel palo-ku **konaro**.
 1SG-feel 3SG-NEG long thing 3SG-reach leg-1SG.POSS here
 ‘Soon after I felt something touching my leg here.’

The A-set are similar to locational terms in that they start with [a], a reflex of the POC locative marker *qa. The A and K-sets are similar to locational terms in that they can appear as the oblique argument of an intransitive verb. They differ from locational terms in that they cannot be modified by a prepositional phrase.

²¹The variation between *konaine* and *koneine* is phonological.

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact semantic difference between the two sets. Some members of the A-set can also be used as demonstratives, as shown in (270), while no member of the K-set was found in this function.

- (270) ref 06005a.019
 Mo-*ǎe* mo-pal **aro** [**ma** mo-pailu].
 3SG-make 3SG-like here COMP 3SG-bent
 ‘He makes (it) like (this one) here which is bent.’

Consider the following sentence. It contains five deictics, four of them referring to the spatial/temporal location ‘here/now’.

- (271) ref 07052.052
 Na-v: ‘**Konro ro** maror **noro** ra-dae **ro**.’
 1SG-say here here these.ones here.now 3PL-bleed here
 ‘I said: ‘Here, these ones here, they bleed now.’’

More research is needed in this area of the grammar in order to determine the differences between the sets and their combinatorial possibilities.

3.7.1.2 Temporal adverbs. Temporal adverbs refer to a location in time. Two temporal adverbs were found modified by the degree word *los(o)* ‘very’.

- (272) ref 06043.033
 Ra-r-taravun **tarlavua los**, mopal sara mo-l-*ńmar*~*ńmario* pa.
 3PL-DL-rise morning very 3SG-like place 3SG-IMPf-RED~dark still
 ‘They woke up very early in the morning, when it’s still dark.’

- (273) ref 06042.001-003
 Amma, **amma los**, na taro ma Aese mo-er tamloi-na.
 before, before very LOC time COMP Ais 3SG-not.have man-3SG.POSS
 ‘Before, a long time ago, when there were no men on Ais Island.’

3.7.1.3 Frequency adverbs. Frequency adverbs indicate how often an action or event takes place. Two such adverbs exist in Ma'vea, *turvaite* 'always, every time' and *te pong* 'some times, some day'.

(274) ref 07082.056
 M'atan **turvaite** ra-l-is pire talmalum ra-leng is pire tarlavua.
 because always 3PL-IMPF-pinch plant afternoon 3PL-can't pinch plant morning
 'Because they always break the cycad leaf in the afternoon, they cannot break it in
 the morning.'

(275) ref 06016.007
Te pong ro ra-r-va aima na ma p'ao, ra-r-an~an, ale
 some night then 3PL-DL-go home LOC COMP swamphen 3PL-DL-RED~eat then
 te pong ra-r-va aima na ma p'ilae.
 some night 3PL-DL-go home LOC COMP plover
 'Some days they go to Swamphen's house, they eat, then some days they go to
 Plover's house.'

3.7.1.4 Modal and aspectual adverb. The aspectual adverb *pa* 'still, yet' is found at the end of a sentence.

(276) ref 06043.033
 Ra-r-taravun tarlavua los, mopal sara mo-l-m'ar~m'ario **pa**.
 3PL-DL-rise morning very 3SG-like place 3SG-IMPF-RED~dark still
 'They woke up very early morning, when it's dark still.'

One modal adverb was found in the data, the epistemic adverb *or* 'maybe'.

(277) ref 07080.075-077

Me ro kaŋam ki-one=a ki-v or mo-sopo-ŋasingo
 FUT then 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-look=3SG 1PL.EXCL-say maybe 3SG-NEG-agree
 vanatu-na.
 daughter-3SG.POSS

‘We would look at it and say that maybe he doesn’t agree (to give) his daughter (in marriage).’

More is said about modal and aspectual adverbs in chapter 9.

3.7.2 Phrasal adverbs. These adverbs (presented in table 3.41 below) have scope over a verb phrase. They occur “outside” or “inside” a verbal complex. If the verb is intransitive, these adverbs will occur after the verb. If the verb is transitive, they occur before the object argument, that is, inside the verbal complex. Most of these adverbs are manner adverbs, except for *ŋallai* ‘little, enough’, which is a quantity adverb.

Table 3.41: Phrasal adverbs

Position in the verbal complex	Adverb	Meaning
Outside	ŋila	‘fast’
	ŋalum	‘quietly, slowly’
	liliu	‘upside down’
	nasa	‘softly’
Inside	kalan	‘badly’
	lalat	‘tight’
	doŋo	‘through’
	momos	‘well’
	pale	‘down’
	puse	‘away’
	rui	‘underneath’
	sosong	‘facing’
	late	‘across’
	ŋallai	‘little, enough’

3.7.2.1 Adverbs outside the verbal complex. Unlike sentential adverbs, which can occur sentence-initially, these phrasal adverbs are found only in the data on the right edge of the verbal complex, as shown in (278) to (281), and after the object, as shown in (282).

- (278) ref 07068.077-078
 Na-po-stop. Nao na-valao **ńalum**.
 1SG-NEG-stop 1SG 1SG-run quietly
 ‘I didn’t stop. I drove slowly.’
- (279) ref 06035.227
 Tina-ira mo-v: ‘Ki-to **ńalum!**’
 mother-3PL 3SG-say 2PL-stay quietly
 ‘Their mother said: ‘You stay quiet!’
- (280) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Karae ra-l-sev **liliu**.
 bat 3PL-IMPf-hang upside
 ‘The bats are hanging upside down.’
- (281) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Ra-var~vara **nasa** na-sopo-rong inao ma ra-lo-vara=i=a.
 3PL-RED~tell softly 1SG-NEG-hear thing COMP 3PL-IMPf-tell=TR=3SG
 ‘They whisper I can’t hear a thing they say (it).’
- (282) ref 07082.153-154
 Manea pemel inaita ma mo-kao, mo-sopo ina tuana mo-pal
 money like.this thing COMP 3SG-hard 3SG-NEG thing plenty 3SG-like
 da-adi one=a **ńila**.
 1PL.INCL-can look=3SG fast
 ‘Money is something hard to come by. It is not something plentiful, like we can find it quickly.’

3.7.2.2 Adverbs inside the verbal complex. As opposed to outside adverbs, these adverbs are placed inside the verbal complex, that is, before the object, as shown below with *kalan* ‘badly’, *momos* ‘well’, and *late* ‘across’. This type of “inside” adverb is found in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:92), Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:321), and Araki (called adjunct, François 2002:35).

- (283) ref 06013.013
 Ko-mo-l-tau=a ko-l-rong me i-**ǎe** **kalan patu-na**.
 2SG-COND-IMPF-put=3SG 2SG-IMPF-hear FUT 3SG.IR-make badly head-3SG.POSS
 ‘If you put it (on), beware, it will spoil your head.’
- (284) ref 07069.060
 Na-**klinim momos lolo-na**.
 1SG-clean good inside-3SG.POSS
 ‘I clean its inside well.’
- (285) Mo-tete **late** vono.
 3SG-fly cross bush
 ‘He flew across the bush.’
- (286) ref 07072.043
 Ra-**klinim momos=i=a**.
 3PL-clean good=TR=3SG
 ‘They cleaned it well.’
- (287) Mo-tete **late=i=a**.
 3SG-fly across=TR=3SG
 ‘It flew across it.’

A subset of these adverbs is found to often collocate with the same verbs. This is the case of *lal* ‘scold’, which is always following the verb *ǎeia* ‘make’.

- (288) ref 07048.069-070
 Pupu mo-taravun mo-si! Mo-**ǎe lal** kañatol mo-**ǎa**.
 grandpa 3SG-rise 3SG-cross 3SG-make scold 1PL.PCL 3SG-go
 ‘Pupu started to be angry! He scolded us for a while.’

Two adverbs collocate with posture verbs such as *to* ‘stay’ and *tur(u)* ‘stand’. They include *sosong* ‘facing’ and *tangate* ‘wait’.

- (289) ref 06036.033
 Ro nna mo-l-**to** **tangate** inana-n ímatan ma i-noa.
 then 3SG 3SG-IMPF-stay wait food-3SG.POSS for COMP 3SG.IR-cooked
 ‘He waited for the food to be cooked.’

The adverb *late* ‘across’ is often found after the verb *val* ‘pass’.

- (290) Mo-val **late** sara-n íma~ínavan, mo-si na tasi.
 3SG-pass across place-CONS RED~play 3SG-go.down LOC sea
 ‘He crossed the playground to the sea.’
- (291) Vuae íparav mo-sov̄ mo-si mo-val **late** sala.
 tree long 3SG-fall 3SG-go.down 3SG-pass across road
 ‘The long tree fell down across the road.’

Hyslop and Jauncey both suggest that those adverbs could be historically derived from verbs, since in Lolovoli and Tamambo, they are marked with a fossilized verbal morpheme. In Lolovoli, for example, these adverbs end with the applicative suffix *-gi*, which is found elsewhere on verbs, and which has been reanalyzed as part of the adverb stem (as in *bubugi* ‘together’ or *lawagi* ‘too much’, Hyslop 2001:92).

Although in Ma’vea there is no “robust” morphological evidence that these adverbs are derived from verbs, they are semantically verb-like: their English translations are often verbal, since there are no equivalent adverbs in English. They appear before the object clitic, suggesting that they share some properties with verbs. It is also possible that the collocation verb and adverb forms a compound. These compounds could be understood as historically derived from serial verb constructions. Synchronically, however, these adverbs cannot stand on their own as predicates as can be seen below. Thus the above sentences in (283) and (284) are not serial verb constructions.

- (292) *Mo-**kalan** patu-na
 3sg-badly head-3sg.poss
 (Intended meaning: it spoiled his head.)

- (293) *Ra-momos=i=a.
 3PL-good=TR=3SG
 (Intended meaning: They bettered it.)
- (294) *Mo-late=i=a.
 3SG-across=TR=3SG
 (Intended meaning: He crossed it.)

3.7.3 Verb and adverb. The (phrasal) temporal adverb *val ťa* ‘a little, for a while’ is made up of two verbs, *val* ‘pass’ and *ťa* ‘go’. This adverb is used outside the verbal complex, as shown below.

- (295) ref 06043.102
 Sara ma me tasi i-sopo-tikel=i=a, mo-pal aul **val ťa**.
 place COMP FUT sea 3SG.IR-NEG-reach=TR=3SG 3SG-like above pass go
 ‘A place that the sea couldn’t reach, like on top a little.’
- (296) ref 07068.054
 Mo-sara **val ťa** mo-ťa.
 3SG-clear pass go 3SG-go
 ‘It cleared (the view) for a while.’

This phrase was also found with subject agreement marker, making it both an adverbial phrase and a verbal complex (and possibly a nuclear serial verb construction).

- (297) ref 06018.011
 Ro mo-sop sala mo-**val ťa**.
 then 3SG-follow road 3SG-pass go
 ‘Then he followed the road for a while.’

3.8 Prepositions.

There are seven prepositions in Ma’ťea, as shown in table 8.69. One formal difference among these prepositions is the type of affix they combine with.

Table 3.42: Prepositions

	řalu 'to, from'	do(ř)doři 'straight'	lape 'for'	suri 'to, for'	dal 'around'	tuan 'with'	na 'in, at'
Poss. suffix	√	√	x	x	x	x	x
Object clitic	x	x	√	√	x	x	x

The prepositions *řalu* and *do(ř)doři* take a possessive suffix, whereas *lap(e)* and *sur(i)* take as a suffix the clitic object. Last, *dal*, *tuan*, and *na* are bare prepositions, requiring no suffix at all.

These prepositions have one property in common: they add an oblique phrase to a sentence, whether a location, a goal, or a recipient.

(298) ref 07079.037

Ki-r-var tankiu **lape**=a řatan ma mo-ontai re na-vari.
 1PL.EXCL-DL-speak thanks DAT=3SG because COMP 3SG-look.after PL PL-small
 'We say thank you to him for looking after the children.'

Prepositions differ from phrasal adverbs in that (i) they cannot take the transitive marker =*i*, (ii) they can follow the verbal complex formed by a verb, an “inside” adverb, the transitive marker, and the object (as shown below), whereas “inside” adverbs occur before the object.

(299) ref 06021.036

Mo-l-ře lal=i=a **sur** sun.
 3SG-IMPf-make scold=TR=3SG about hat
 'He is scolding him about the hat.'

3.9 Classifiers.

Classifiers are used in possessive constructions to indicate a relation between the possessee and possessor. They take a possessive suffix to encode the possessor, as shown below.

- (300) ref 06016.058
 Ko-aʻanao dam **a-ku**.
 2SG-steal yam CLF.eat-1SG.POSS
 ‘You stole my yam.’

Six classifiers are found in Maʻea.

- (301) **a-** ‘to be eaten’
ma- ‘to be drunk’
no- ‘general possession, valuables’
pula- ‘animal raised, vegetable planted’
sa- ‘land’
ṁadoue- ‘a dead man’s possession’

Classifiers are discussed in chapter 7.

3.10 Interrogatives.

The closed class of interrogative pronouns includes the following wh-words:

- (302) **sa** ‘what’
ise ‘who’
aʻe ‘where’
ingese ‘when’
iʻisa ‘how much, how many’
ṁatan ‘why’
ṁatai sa ‘for what reason’
sur sa ‘for what reason’
se ‘which’

At least two of these wh-words can be used as indefinite pronouns, namely *ingese* ‘whenever’ and *iʻisa* ‘whatever number’. Maʻea is a wh-in situ language; that is, wh-words occur in a question in the slot of the phrase they replace, as opposed to English where a wh-phrase occurs at the beginning of a question.

- (303) ref 06020.032
 Ko-l-tang **ṁatan?**
 2SG-IMPF-cry because
 ‘Why are you crying?’

There also exist interrogative predicates in Maʻea. They are described in chapter 13.

3.11 Interjections and discourse fillers.

At least one discourse filler is a loanword from Bislama, namely *ale* ‘ok, then’. It is often preceded or followed by its Ma’vea equivalent *ro*.

- (304) ref 06004.005
Ro **ale** mo-ńa...
then then 3SG-come
‘Then, ok, he came...’

Hesitation markers include *na*, *ne*, and *u* glossed as ‘um’, as shown below where the speaker tries to describe a raft.

- (305) ref 06005a.011
Mo-ńe, mo-ńe, mo-sopo aka du **na**, mo-ńe, mo-ńe vuae
3SG-make 3SG-make 3SG-NEG canoe good um 3SG-make 3SG-make tree
mo-ma mo-pal **u** inao ma **ne** i-salsala ai.
3SG-come 3SG-like um thing COMP um 3SG.IR-float AI
‘He made, he made, it is not a canoe um, he made, he made trees they come like
um, a thing that he will float on (it).’

The following is the non-exhaustive list of interjections and fillers that were also found in the corpus.

- (306) **ngko** so?
we true? (Bislama *ating*)
oi really?
i bah!

- (307) ref 07037.087-089
Na-v: ‘Ra-soro kańarua’. Ra-v: ‘**We?!**’ Na-v: ‘Io!’
1SG-say 3PL-shoot 1PL.EXCL.DL 3PL-say true 1SG-say yes
‘I said: ‘They shot us.’ They said: ‘True?’ I said: ‘Yes’.’

(308) ref 07052.052-054

Ra-v: 'Ko-sov' konal na matesala.' Na-v: 'O!' Ra-v: 'Io'.
3PL-say 2SG-fall there LOC door 1SG-say really 3PL-say yes

'They said: 'You fell there at the door.' I said: 'Really?' They said: 'Yes.'

(309) ref 06021.014-015

Mo-v: 'I! Inel nel mo-isat.

3SG-say bah thing this 3SG-bad

'He said: 'Bah! This thing is bad.'

4 Morphology

This chapter highlights the major morphological processes found in Ma'ŕea. In section 4.1, non-verbal morphology is presented. Section 4.2 discusses verbal morphology. Reduplication is presented in section 4.3. Reflexivity is described in 4.4. Section 4.5 describes nominalization. Last, section 4.6 describes compounding.

4.1 Non-verbal morphology.

The following table summarizes the forms and functions of morphemes affixed to non-verbal lexemes.

Table 4.43: Non-verbal affixes

Prefixes		Suffixes	
Function	Form	Function	Form
Feminine	va-	Possession	-ku, -m, ...
Plural	na-	Ordinal number	-na
Denizen	ta-		
Multiplicative	va-		
Locative	a-		
Unit of time	tal(a)-		
Nominalizer	na-		

4.1.1 Prefixes.

4.1.1.1 Feminine *va-*. Very few languages in the Oceanic language family mark gender (Lynch 1998:101). Ma'ŕea is no exception. Gender is not encoded in the pronominal system. There is, however, a morpheme *va-* (alternatively pronounced [vo] in free variation), which can be prefixed to a noun to mark it as feminine. It is used at the beginning of kinship terms to indicate gender.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| (310) | palia- | ‘father in law’ | vo-palia- | ‘mother in law’ |
| | natu- | ‘boy child’ | va-natu- | ‘daughter’ |
| | mapi- | ‘male grandchild’ | vo-mapi- | ‘female grandchild’ |
| | tasi- | ‘same sex (male) sibling’ | va-tasi- | ‘same sex (female) sibling’ |

The feminine marker *va-* is also found at the beginning of most traditional female names. It may also take the form *vo-*. Some female personal names include:

- (311) **Vodas, Vosike, Vatarul, Valeo.**

Va- is also used as a prefix to differentiate male and female pigs (and pigs only).

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|---------------------|
| (312) | rava | ‘hermaphrodite pig’ |
| | va-rava | ‘female pig, sow’ |

Jauncey (1997:129) reports on a similar morpheme in Tamambo, where the prefix [vo-] is found at the beginning of traditional female names, and at the beginning of kinship terms, to mark the noun as feminine.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| (313) | Tamambo (from Jauncey 1997:129) |
| | natu-ku vo-natu-ku |
| | child-1SG.POSS FEM-child-1SG.POSS |
| | ‘my son’ ‘my daughter’ |

4.1.1.2 Plural *na-*. Only a subset of nouns, namely kinship terms, are pluralized with the prefix *na-*.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------|---|------------------|------------|
| (314) | natu- | ‘child’ | ⇒ | na-natu- | ‘children’ |
| | ñarau- | ‘wife’ | ⇒ | na-ñarau- | ‘wives’ |
| | vose- | ‘sister’ | ⇒ | na-vose- | ‘sisters’ |

A similar prefix *na-* is found in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:127). It also pluralizes kinship terms.

4.1.1.3 Denizen *ta-*. When used as a verb *ta* means ‘to come from’.

- (315) ref 06007.057
 Ṽaṽina le na-leng on rongo=a. Ro **mo-ta** na te sar vataolo.
 female DET 1SG-can't look feel=3SG then 3SG-from LOC some place different
 'This woman, I have never seen her. So, she comes from a different place.'

This morpheme *ta-* can be prefixed to a place name. In this case, it has two functions. It can form a noun that refers to the language of that place.

- (316) ref 06007.059
 Mo-varvara **t-aese** lape=a.
 3SG-tell CLF.from-Ais DAT=3SG
 'He spoke the Ais language to her.'

It forms a noun modifier that refers to the resident(s) of that place.

- (317) ref 06007.056
 Ṽaṽina le mo-sopo ṽaṽin **t-aese**.
 female DET 3SG-NEG female CLF.from-Ais
 'This woman is not a woman from Ais Island.'

The prefix *ta-* may be realized as [t] in front of a vowel:

- (318) **Oṽae** 'Ambae Island' ⇒ **t-oṽae** 'person from Ambae'
Aese 'Ais Island' ⇒ **t-aese** 'person from Ais'
Aure 'Aore Island' ⇒ **t-aure** 'person from Aore'

This is the case, except in the following example. The prefix *ta-* may replace the first syllable of the place name, whether that syllable starts with a V or a CV sequence.

- (319) **Olotu** 'Luganville' ⇒ **ta-lotu** 'person from Luganville'
Tutuva 'Tutuba Island' ⇒ **ta-tuva** 'person from Tutuba'

In the following example, the morpheme *ta* replaces the first two syllables of the place name, or replaces the first syllable and "merges" with the homophonous second syllable.

- (320) **Antaṽapo** 'Malo Island' ⇒ **ta-ṽapo** 'person from Malo'

Ta may be prefixed to the place name without replacing the first syllable, but in this case, the last syllable composed of [a] is often lost.

(321) **Ma'veja** 'Ma'veja Island' ⇒ **ta-ma've(a)** 'person from Ma'veja'

The next form shows an epenthetic consonant [v], and a change in the quality of a vowel of the root.

(322) **Anav** 'Malakula Island' ⇒ **tavonav** 'person from Malakula'

Jauncey (1997:130) notes that the cognate *ta-* in Tamambo is very productive. This is not the case in Ma'veja. The prefix *ta-* may not be used with place names that are not in the vicinity of Ma'veja or place names for which there is no Ma'veja name. To refer to denizens of these places, the Bislama word *man* is used.

(323) **Pama** 'Paama Island' ⇒ **man pama** 'person from Paama'
Amerika 'The USA' ⇒ **man merika** 'person from the USA'

Note that white foreigners are referred to as *ta'mauta*, although *m'auta* does not have a meaning on its own.

4.1.1.4 Multiplicative *v'a-*. The morpheme *v'a-* (glossed as 'time') prefixed to adverbs of quantity or numerals derives a quantity adverb indicating multiplicity.

(324) **aitenge** 'only one' ⇒ **v'a-ite(nge)** 'once, one time'
rua 'two' ⇒ **v'a-rua** 'twice, two times'
tolu 'three' ⇒ **v'a-tolu** 'three times'
dumana 'plenty' ⇒ **v'a-dumana** 'plenty of times'

(325) ref 07052.033
Na-sov' **v'a-rua**.
1SG-fall time-two
'I fell twice.'

According to Evans (2003:242), multiplicatives in POc are derived with the causative morpheme *paka. In Tamambo, the reflex of *paka is *vaha-* (Jauncey 1997:132). Jauncey argues that *vaha-* can also be used as a causative morpheme. As we shall see below, *v'a-* in Ma'veja can also be prefixed to a handful of verbs to add a causative meaning.

4.1.2 Fossilized Morphology. There are at least three morphemes (namely *a*, *tal(a)*, and *na*) which are, from a synchronic perspective, unproductive and partly fossilized: in most cases, they are inseparable from the stem.

4.1.2.1 Locative *a*. The morpheme *a* most probably originate from the POc locative marker *qa (Malcolm Ross p.c., Nov 14, 2007), and indicates location.

(326) **tano** ‘floor, soil’ **atano** ‘on the ground’

In most locative nouns and demonstratives where it occurs, *a-* is fossilized and inseparable from the stem. Some examples follow.

(327) **Locational terms**
aima ‘at home’ (see *ima* ‘house’)
asao ‘far’
alao ‘at the sea shore’
aulu ‘on top, above, inland’

(328) **Locational deictics**
aro ‘here, at speaker’s location’
aine ‘there, at hearer’s location’
ale ‘there, away from both interlocutors, but closer to hearer than speaker’
atu ‘over there, away from both interlocutors’
atisi ‘over there up, far away from both interlocutors’
atisa ‘over there down, far away from both interlocutors’
atiʋa ‘over there across, far away from both interlocutors’

Because of the recurrence of *a* with a semantically defined subset of locative terms, it is likely that it once was a productive derivational morpheme.

4.1.2.2 Unit of time *tal(a)-*. The morpheme *tal(a)-* is prefixed to lexemes which can be used as both predicates or nouns and whose meanings are related to describing various periods of the day. With the addition of *tal-*, these lexemes become adverbials.

(329) **pong** ‘(be) night’ **talapong** ‘night time’
ran ‘(be) day’ **talran** ‘early morning’
sisi ‘(be) dark’ **talsisi** ‘early evening’

This morpheme is also used to form the question word *tal savai* ‘which part of the day’, which contrasts with *ingese* ‘when’. Whereas an answer to *tal savai* must indicate a period of the day or night when the event takes (or took) place, with *ingese*, the time period is unlimited.

There is one form, namely *talʻmalum* ‘afternoon’, where *tal-* does not attach to a lexeme describing a time period. The meaning of *malum* in Maʻvea is ‘soft, quiet’. Another form *tarlavua* ‘morning’ also shows a deviant pattern. There is no independent morpheme *(r)lavua*. These facts suggest that *tal-* is partly fossilized.

4.1.2.3 Nominalizer *na*. Two nouns in the data that start with *na-*:

- (330) *navaise*(sea) ‘child’
navari ‘children’

These nouns are specified for number. *Navaise* ‘child’ is singular, while *navari* ‘children’ is plural. It seems likely that these nouns are formed with *na-*, a reflex of the POC article *na (see Lynch et al. 2002:38), attached to the adjectives *vaise* ‘small (SG)’ and *varvari* ‘small (PL)’, which are specified for number. Thus *navaise* should be translated as ‘the small (one)’, and *navari* ‘the small (ones)’. As opposed to kinship terms, these two terms are not directly possessed (see below), suggesting that Maʻvea makes the distinction between *navaise* ‘child’ (a common noun referring to a kind of young person as opposed to an adult) and *natu-* ‘child’, a directly possessed kinship term.

Note that these two words are the only examples in the data to show a reflex of *na.

4.1.3 Suffixes.

4.1.3.1 Direct possession. Bound nouns used in direct possessive constructions require a possessive suffix, matching the person and number feature of the possessor. Bound nouns include kinship terms and body parts.

- (331) natu- natu-**ku**
 child child-1SG.POSS
 ‘child’ ‘my child’
- (332) patu- patu-**m**
 head head-2SG.POSS
 ‘head’ ‘your head’

Possession is described in detail in chapter 7.

4.1.3.2 Ordinal number. To derive an ordinal number from a cardinal number up to five, a prefix *a-* is added to the numeral, as well as the third person singular suffix *-na*. According to Jauncey (1997:231), possessive marking on ordinal numbers is a recurrent feature of Oceanic languages.

- (333) **rua** ‘two’ **a-rua-na** ‘(its) second’
tolu ‘three’ **a-toli-na** ‘(its) third’
ṽati ‘four’ **a-ṽati-na** ‘(its) fourth’
liña ‘five’ **a-l(i)ña-na** ‘(its) fifth’

Note the exception with the ordinal number ‘first’, which does not require the possessive suffix.

- (334) **tea** ‘one’
aite ‘one, first’

The numeral *tea* ‘one’ is used solely when counting (from one to ten), whereas *aite* ‘one’ is used when counting things.

- (335) kou aite
 fowl one
 ‘a fowl’

- (336) *kou tea
 fowl one

More is said about ordinal and cardinal number in chapter 5 section 5.2.

4.2 Verbal morphology.

The following table summarizes the forms and functions of morphemes affixed to verbs.

Table 4.44: Verbal affixes

Prefixes		Suffixes	
Function	Form	Function	Form
Causative	ʋa-	Applicative	-Ci
Valency decreasing	m̃a-		

4.2.1 Prefixes to verbs.

4.2.1.1 Causative *ʋa-*. The morpheme *ʋa-* is found prefixed to two verbs in the data, with a clear causative reading.

- (337) **an** ‘eat’ **ʋangan** ‘feed, cause to eat’
tur(u) ‘stand up’ **ʋatur** ‘lift, cause to stand up’

Other causatives are expressed analytically, with the verb *ʋeia* ‘make’.

- (338) ref 06041.034
 Kou mo-pulu=a mo-**ʋe** mo-vria evui.
 fowl 3SG-dye=3SG 3SG-make 3SG-black all
 ‘Fowl painted him, she made him completely black.’

According to Evans (2003:240), the POc causative *paka was used with A-verbs, while *pa was prefixed to U-verbs (as defined in section 3.3). It is possible that the form [ɣaŋ] is a reflex of POc *paka, since the verb *an* ‘eat’ is an A-verb. Likewise, [ɣa] could be a reflex of *pa, since the verb *tur* ‘stand up’ can be used as an A or a U-verb.

4.2.1.2 Valency decreasing *m̃a-*. According to Evans (2003:279), POc *ma (i) derived intransitive U-verbs from transitive verbs; and (ii) was also prefixed to U-verbs that indicated a property, without any clear derivational function. In modern Oceanic languages,

*ma is reflected as either a valency-decreasing morpheme, or a fossilized prefix to verbs denoting properties (Evans 2003:268). In Ma'vea, both reflexes of POc *ma are present.

4.2.1.2.1 Detransitivizing *m̄a*. When the detransitivizing prefix *m̄a*- is added to a transitive verb, the object (undergoer) of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the derived intransitive. An example with the verb *dun* ‘drown’ follows.

(339) ref 06024.032
 Peke mo-taravun, mo-**dun** aka.
 owl 3SG-rise 3SG-drown canoe
 ‘Owl started to sink the canoe.’

(340) ref 06020.011
 Pasura mo-**m̄a-dun**.
 papaya 3SG-DETR-drowned
 ‘The papaya sank.’

The list of verbs detransitized with *m̄a*- contains:

(341)	avua	‘dig’	m̄avua	‘cracked’
	dun	‘drown’	m̄adun	‘drowned’
	langai	‘open’	m̄alanga	‘opened’
	paia	‘wind up’	m̄apai	‘wound up’
	piria	‘fold’	m̄apir	‘folded’
	poloa	‘pierce’	m̄apolo	‘pierced’
	sala	‘float’	m̄a(sal)sala	‘light, drifting’
	savleia	‘capsize’	m̄asaluva	‘capsized’

4.2.1.2.2 Fossilized *m̄a*-. The prefix *m̄a*- is also found as the initial syllable of a series of property-denoting predicates, such as *m̄asa* ‘be dry’, exemplified below. However *m̄asa* does not have a counterpart without the prefix *m̄a*-.

(342) ref 07069.057
 Lang mo-s̄pe~s̄peia mo-lo-va mo-**m̄asa**.
 wind 3SG-RED~blow-TR-3SG 3SG-IMPF-go 3SG-be.dry
 ‘The wind blew it for a while, it (got) dried.’

The prefix *m̄a-* is also fossilized in the following lexemes. These property-denoting predicates do not have a related form that does not contain *m̄a-*.

(343)	<i>m̄adara</i>	‘be torn, ripped’	<i>m̄akavkav</i>	‘be gruel-like’
	<i>m̄aia</i>	‘be wilted’	<i>m̄alanglang</i>	‘be smart’
	<i>m̄alaul</i>	‘be young (of animals)’	<i>m̄alaua</i>	‘be old food’
	<i>m̄aniṽniṽ</i>	‘be thin’	<i>m̄adou</i>	‘be thirsty’
	<i>m̄angadidi</i>	‘be cold’	<i>m̄ario</i>	‘be dark’
	<i>m̄asa</i>	‘be dry, dried’	<i>m̄asaroi</i>	‘be seated’
	<i>m̄asi</i>	‘be sore’	<i>m̄aso</i>	‘be straight’
	<i>m̄ata</i>	‘be dead’	<i>m̄aur(i)</i>	‘be alive’

On the other hand, the predicate below does not contain the linguo-labial [m̄] despite it being a property-denoting predicate like the lexemes listed above.

(344) ***mavo*** ‘be healed’

Likewise, the noun *sanga* ‘groin, fork’ serves as a root from which to derive an intransitive predicate, beginning with [m] instead of the initial linguo-labial [m̄] found in the reflex of POc *ma.

(345) ***sanga-*** ‘groin, fork’ ***masanga*** ‘forked’

Tamambo also shows reflexes of these two usages of POc *ma (Jauncey 1997:135). In Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:317), the main reflex of POc *ma is the anti-causative prefix. Few U-verbs (stative-inchoative) have POc *ma fossilized as first syllable (Hyslop 2001:83). In South Efate (Thieberger 2004:218) there are only relic reflexes of the POc anti-causative *ma.

4.2.2 Suffix to verbs. The only derivational morpheme that attaches to a subset of verbs is the transitive marker (see chapter 10). With some intransitive verbs, the suffix (realized as =*i*) forms a transitive verb.

(346) ***sala*** ‘be floating’ ***sale=i*** ‘float s.t’

With a subset of verbs (denoting mostly bodily functions), the suffix is realized as a *-Ci*, where the *C* is a lexically determined thematic consonant (such as /s/, /t/, /v/ or /ŋ/). This morpheme *-Ci* functions as an applicative marker (see Evans 2003:103). It adds a location role.

(347) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Mo-**lua** inana-n.
 3SG-vomit food-3SG.POSS
 ‘He vomited his food.’

(348) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Mo-**lue=si=ao** inana-n.
 3SG-vomit=APP=1SG food-3SG.POSS
 ‘He vomited his food on me.’

The list of verbs taking this applicative suffix is provided in the chapter on parts of speech, repeated below for convenience. More is said on transitivity in chapter 10.

Table 4.45: Verbs taking the applicative suffix

Intransitive	Transitive
lua ‘vomit’	luesi ‘vomit on’
ṃana ‘laugh’	ṃanatei ‘mock s.o’
ṃere ‘urinate’	ṃeres ‘urinate on’
tang ‘cry’	tangsi ‘mourn’
deo ‘defecate’	desi ‘defecate on’
lito ‘spit’	litovi ‘spit on’
siri ‘fart’	sirti ‘fart on’
ṃeru ‘bark’	ṃereng ‘bark at’

4.3 Reduplication.

4.3.1 Form. There are two main patterns of reduplication: total reduplication and partial reduplication. Nouns, verbs, and adjectives can be reduplicated with these two

strategies. Total reduplication involves the repetition of the entire root. This process is found mostly with one or two-syllable words.

- (349) **vol** ‘buy’ **volvol** ‘sell’
rutu ‘gnaw’ **ruturutu** ‘termite’

Partial reduplication involves the repetition of the part of the root. There are four different patterns for partial reduplication. The first pattern affects the first three segments of a root, if the first two syllables have the following structure: CV.C.

- (350) **tovo** ‘count s.t’ **tovtovo** ‘count’
sale ‘listen (vt)’ **salsale** ‘listen (vi)’

In the above example, the reduplicant is made up of the first syllable of the word, plus the onset of the following syllable, a process Crowley (2004:73) refers to as partial root reduplication.

The second pattern, called complete syllable reduplication (Crowley 2004:73), only reduplicates the first CV or VC syllable of a root.

- (351) **vono** ‘bush’ **vovono** ‘forest’
ulvo ‘young one’ **ululvo** ‘young ones’

The third pattern of partial reduplication is to reduplicate the second CV syllable of a word and infix it in the word, a process that is infrequently found in the data.

- (352) **ta.pe.a** ‘timber’ **ta.pe.pe.a** ‘flatten’

The fourth pattern of partial reduplication found in the data is to reduplicate the last three segments of a root and add the reduplicant at the end of the root (see section 2.5.3.2.)

- (353) **rarua** ‘3pl.two’ **raruorua** ‘two together’
a'via ‘wild apple’ **a'vie'via** ‘squirrel fish’

It is worth mentioning that complete syllable reduplication often targets a stressed (penult) syllable. Note also that in all these reduplicated forms, stress falls on the penult syllable, as in [u.'lul.vo].

4.3.2 Function. The functions of reduplication in Oceanic languages (and Bislama) are multiple. They include: repetitive, habitual or continuous action; intensification; diminution; changing the part of speech; changing the verb’s valency; plurality of actors and patients; reciprocal action; random action; and distribution (Lynch 1998:85-86, 232 and Lynch et al. 2002:44, 74-75).

The main attribute of reduplication in Ma’vea is its derivational function. Reduplication creates new vocabulary items, whether in a different or in a similar lexical category, but with related meaning. Reduplication also has an inflectional function, encoding plurality or intensity.

According to Crowley (2004:74), “the form of the reduplication is irrelevant as far as the various functions of reduplication are concerned, with the different forms being used more or less interchangeably.” This holds true of Ma’vea. The meaning of a reduplicated form is unpredictable, and the same reduplication pattern may be used to encode different functions. The functions of reduplication in Ma’vea are presented below.

4.3.2.1 Plurality.

4.3.2.1.1 Plurality of nouns. A reduplicated noun may be understood as a plural noun. In the example below, the word *pala* ‘bed’ is reduplicated. Its plurality is shown by the fact that the narrator goes on to count the beds.

(354) ref 06016.015
 Ro ra-r-ŕe **pal~pala-n** dam, **aite** na uta sa-n
 then 3PL-DL-make RED~bed-CONS yam one LOC garden CLF.LOC-CONS
 ǔao, **aite** na uta sa-n ǔilae.
 swamphen one LOC garden CLF.LOC-CONS plover
 ‘Then they made yam beds, one in the swamphen’s garden, one in the plover’s garden.’

In the following example, plurality is also marked by the plural determiner *re*.

- (355) ref 07046.007
 Sur pong aite kańnatol **re ul~ulvo**.
 about night one 1PL.PCL PL RED~young
 ‘One day, we, the young ones.’

The following example describes the body parts of an imaginary animal. Reduplication of the nouns *palo* ‘leg’ and *varango* ‘finger’ indicates their plural number. Note that the verb in the first example does not take a plural agreement marking, while the verb in example (357) does. Plural agreement marking is optional when the subject is non-human.

- (356) ref 07085.094
Pal~palo-n mo-pal palo-n dukduk.
 RED~leg-3SG.POSS 3SG-like leg-CONS duck
 ‘His legs are like the legs of a duck.’

- (357) ref 07085.095
Var~varango-n ńisu-na ra-ńarav.
 RED~finger-CONS point-3SG.POSS 3PL-long
 ‘His fingernails are long.’

In the following examples, both the noun and the predicate are reduplicated for plurality.

- (358) ref 06021.026
Per~pere-n ńmalevo maike ma ra-mas~masanga.
 RED~branch-CONS tree.sp few COMP 3PL-RED~forked
 ‘A few ńmalevo tree branches that are forked.’

4.3.2.1.2 Plurality of the event. Reduplication can denote a repetitive action, that is, the same action repetitively performed by a single individual. Consider the following example.

- (359) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Nao **na-ńe~ńe** inao nortovon.
 1SG 1SG-RED~make thing now
 ‘I am busy now.’ (Lit: I make things.)

The reduplicated verb indicates that the individual is performing different actions or the same action repetitively. Below, the ambitransitive verb *dongai* ‘sway’ is reduplicated to indicate repetition.

- (360) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Trak mo-**dong~dongai**.
 truck 3SG-RED~judder
 ‘The truck is juddering.’

In the following example, on the other hand, the individual’s teeth protrude out of his mouth independently of one another.

- (361) ref 07022.067
 Udu-na ra-**av~avtai**.
 tooth-3SG.POSS 3PL-RED~appear
 ‘His teeth come out.’

Thus, a reduplicated verb can also denote a repeated action, that is, the same action performed by several individuals or entities independently of one another. A similar function is found in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:343).

Most reduplicated verbs in the corpus denote that the same action is performed by several individuals independently of one another. In the following example, the verb *masura* ‘descend’ is partially reduplicated. Reduplication here indicates that the event *masura* ‘descend’ was realized several times, by several participants.

- (362) ref 06024.054
 Ra-**mas~masura** si alao.
 3PL-RED~descend go.down sea.shore
 ‘They went down to the shore.’

Similarly, below, the verb is partially reduplicated to indicate that the same event is performed by different participants, independently. The subject participants (defined as a set of two people) are performing the same actions (drinking) and undergoing the same event (dying) separately.

- (363) ref 06044.030
 Lamana rar řářine ra-r-řna raruorua ra-r-in ro raruorua
 boy 3PL.DL female 3PL-DL-come 2together 3PL-DL-drink then 2together
 ra-r-řna~řnata.
 3PL-DL-RED~dead
 ‘A boy and girl came together, they drank, then together they died.’

In the following example, the verb *si* ‘go down’ is fully reduplicated to indicate that the same event (going down) is repeated by different entities (here grated yam).

- (364) ref 07076a.008
 Ko-ros=i=a i-lo-si~si na te dish.
 2SG-grate=TR=3SG 3SG.IR-IMPF-RED~go.down LOC some dish
 ‘You grate it, it goes down inside a dish.’

4.3.2.2 Reciprocals. Reciprocals in Mařea are indicated by (i) the dual marking, which must be present with the subject agreement prefix and (ii) an element in the sentence is reduplicated, be it a location (as in (365) below) or the predicate (in (366)).

- (365) ref 07085.130
 Vu-n vuae ror i rua ra-r-tur mar~marřitu.
 stem-CONS tree here LIG two 3PL-DL-stand.up RED~close
 ‘These two trunks are close to each other.’

- (366) ref 07078.002
 Siři rar karae ra-r-to ro raru ra-r-du~du řal raru.
 parrot 3PL.DL bat 3PL-DL-stay then 3PL.two 3PL-DL-good to 3PL.two
 ‘Parrot and Bat were good to each other.’

Reduplication of the predicate in (366) indicates plurality of the event: Parrot is good to Bat, and Bat is good to Parrot. Reduplication of the location in (365) emphasizes the closeness of the location as well as the plurality of the event: one tree is close to another tree and vice-versa.

Note that the dual marker and reduplication are necessary, but not sufficient, to indicate reciprocity. The meaning of the following example can be construed as reciprocal only because it follows in the story a clear example of reciprocity, given above in (366).

- (367) ref 07078.006
 Ra-r-**ńa~ńa**van.
 3PL-DL-RED~play
 ‘They play (with each other).’

Thus, taken out of context, any reduplicated form is ambiguous.

In the following example, the verb *opoi* ‘like, love’ contains a dual marker, but it is not reduplicated. It is possible that the narrator thus has to spell out the reciprocal meaning of the verb by adding a paraphrase starting with *pal* ‘like’.

- (368) ref 07080.006-008
 Ra-v ra-mo-r-opoi, **pal** *va*ina i-mo-opoi lańana, ale lańana
 3PL-say 3PL-COND-DL-like like female 3SG.IR-COND-like boy then boy
 i-mo-opoi *va*ina.
 3SG.IR-COND-like female
 ‘If they say they like each other, like if the girl likes the boy and if the boy likes the girl.’

4.3.2.3 Intensification. In the following examples, an adjective and a predicate are reduplicated to indicate intensity.

- (369) ref 07068.074
 Ra-val vuro ra-l-tur tuan pua **pa~parav**.
 3PL-go empty 3PL-IMPf-stand.up with knife RED~long
 ‘They were naked, they were standing with very long knives.’

- (370) ref 06043.032
 Ra-r-taravun tarlavua los mo-pal sara **mo-l-ńar~ńario** pa.
 3PL-DL-rise morning more 3SG-like place 3SG-IMPf-RED~dark still
 ‘They woke up early morning, like the place was still pitch dark.’

Intensity can also be encoded by repetition.

(371) ref 07031.034
 Ki-r-rasa~rasa na sara **mo-ńario** ro **mo-ńario**.
 1PL.EXCL-DL-RED~grope but place 3SG-dark then 3SG-dark
 ‘We groped but the place was very dark.’

(372) ref 06020.022
Mo-tang mo-tang mo-tang mo-lo-ńa.
 3SG-cry 3SG-cry 3SG-cry 3SG-IMPf-go
 ‘He cried, and cried, and cried for a while.’

4.3.2.4 Aspectual function. In the following examples, the posture verbs *tur(u)* ‘stand up’ and *to* ‘stay’ are reduplicated. Reduplication of a durative verb adds an aspectual dimension of continuity.

(373) ref 07085.160-162
 Umi-na ra-sopo-suruvu, Ra-**tur~tur** maso.
 beard-3SG.POSS 3PL-NEG-sleep 3PL-RED~stand.up straight
 ‘His whiskers are not lying down, they are standing straight.’

(374) ref 06037.053
 Mo-**to~to** perpero.
 3SG-RED~stay forget
 ‘He was forgetting.’

4.3.2.5 Changing parts of speech.

4.3.2.5.1 Verbs to nouns. Nouns can be formed by the partial or full reduplication of a verb, as shown below.

(375)	dono	‘swallow’	dondona-	‘throat’
	dusei	‘think’	dusdusei	‘idea’
	luput	‘cover up’	lupluput	‘wrapped food’
	ńir	‘poison (vt)’	ńirńiri	‘poison’
	kań	‘fight with hatchet’	kańkań	‘hatchet’

4.3.2.5.2 Verbs to adjectives. Similarly, adjectives (referring to resultative state) can be formed by a full or partial reduplicated verb. A few examples follow.

- (376) **řir** ‘poison (vt)’ *řirřir* ‘poisoned’
ros ‘grate’ *rosros* ‘grated’
tarai ‘chop’ *tartarai* ‘chopped’
dome ‘cut’ *domdomo* ‘cut’
pulu ‘paint’ *pupul* ‘painted’

4.3.2.5.3 Nouns to verbs. A less productive derivational process is the reduplication of a noun to form a verb. A single lexeme was found in the data to undergo this process.²²

- (377) **ngadiri** ‘thorn’ *ngatngadir* ‘graze, scratch’

4.3.2.5.4 Valency changing. Reduplication can reduce the valency of a verb. A reduplicated transitive verb becomes an intransitive A-verb. This process is fairly productive in Mařea. A few examples are provided below.

Table 4.46: Reduplication and reduced valency

	Transitive	Meaning	Intransitive	Meaning
Partial Redup.	ati	‘bite’	atati	‘be biting’
	avu	‘dig’	avav	‘be digging’
	tovo	‘count’	tovtovo	‘be counting’
Full Redup.	sar	‘spear’	sarsar	‘be spearing’
	it	‘have sex with’	itit	‘copulate’
	ot	‘disturb’	otot	‘be disturbing’

²²Note that the reduplicant ends with a voiceless stop *ngat*, while the root contains a voiced stop *ngadiri*. It may be the case that my transcription is erroneous, or that [t] is devoiced in syllable-final position.

4.3.2.6 Semantic extension.

4.3.2.6.1 Random action. A reduplicated verb may denote that its action has no planned goal. Reduplications of the verb *kot* ‘walk by’ or *sopea* ‘follow’ are a case in point.

(378) ref 06024.039
Mo-on *ǰaio aite mo-kot*.
3SG-look shark one 3SG-walk.by
‘He saw a shark swimming by.’

(379) ref 06006.017
Malao *mo-kot~kot, mo-sop~sop sala, mo-l-ǰa*.
megapode 3SG-RED~wander 3SG-RED~follow road 3SG-IMPF-go
‘Megapode wandered, he walked along for a while.’

Reduplication extends the semantic coverage of *kot* ‘walk by’ to ‘wander’. Similarly, *sopea* ‘follow’ in example (379) above is reduplicated to *sopsop*. The phrase *sopsop sala* literally ‘follow the road’ indicates a random action. The agent performing the action has no goal in mind, s/he is just taking a walk.

Other verbs following this pattern include (but are not restricted to) *ǰara* ‘follow the reef’, *ǰarǰara* ‘follow the reef aimlessly’; *sala* ‘float’, *salsala* ‘float aimlessly’, and *ǰano* ‘walk’, *ǰanǰano* ‘walk about’. As we can see from this list, most verbs indicating a random action are verbs of motion.

4.3.2.6.2 Forming new lexemes. Reduplication is used in Ma’*vea* to create new lexemes.

(380) **aǰia** ‘wild apple’ **aǰieǰia** ‘squirrel fish’

The above two nouns are not semantically related. Their only common feature is that the fish is the same color as the fruit.

In the following examples, the intransitive verb *karu* ‘swim’ is used both in its underived form in (381), and reduplicated in (382). Reduplication changes the meaning of the verb (from ‘swim’ to ‘wade’).

(381) ref 07034.015
 Kaŋarua ki-r-**karu** Aese.
 1PL.EXCL.DL 1PL.EXCL-DL-swim Ais
 ‘We swam to Ais Island.’

(382) ref 07043.030
 Ki-r-lo-**kar~kar** na tasi.
 1PL.EXCL-DL-IMPF-RED~swim LOC sea
 ‘We waded in the sea.’

Reduplication is found to be unproductive in creating new lexemes in Maŋea. More commonly, the same lexical item will take on two related meanings without changing form.

(383) **laku** ‘k.o tree’
laku ‘wooden nails for the strut made with of the *laku* tree’

4.3.2.7 Inherent reduplication. Several words are never found without their reduplicant.

(384) **daudau** ‘doze off’ ***dau**
ilil ‘tickle’ ***il**
atmaomao ‘yawn’ ***atmao**
katkat ‘shiver with fear’ ***kat**
dodo ‘cloud’ ***do**

Some words appear to be reduplicated, but they are, in fact, not related to the unreduplicated form.

(385) **pai** ‘shoulder’
paipai ‘make fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together’

4.3.2.8 Summary. To conclude, the forms and functions of reduplication are summarized in the table 4.47.

As we shall see in section 4.5 below, reduplication is also used to nominalize a verb.

Table 4.47: Reduplication: Form and function

	Partial Reduplication	Total Reduplication
plurality	✓	✓
reciprocity	✓	✓
intensification	✓	x
aspect	x	✓
changing parts of speech	✓	✓
reducing valency	✓	✓
random action	✓	✓
new lexeme	✓	x

4.4 Reflexives.

Reflexivity in Ma'véa is expressed with the reflexive predicate *ase* in serial verb constructions (described in chapter 11) or by means of inherently reflexive verbs. There are no reflexive pronouns (such as English *x-self*) in Ma'véa.

In section 4.4.1, lexical reflexives are described. Section 4.4.2 discusses analytical reflexives. Last, section 4.4.3 presents the other functions of reflexivity, namely emphasis (as in *he did it himself*) and aloneness (as in *he was on his own*).

4.4.1 Lexical reflexive. Reflexivization reduces the semantic and grammatical valency of a verb, in that there is a single entity which functions both as agent and patient, or subject and object (see for example Givón 2001b:95-96, and Payne 1997:198). Inherently reflexive verbs are thus often used intransitively (such as *he shaved*). They are used transitively if they do not express a reflexive action, as in *he shaved John*.

In Ma'véa, inherently reflexive lexical items include:

- (386) **kureia** ‘wash one’s face’ **loso** ‘bathe, swim’
papa ‘wash one’s hand(s)’ **so'via** ‘bathe, wash one’s hair’
tirtiro ‘look at oneself’ **upupu** ‘dress oneself’
ʋakoia ‘wash one’s feet’

These verbs are used intransitively to indicate reflexivization, as exemplified below with

the verb *tirtiro* ‘look at oneself’. The agentive subject *ra-r* ‘3PL-DL’ is also the patient of the verb *tirtiro* ‘look at oneself’.

(387) ref 06041.020

Ra-r-řa **ra-r-tir~tiro** na tungu-n vuae.
 3PL-DL-go 3PL-DL-RED~look.at LOC hollow-CONS tree
 ‘They went to look at themselves in the hollow tree.’

Evidence that the verb is intransitive comes from the fact that (i) it is followed by an optional adjunct PP introduced by the locative preposition *na* and (ii) the verb is reduplicated. The transitive counterpart of this verb takes a direct object not co-referential with the subject, as in the following example.

(388) ref 06042.028

Mo-pal mo-tur al **mo-l-tiroi** aka du.
 3SG-like 3SG-stand.up there 3SG-IMPF-gaze canoe good
 ‘Like he stood up there, he gazed at the canoe.’

There is an example in the data of an inherently reflexive verb used transitively, with a cognate object. In the following example, the verb *upupu* ‘to dress oneself’ is followed by the direct object *upu* ‘loincloth’.

(389) ref 07083.006

Mo-upupu upu voko aite.
 3SG-wear loincloth white one
 ‘He wore a white loincloth.’

It is unclear at this stage whether other inherently reflexive verbs in Ma’vea can be used transitively.

4.4.2 Analytical reflexive. As mentioned in the introduction, there are no reflexive pronouns in Ma’vea. Reflexive constructions in Ma’vea are signaled by the predicate *ase* glossed as REFL, used as the first verb of a nuclear serial construction. This verb takes the

subject agreement marking. The second verb is not marked with a subject prefix, but takes an object suffix or is followed by an independent pronoun, co-referential with the subject. The second verb indicates the type of action the actor is performing to him/herself. All examples of reflexive constructions were elicited.

- (390) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Mo-**ase** losu=a.
 3SG-REFL kill=3SG
 ‘He killed himself.’
- (391) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Na-**ase** dom(o)=ao.
 1SG-REFL sorry=1SG
 ‘I am sorry for myself.’
- (392) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Kańim ki-**ase** tara=i kańim?
 2PL 2PL-REFL cut=TR 2PL
 ‘Did you cut yourselves?’

4.4.3 Beyond reflexivity. In this section, I discuss the other two functions of *ase* glossed as ‘self’, emphasis and aloneness.

4.4.3.1 Emphasis. Reflexives are often used as intensifiers, to emphasize the aloneness of a participant (see for example Payne 1997:203), as in the following English example.

- (393) Mary painted it herself.

The reflexive pronoun *herself* in this sentence emphasizes that the participant *Mary* was engaged in an act of painting on her own, by herself. In Ma’vea, the verb *ase* also indicates that the subject is performing an action on its own, alone, by him/herself. Note that to indicate emphasis, a core serial verb construction is used: both V1 (*ase* ‘self’) and V2 take the subject agreement marking.

(394) ref 06036.051

Me nao ka-**ase** ka-an nna.
FUT 1SG 1SG.IR-self 1SG.IR-eat 3SG
'I will eat it myself.'

(395) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Nna mo-**ase** mo-l-losó, tina-na mo-sopo-l-soʋ=i=a.
3SG 3SG-self 3SG-IMPF-bathe mother-3SG.POSS 3SG-NEG-wash=TR=3SG
'He washes on his own, his mother doesn't wash him.'

4.4.3.2 On one's own. The last meaning associated with *ase* 'self' is 'aloneness'. When the verb *ase* is used as a main stative verb, it indicates that the subject is alone or on its own.

(396) ref 07085.096-097

Var~varango-n ra-sopo-**ase**=a, ra-pul~pul.
RED~finger-3SG.POSS 3PL-NEG-self=3SG 3PL-RED~together
'His fingers are not separated, they are webbed.'

(397) ref 06043.014

Nna mo-er tasi-na, nna mo-**ase**=a.
3SG 3SG-not.have brother-3SG.POSS 3SG 3SG-self=3SG
'He doesn't have a brother, he is an only child.' (Lit: He is alone)

(398) ref 07070.031

Te taite i-mo-rong i-v i-mo-**ase**=a...
some one 3SG.IR-COND-feel 3SG.IR-say 3SG.IR-COND-self=3SG
'If someone wants to be on his own...'

Reflexive constructions are also possible with non-agentive, non-human arguments and intransitive verbs.

(399) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Duvu mo-**ase** lulu.
grass 3SG-self flame
'The grass caught on fire on its own.'

In the above example, *ase* functions as a self-causative, and the sentence could be literally translated as ‘the grass self-cause to catch fire.’

According to Faltz 1985 (cited in Amiridze and Leuschner 2002), there are four strategies in the languages of the world to encode reflexivity: the pronoun strategy as in German, where the pronoun *sich* is the reflexivizer; the head strategy as in Georgian, where the reflexivizer *tav* is the head of the NP, and is accompanied by a possessive pronoun; the adjunct strategy like English *x-self*, where reflexivity is marked by a morpheme on the head; and finally the verbal strategy where a clitic (such as *se* in French) or a verbal affix (as in Lakhota) is attached to the verb. Reflexivity in Ma’vea is expressed by means of a predicate, and could thus be considered part of Faltz’s verbal strategy despite the fact that Faltz’s typology does not consider predicates to be possible reflexivizers.

4.5 Nominalization.

There are two ways to derive a noun from a verb: suffixation and zero derivation. These processes are described separately.

4.5.1 Suffixation. Two main processes need to apply to derive a noun from a verb: (i) the verb is reduplicated; (ii) a suffix is added to the reduplicated form to create a nominal. There are three suffixes acting as nominalizer: *-nan*, *-ne*, and *-(i)e*. As we will see, there is some evidence that the distribution of these nominalizers is partly dependent on the verb’s class. However, the same verb can take different suffixes, resulting in a slight change in meaning.

All forms up to section 4.5.1.4 were elicited (from EVK, 2007), based on the same frame:

- (400) Frame 1
taro-n ma da-*verb*.
time-CONS COMP 1PL.INCL-*verb*
‘the time when we *verb*’

- (401) Frame 2
 taro-n *nominalized verb*.
 time-CONS *nominalized verb*
 ‘the time of *nominalized verb*’

Note that in these sections, I will not consider the phonological effects of reduplication or of the suffixation of a nominalizer.

4.5.1.1 Suffix *-nan*. The suffix *-nan* nominalizes ambitransitives and transitive A-verbs (described in chapter 3) such as *saʻi* ‘pound to make a paste’, *v(u)leia* ‘pick up’, *ʻatua* ‘weave’, and *taraia* ‘cut’. The intransitive counterparts of these verbs are derived by means of reduplication. These transitive A-verbs can be divided into three subclasses, as they behave differently in terms of nominalization. They are presented below.

4.5.1.1.1 Ambitransitive verbs. The verb *saʻi* ‘pound to make a paste’ is an ambitransitive verb. It can be used in its underived form with or without an object.

- (402) Mo-**saʻi** (ʻeo).
 3SG-make.paste (breadfruit)
 ‘He made a (breadfruit) paste.’

Saʻi is an A-verb. Its object cannot be promoted to subject position.

- (403) *ʻʻeo mo-*ma*-*saʻi*.
 breadfruit 3SG-DETR-paste
 (Intended meaning: The breadfruit is made into a paste.)

- (404) *ʻʻeo mo-*saʻi*.
 breadfruit 3SG-paste
 (Intended meaning: The breadfruit is made into a paste.)

In frame 1, the verb *saʻi* is used without an object. In frame 2, the verb is reduplicated and the suffix *-nan* added as well as an object.

- (405) Frame 1
 taro-n ma da-**saŋi**.
 time-CONS COMP 1PL.INCL-paste
 ‘the time when we make a paste’
- (406) Frame 2
 taro-n **saŋ~saŋ-nan** ŋeo.
 time-CONS RED~paste-NMZ breadfruit
 ‘the time of the making of breadfruit paste’

4.5.1.1.2 Transitive A-verbs with reduplicated intransitives. With the transitive A-verbs *v(u)leia* ‘pick up’, *ŋatua* ‘weave’, and *taraia* ‘cut’, the reduplicated form of the verb was used in the first frame. There is no object in this case, suggesting that the verb is used intransitively.

- (407) Frame 1
 taro-n ma da-**vle~vle**.
 time-CONS COMP 1PL.INCL-RED~pick.up
 ‘the time when we pick up (fruits)’
- (408) taro-n ma da-**ŋat~ŋatu**.
 time-CONS COMP 1PL.INCL-RED~weave
 ‘the time when we weave’
- (409) taro-n ma da-**tar~tara**.
 time-CONS COMP 1PL.INCL-RED~cut
 ‘the time when we cut (trees)’

In the second frame, the suffix *-nan* is added to the reduplicated verb, and the NP representing the direct object follows.

- (410) Frame 2
 taro-n **vul~vule-nan** oroto.
 time-CONS RED~pick.up-NMZ fruit.sp
 ‘the time of the picking up of *Barringtonia edulis*’

- (411) taro-n **řat~řat-nan** eře.
time-CONS RED~weave-NMZ mat
‘the time of the weaving of mats’
- (412) taro-n **tar~tar-nan** řatal.
time-CONS RED~cut-NMZ banana
‘the time of the cutting of banana (trees)’

We saw above in frame 1 that the reduplicated verbs do not take an object, suggesting that they are used intransitively. However, the object surfaces in frame 2, despite the fact that reduplicated forms are supposed to be intransitive. It is possible that in frame 2 the object is incorporated, so that a better translation of (412) for example would be ‘the time of banana tree cutting’. I leave this issue open for future research.

4.5.1.1.3 Transitive A-verbs without corresponding intransitive forms. The suffix *-nan* is also used to nominalize the verb *sulia* ‘burn’. This is an A-transitive verb, with no intransitive counterpart, as shown below.

- (413) Ko-**sul** aroso-n uta sa-ku.
2SG.burn dirt-CONS garden CLF.LOC-1SG.POSS
‘Burn the dirt of my garden.’
- (414) *Aroso-n uta sa-ku mo-**sul**.
dirt-3SG.POSS garden CLF.LOC-1SG.POSS 3SG-burn
- (415) *Aroso-n uta sa-ku mo-**řa-sul**.
dirt-3SG.POSS garden CLF.LOC-1SG.POSS 3SG-DETR-burn
- (416) *Aroso-n uta sa-ku mo-**sul~sul**.
dirt-3SG.POSS garden CLF.LOC-1SG.POSS 3SG-RED~burn

In frame 2, the verb *sulia* ‘burn’ is reduplicated, followed by the nominalizer *-nan* and an object.

- (417) Frame 2
 taro-n **sul~sul-nan** kavura.
 time-CONS RED~burn-NMZ copra
 ‘the time of the smoking of copra’

Other A-transitive verbs without an intransitive counterpart taking the nominalizer *-nan* include:

- (418) **sulai** ‘poke’ **sulsulanan** ‘the poking’
 ṽiro ‘sew’ **ṽirṽironan** ‘the sewing’
 losu ‘hit’ **loslosunan** ‘the killing’
 ṽangan ‘feed’ **ṽanṽanganan** ‘the feeding’

Based on these observations, nominalization by *-nan* always require reduplication and the presence of an NP representing the direct object. The latter seems to suggest that *-nan* reduplication is applicable only to a transitive verb even when the relevant verb has a corresponding intransitive form.

4.5.1.2 Suffix *-ne*. The suffix *-ne* is found in the data to nominalize the intransitive U-verb *ngadira* ‘be cold’, as shown below.

- (419) Mo-ngadira.
 3SG-cold
 ‘He is cold.’

- (420) **Ngadira-ne** mo-ṽe=i=a mo-sao.
 cold-NMZ 3SG-make=TR=3SG 3SG-sick
 ‘The cold makes him sick.’

The speaker, however, rejected the form I proposed below, and did not provide a nominalized version of *vulung* ‘be hot’.

- (421) **vulung** ‘be hot’ ***vulungane** (intended meaning: heat)

The suffix *-ne* is found in the data to nominalize transitive A-verb. With these verbs, nominalization with *-ne* contrasts with *-nan* nominalization in three ways: (i) a semantic

difference, (ii) no reduplication (in (423) and (424) below, compared with (409) and (410) above), and (iii) no overt direct object. The last point suggests that in these sentences, the verb is used intransitively.

We saw above in (412) that *taraia* ‘cut’ was nominalized by means of the suffix *-nan*. This verb can also be nominalized with the suffix *-ne*.

- (422) Frame 2
 taro-n **tar~tara-ne.**
 time-CONS RED~cut-NMZ
 ‘the time of the cutting (of wood)’

There is a possible semantic difference between the two nominalized forms. While the form *tartarnan* was used to describe the cutting of banana trees, the form *tartarane* is used to describe the activity of firewood cutting. Notice also that there is no NP representing the direct object in (422), unlike in (412).

The other transitive A-verb nominalized with *-ne* is *vusoa* ‘pluck, brush’.

- (423) Frame 1
 taro-n ma da-**vuso.**
 time-CONS COMP 1PL.INCL-pluck
 ‘the time when we brush (the garden)’

- (424) Frame 2
 taro-n **vusa-ne.**
 time-CONS pluck-NMZ
 ‘the time of the brushing (of the garden)’

This verb was not reduplicated, as opposed to other transitive verbs presented so far.

4.5.1.3 Suffix *-(i)e*. The suffix *-(i)e* nominalizes intransitive A-verbs and U-verbs with no transitive counterpart, and some transitive A-verbs with no intransitive counterpart, as shown in table 4.48.

Table 4.48: $-(i)e$ nominalization

	Verb form	Meaning	Nominalized	Meaning
Intransitive A-verb	kotkot	‘wander’	kotkotie	‘a stroll’
	suvu	‘dive’	suvie	‘a dive’
	eldoŋo	‘harvest’	eledoŋe	‘a harvest’
Intransitive U-verb	usa	‘rain’	use	‘the rain’
Transitive A-verb	rivua	‘plant yam’	rivue	‘planting’

In the following example, the A-intransitive *suruv(u)* ‘sleep’ is nominalized with $-(i)e$.

- (425) Frame 1
 taro-n ma da-**suruvu**.
 time-CONS COMP 1PL.INCL-sleep
 ‘the time when we sleep’

- (426) Frame 2
 taro-n **sur(u)v-ie**.
 time-CONS sleep-NMZ
 ‘the time for sleeping’

We saw in the previous section that the transitive A-verb *sulia* ‘burn’ was nominalized with $-nan$.

- (427) Frame 2
 taro-n **sul~sul-nan** kavura.
 time-CONS RED~burn-NMZ copra
 ‘the time of the smoking of copra’

This verb can also be nominalized with the suffix $-(i)e$.

- (428) Frame 2
 taro-n **sul~suli-e**.
 time-CONS RED~burn-NMZ
 ‘the time of the burning (of dirt)’

The meanings of *sulsulnan* and *sulsulie* differ slightly. The former describes a smoking process, while the latter describes a burning process. The other difference between the two nominalizations is the absence of a direct object in (428).

To summarize, the data suggest that A-transitive verbs can be nominalized by *-nan* and when they have intransitive counterparts, they are nominalized by using either *-ne* or *-(i)e*.

4.5.1.4 No suffix. Last, the transitive A-verb *singa* ‘shell out’ is found to be nominalized without a suffix, by the sole means of reduplication. This verb has no intransitive counterpart.

- (429) Frame 1
 taro-n ma da-sing kavura.
 time-CONS COMP 1PL.INCL-shell.out copra
 ‘the time when we shell out copra’

- (430) Frame 2
 taro-n **sing~sing** kavura.
 time-CONS RED~shell.out copra
 ‘the time of the shelling out of copra’

Evidence that the form *singsing* is nominal and not adjectival comes from its placement in the noun phrase. The nominal in (430) above occurs before the noun it is associated with, whereas adjectives (as in (431)) follow the noun.

- (431) Ko-’va ko-sul i’natu **sing~sing!**
 2SG-go 2SG-burn coconut RED~shell.out
 ‘Go smoke the shelled out copra!’

4.5.1.5 Non-elicited material. Three nominalized forms are found in the corpus. They are reported below.

- (432) ref 06044.013
 Ra-ŕe **an~an-a** lavoá aite.
 3PL-make RED~eat-NMZ big one
 ‘They made a big party.’
- (433) ref 07070.021
 Ida da-si da-redi re **ŕan~ŕan-an** aŕaŕa.
 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-go.down 1PL.INCL-ready PL RED~gear-NMZ fight
 ‘We go down to prepare the fighting gear.’
- (434) ref 06015.024
 Na-tau soro tuan re **ŕan~ŕan-an** **suv-ie** aulu.
 1SG-put rifle with PL RED~gear-NMZ dive-NMZ above
 ‘I put my harpoon with all the diving gear above.’

In (432), the verb *anan* ‘eat(intr)’ is used as a base in order to form the noun *anana* ‘feast, party’, with the suffix *-a*. Jauncey (1997:144) notes that *-a* is a nominalizer in Tamambo. The fact that the nominalizing suffix *-a* was not found in the elicitation could be due to the reduced size of the data.

It is likely that the noun *ŕanŕanan* ‘gear’ in (4.5.1.5) comes from the verb (*ŕan*)*ŕano* ‘walk’. The literal meaning of the nominalized form would be ‘things to walk with, things to carry’. The fact that the nominalized form *ŕanŕanan* ‘gear’ precedes another noun suggests that the final *-n* is a construct suffix, found in possessive constructions. The form could be glossed as follows:

- (435) [ŕan~ŕano-na-n].
 walk-NMZ-CONS

Given this analysis, it could be the case that the nominalizing suffixes *-nan* and *-ne* are one and the same morpheme *-na* (given that [a] and [e] are often found in allophonic variation in unstressed position; see section 2.2.2), and that the *-n* on *-nan* is the construct suffix. This would explain why *-nan* is always followed by a noun, but not *-ne*. Thus, *-nan* nominalization would translate as:

- (436) taro-n **řat~řat-na-n** eře.
time-CONS RED~weave-NMZ-CONS mat
‘the time of mat’s weaving’

I do not have enough data at hand to support or refute this claim. More research is needed to understand the form and distribution of the nominalizing suffixes.

4.5.2 Zero derivation. In this dissertation, I will use the term zero derivation (also known as “conversion”, Matthews 1991:65) to refer to lexical items which can be used as nouns or verbs without any overt morphological derivation. Zero derivation is common in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002:38), and is found in Saliba (Margetts 1999:24), South Efate (Thieberger 2004:81), Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:185), and in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:91).

According to Matthews (1991:65), it is often clear in English which lexeme is derived from the other. For example, the noun *fish* can be converted to derive the verb *fish*. I will not attempt to determine if it is the noun or the verb which is derived from the other in Mařea.

Zero derivation is a productive process in Mařea. Twelve zero-derived noun-verb pairs were presented in chapter 3. More pairs are reported in table 4.49.

Table 4.49: Zero derived noun-verb pairs

Form	Noun	Predicate
teři	‘broom’	‘sweep’
lulu	‘flame’	‘burn, blaze’
tiřtiři	‘loincloth’	‘wear a loincloth’
malo	‘reef’	‘be low tide’
puru	‘grade’	‘take a grade’
sao	‘sickness’	‘be sick’
tara	‘fishing basket’	‘go basket-fishing’
tautau	‘heap’	‘stack up’
tovu	‘sprout’	‘germinate’

Other zero-derived pairs include the noun modifier-predicate pairs. As shown in chapter 3, U-stative verbs can be used predicatively or as noun modifiers. An example follows.

(437) Otoli-n avua ra-**damolmol**.
egg-CONS turtle 3PL-round
'Turtle eggs are round.'

(438) Otol **damolmol** mo-ńa-polo.
egg round 3SG-DETR-broken
'The round egg is broken.'

Less frequent is the zero derivation of an adverb into a predicate. Only one example of such a pair is found in the data.

(439) **amma** (adverb) 'before, in front'
(verb) 'come first, in front'

4.6 Compounding.

Compounding is a process by which a lexeme is derived from two or more simpler lexemes. Several criteria identify compounds (see for example Anderson 1985a). I reproduce some below.

Phonological criteria

- Primary stress operates as for a single word
- There are no internal pauses
- Pronunciation may deviate from the pronunciation of the independent lexemes

Grammatical criteria

- Fixed order of compounds
- Can function as a base for further derivation
- Inseparability of components

Semantic criteria

- Meaning of the compound is conventionalized

Based on these criteria, we can establish several types of compounds in Ma'ŕea.

4.6.1 Noun + Noun = Noun. The nouns *tańa-* ‘father’ and *natu-* ‘child’ form the compound *tańanatu-* ‘husband’. Taken separately, these nouns are directly possessed nouns in Mańea. The compound they form is inseparable; possession is marked only once, at the end.

- (440) tańa-natu-ku
 father-child-1SG.POSS
 ‘my husband’

Likewise, the noun *ńata* ‘eye’ is directly possessed.

- (441) ńata-ku
 eye-1SG.POSS
 ‘my eye’

When used in the compound below followed by the noun *vono* ‘bush’, the noun *ńata* ‘eye’ loses its possessive suffix. The compound itself is indirectly possessed.

- (442) ńata-vono no-ku
 eye-bush CLF-1SG.POSS
 ‘my axe’

4.6.2 Numeral + Adjective = Noun. In the following compound, the numeral *lińa* ‘five’ precedes the adjective *kor* ‘dry’. This placement is evidence for a compound, given that numerals found in noun phrases follow other noun modifiers.

- (443) lińa kor
 five dry
 ‘starfish’

The meaning of this compound is culturally based. It is said that whoever touches a starfish will have dry hands and will not have a productive garden.

4.6.3 Noun + Adverb = Noun. The following lexemes are composed of the noun *patu-* ‘head’, followed by an adverb. Their status as compounds is evidenced by the resulting conventionalized meanings. Note that the final vowel of the noun is lost when compounded.

(444)	patamme	patatau
	/patu amma/	/patu atau/
	head first	head behind
	‘prow, front of the canoe’	‘stern, back of a canoe’

4.6.4 Other compounds. In the remainder of this section, other compound types are simply listed. More work is needed in this area.

4.6.4.1 Verb + Adverb = Noun The verb *voru* ‘be born’ is used in this type of compound followed by an adverbial to create a noun.

(445)	voratau	voramme
	/voru atau/	/voru amma/
	‘first born’ (Lit: born before)	‘last born’ (Lit: born behind)

4.6.4.2 Noun + Verb = Noun

(446)	ari’i ngirngir
	cat squeak
	‘rat’

4.6.4.3 Verb + Noun = Noun

(447)	sala or vava
	float block mouth
	‘whale’

4.6.4.4 Verb + Verb = Verb

(448)	don sakaia
	swallow meet
	‘choke’

5 Numerals and counting system

In this chapter, I present cardinal numbers in sections 5.1, ordinal numbers in section 5.2, and finally the Ma'ŕea counting system (section 5.3), where I explain how to form numbers between tens, hundreds, and thousands. The following terminology is used: in order to describe a number such as *1975*, I refer to the *1* as the thousands-place position, *9* as the hundreds-place position, *7* as the tens-place position, and *5* as the ones-place position.

5.1 Cardinal numbers from 1 to 10.

The numbers 1 to 5, and 10 are similar in shape to the POc numerals reconstructed in Lynch et al. (2002:72).

Table 5.50: POc and Ma'ŕea number 1 to 5, and 10

	POc	Ma'ŕea
1	*ta-sa, sa-kai, tai, kai	tea
2	*rua	rua
3	*tolu	tol(u)
4	*pat(i)	ŕat(i)
5	*lima	liŕa
10	*sa(-ŕa)puluq	saŕavul(u)

The numbers 6 to 9 are somewhat complex, and do not follow the reconstructed pattern. They are based on a quinary system, although the form for 5 does not clearly surface.

Table 5.51: POc and Ma'ŕea number 6 to 9

	POc	Ma'ŕea	Possible derivation
6	*onom	ŕaraŕa	< (li)ŕa raŕa
7	*pitu	raŕe rua	< raŕa rua
8	*walu	rattol(u)	< raŕ(a) tolu
9	*siwa	raŕŕat(i)	< raŕ(a) ŕat(i)

It seems that the number 6 is composed of *lińa* ‘five’ and *rańa*, despite the fact that the first syllable of [li] of *lińa* is omitted. Numbers 7 to 9 clearly contain the numerals 2 to 4, which is an additive system after 5. The numbers 8 and 9 are pronounced with the consonant following *ra-* geminated. It seems that these two numbers also contain the morpheme *rańa*, and that (i) the final vowel /a/ is dropped, (ii) the segment [v] undergoes assimilation, although the exact details of such a phonological process remain to be established. The meaning of *rańa* is unknown to any Mańea speaker. It could be related to *rańeia* ‘pull’.

5.1.1 Decades. According to Lynch et al. (2002:72), decades in POc were based on the number 10 (e.g. 20 is ‘two ten’, 30 is ‘three ten’), as shown in the following table.²³ In Mańea, the root for 10 *ńavul(u)* is a reflex of the POc form *ńa-puluq.

Table 5.52: POc and Mańea decades

	POc	Mańea
10	*sa(-ńa)puluq	sajavul(u)
20	*rua-ńapuluq	mońavul rua
30	*tolu-ńapuluq	mońavultol(u)
40	*pati-ńapuluq	mońavul v'at(i)
50	*lima-ńapuluq	mońavul lińa
60	*onom-ńapuluq	mońavul m'arańa
70	*patu-ńapuluq	mońavul m'arve rua
80	*walu-ńapuluq	mońavul m'arve tol
90	*siwa-ńapuluq	mońavul m'arpat(i)

Decades are formed with the third person singular agreement prefix *mo-* (except for 10), followed by the word *ńavul* which I gloss as ‘decade’ and a cardinal number in the tens-place position.

²³POc reconstructions from 40 to 90 are my own, based on the assumption that the system was regular.

(449) ref 06012.004
 sa-ngavulu
 one(?)-decade
 ‘ten’

(450) ref 06012.005
 mo-ngavul rua
 3sg-decade two
 ‘twenty’

Evidence that *mo-* is the third person singular agreement marker comes from the following example, where it surfaces in its irrealis form as *-i*.

(451) ref 07076b.005
 Ko-osorńa **i-mo**-ngavul rua te **i**-ngavul tol te na **i**-ngavul
 2SG-husk 3SG.IR-COND-decade two or 3SG.IR-decade three or but 3SG.IR-decade
 řati.
 four
 ‘You could husk 20, or 30, or 40.’

The tens-place 7 to 9 of the cardinal numbers 70 to 90 differ from the lexemes used in the ones-place positions 7 to 9 discussed above, as shown in the following comparative table. The last syllable of *lińa* ‘five’ now appears in the compound (in ways similar to the word for ‘six’ *ńarařa*). Another interesting change is the presence of the root *rařa*, which surfaces as *rře* in 80, and *r* in 90.

Table 5.53: 7 to 9 and 70 to 90 compared

7	raře rua	70	moŋavul ńarře rua
8	rattol(u)	80	moŋavul ńarře tol
9	rařřat(i)	90	moŋavul ńarřat(i)

5.1.2 Hundred. Lynch et al. (2002:72) reconstruct a separate lexical item for 100 in POc, namely **Ratu(s)*. As shown in the following table, there is no separate lexical item for

100 in Ma'ŕea. The numeral 100 is a compound based on the word for decade *moŕjav* and 10 *sangavul(u)*. Other hundreds from 200 to 900 are also compounds, but they do not use the number 10 as their base. They are formed with *mo'va* and a cardinal number indicating the hundreds-place, as in *mo'va rua* 'two hundred'.

Table 5.54: Hundreds

100	moŕjav saŕjavul
200	mo'va rua
300	mo'va tol
400	mo'va vati
500	mo'va li'na
600	mo'va l(i)ńara'va
700	mo'va l(i)ńar've rua
800	mo'va l(i)ńar've tol
900	mo'va l(i)ńar'pati

- (452) ref 06012.296
 mo-va li'na
 3SG-time five
 'five hundred'

The numbers 6 to 9 in the hundreds-place used to form the cardinal numbers 600 to 900 are slightly different from 6-9 in the tens-place used in the decades 60 to 90, as shown below in the comparative table.

Table 5.55: 60 to 90 and 600 to 900 compared

60	moŕjavul ńara'va	600	mo'va l(i)ńara'va
70	moŕjavul ńar've rua	700	mo'va l(i)ńar've rua
80	moŕjavul ńar've tol	800	mo'va l(i)ńar've tol
90	moŕjavul ńar'pat(i)	900	mo'va l(i)ńar'pati

The decades contain the last syllable of *li'na* 'five'. The hundreds contain the almost complete form *li'na*. The loss of the initial vowel *i* in *li'na* in forms such as *mo'va ńara'va*

could be due to stress placement.

5.1.3 Thousand. There is a separate lexeme for thousand, namely *tar(a)*. The closest lexeme to *tara* in the dictionary is the verb *taraia* ‘cut’, but I cannot ascertain whether these two lexemes are related.

Like the word for 10, the phrase indicating one thousand does not take the subject agreement prefix *mo-*. This phrase is composed of the word for thousand *tar(a)*, followed by the ordinal number *aite* ‘one, first’.

(453) ref 06012.350
 tar aite
 thousand one
 ‘one thousand’

Other thousands are provided in the following table. From 2000 to 9000, the numerals are composed of the word for thousand *tar(a)* followed by the ligature *i* and the same cardinal numbers used to indicate hundreds-place.²⁴

Table 5.56: Thousands

1000	tar aite
2000	tar i rua
3000	tar i tol
4000	tar i ťati
5000	tar i lińa
6000	tar i l(i)ńarařa
7000	tar i l(i)ńarře rua
8000	tar i l(i)ńarře tol
9000	tar i l(i)ńarřati
10,000	tar mosarjavul(u)

²⁴An alternative analysis is to assume that what I call the ligature *i* was originally the third person singular realis marker. I do not adhere to this analysis primarily because (i) *i* is not found with cardinal numbers other than thousands, and (ii) the word for thousand *tara* does not itself take an agreement marker.

My consultant was hesitant to provide forms such as ‘thirty thousand’, and thought that ‘ten thousand’ was unusual enough. Note that ‘ten thousand’ is composed of *tar* ‘thousand’ and *mosangavulu*, glossed as *mo* ‘subject agreement prefix’ and *sangavulu* ‘ten’.

There is no word for one million in Ma’ŕea, but one of my consultants said that there is one such form in Tutuba *tar ŕa mle mle*, which I believe means ‘many thousands’.

5.2 Ordinal numbers.

Ordinal numbers from ‘first’ to ‘fifth’ are provided below, compared with numerals (see also chapter 4).

Table 5.57: Ordinal and cardinal numbers 1 to 5

1	tea	first	aite
2	rua	second	arua-na
3	tol(u)	third	atoli-na
4	ŕat(i)	fourth	aŕati-na
5	liŕa	fifth	alŕa-na

Ordinal numbers up to ‘fifth’ start with the morpheme *a-*.²⁵ All ordinal numbers except *aite* ‘first’ end with the third person singular possessive suffix *-na*.

Note that (i) the word for ‘third’ *atolina* contains a final *i*, whereas ‘three’ *tolu* ends with *u*, and (ii) the word for ‘five’ *liŕa* loses its initial *i*, possibly due to stress assignment (vowels preceding a stressed syllable tend to delete). Note also that *aite* functions as the indefinite specific article, while *tea* is an indefinite quantifier.

Ordinal numbers from sixth to tenth are listed in table 5.58 below, compared with numerals. They also require the possessive suffix, but do not start with *a-*.

²⁵The corresponding morpheme in Banoni is the causative morpheme *va-* (Piet Lincoln, p.c., Apr 16, 2008).

Table 5.58: Ordinal and cardinal numbers 6 to 10

6	ńaraʋa	sixth	ńarʋe-na
7	raʋe rua	seventh	raʋe rua-na
8	rattol(u)	eighth	rattoli-na
9	raǰǰat(i)	ninth	raǰǰat(i)-na
10	saǰavul(u)	tenth	saǰavulu-na

As we can see, the form *ńarʋena* ‘sixth’ undergoes the same phonological process as *alńana* ‘fifth’. The medial vowel before the stressed syllable is deleted.

5.3 Counting in Maʋea.

We have seen in the previous sections how to count in decades or hundreds. In this section, I describe how to count between decades or hundreds (that is, how to count from 111 to 119 for example.).

Lynch et al. (2002:72) posit that numbers between decades were constructed with the morpheme **ma* ‘and’ following the decade, as in:

- (454) POc (Adapted from Lynch et al. 2002:72)
 *rua-ŋa-puluq **ma** tolu
 two-LIG-decade and three
 ‘twenty-three’

We will see that the Maʋea counting method is different from the reconstructed POc system. The main points of the discussion are summarized below.

- The counting system contains classifiers (CLF): *vua-* for tens (between 11 and 19), *ngav* for numbers between 21 and 99, and *tunge* for numbers above 1,000. There are no classifiers for hundreds.
- Counting is performed via a reference number (Ref). This reference number takes a genitive suffix, which is realized as either the construct suffix *-n* or the possessive

suffix *-na*. This number is always one higher than the number being counted. Note that there is no reference number between 11 and 19.

- The order of elements is as follows: *ten or thousand CLF REF-CONS ones-place*. In the following example, *ngav* ‘measure’ is used as a classifier, and *a’ati* ‘fourth’ is the reference number which is one higher than the tens-place *tol* ‘three’ in *mongavul tol(u)* ‘thirty’.

(455) ref 06012.007-008
 mo-ngavul tol **ngav** **a’ati**-n aite
 3SG-decade three measure fourth-CONS one
 ‘thirty-one’

5.3.1 Counting classifiers. There are three counting classifiers: *vua-* pertaining to 11-19, *ngav* pertaining to 21-99, and *tunge(i)* pertaining to thousands.

5.3.1.1 Vua-. In order to indicate a number between 11 and 19 (included), the counting classifier *vua-* is used.

(456) ref 06012.004
 sangavul **vua**-n i rua
 ten fruit-CONS LIG two
 ‘twelve’

I have glossed this classifier as *vua-* ‘fruit’, as both lexemes are homophonous.²⁶ Ma’rea speakers are unable to determine if *vua-* is polysemous or if there are two homophonous forms *vua-* ‘fruit’ and *vua-* ‘classifier’.

The classifier occurs after the decade 10 *sangavul* and before the ligature *i*. It requires the construct suffix *-n*.

²⁶In Bislama, cigarettes sold individually are also called ‘fruits’, Nick Thieberger (p.c., Oct 17, 2008).

5.3.1.2 Ngav. To indicate a number between the decades 20 to 90, the counting classifier *ngav* is used. The classifier *ngav* is placed after the decade, and before the reference number (reference numbers are explained in section 5.3.2 below). Note that as opposed to *vua-* (and *tunge(i)*, see below), this classifier does not require a construct suffix.

(457) ref 06012.007-008
 mo-ngavul tol **ngav** aʋati-n aite
 3SG-decade three measure fourth-CONS one
 ‘thirty-one.’

I have glossed *ngav* as ‘measure’. There is in the lexicon a word *ngava*, which indicates a measure of two arms’ length, of a person standing with her/his arms wide open. Note that *ngav* is part of the word *sangavul* ‘ten’, and *ngavul* ‘decade’. Again, it is possible but unclear whether *ngav* and *ngava* are related.

5.3.1.3 Tunge(i). The third counting classifier is the word *tunge(i)*. I glossed it as ‘and’ as no one knows its meaning, and there is no homophonous form in the lexicon. The classifier *tunge(i)* is used when counting in the thousands. Like the classifier *vua-*, *tunge(i)* requires the construct suffix *-n*.

(458) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 tar aite **tunge-n** mo-ngavul rua
 thousand one and-CONS 3SG-measure two
 ‘one thousand two hundred’

5.3.2 Reference numbers. Almost every number is expressed with respect to a higher number (a decade or a hundred), which I call the reference number. The reference number is always one higher than the number being counted. Consider the phrase for ‘twenty-one’ below.

(459) ref 06012.005-006
 mo-ngavul rua ngav **atoli-n** aite
 3SG-decade two measure third-CONS one
 ‘twenty-one’

It is composed of the decade *mongavul*, the tens-place for that decade is filled by *rua* ‘two’, the classifier used for decades *ngav*, then a reference number in forms of an ordinal number with a construct suffix *atoli-n* ‘its third’, and last the number *aite* ‘one’ fills the ones-place position. So the phrase representing the number 21 could be read as follows: twenty, towards ‘thirty’, one.

Given this system with classifiers and reference numbers, numerals can be referred to via their short forms (see section 5.3.3 below for more details). Consider the following phrase:

(460) ref 06012.014
 ngav *mar’ve-n* aite
 measure sixth-CONS one
 ‘fifty-one’

The phrase indicates that the number is between 20 and 90 thanks to the classifier *ngav*, and thanks to *mar’ven*, we know that we are counting with reference to six. That is, the number is 51. Expression of the decade *mongavul lir’ha* ‘50’ is thus unnecessary.

When counting up to 19 (included) there is no reference number, instead the classifier *vua-* is used. But counting within decades from 21 and until 89 requires as reference number the decimal above the decade. As shown above, to express the number 51, the ordinal 6 is used as reference. To express 81, the word for ‘9’ is used, as shown below.

(461) ref 06012.060-061
 mo-ngavul *mar’vetol* ngav **rap’pati-na** aite
 3SG-decade eighty measure nine-3SG.POSS one
 ‘eighty-one’

When counting from 90 to 100, the reference number is 10.

(462) ref 06012.073-075
 mo-ngavul m̄arɸati ngav sangavulu-na aite
 3SG-decade ninety measure ten-3SG.POSS one
 ‘ninety-one’

Note that numbers ending with zero (such as 50, 90, 110, 200, etc) do need a reference number.

5.3.3 Numbers between decades.

5.3.3.1 Long form. I have presented above numerals in their ‘full form’, that is, forms for which each component of the phrase is expressed, as in (463) below.

(463) ref 06012.005-006
 mo-ngavul rua ngav atoli-n i tol
 3SG-decade two measure third-CONS lig three
 ‘twenty three’

In their full forms, numbers between 21 and 99 are composed of (i) the decade *mongavul*, (ii) the tens-place form for that decade, (iii) the classifier used for decades *ngav*, (iv) a reference number in forms of an ordinal number with a construct suffix, (v) the ligature *i*, (vi) and last a number for the ones-place position. Only the numerals ending with *aite* ‘one’ do not require the ligature.

Numbers between 11 and 19 do not require a reference number. They are formed with (i) the decade 10, (ii) followed by *vua-*, the classifier for 10 (which requires a construct suffix *-n*, (iii) the ligature *i*, and (iv) the number in the ones-place position.

(464) ref 06012.004
 sangavul vua-n i rua
 ten fruit-CONS LIG two
 ‘twelve’

I also gave an example of a numeral in its “short form”, the number 51 repeated below, and I explained that this form was sufficient to express 51 thanks to the classifier and the reference number.

(465) ref 06012.014
 ngav m̄arv̄e-n aite
 measure sixth-CONS one
 ‘fifty-one’

Full forms are used to express numbers in isolation (for example if someone were asked to state the year s/he was born). In the following section, I describe how short forms are used when one counts.

5.3.3.2 Short form. Counting inside a decade is not usually done by repeating the numerals in their full forms. It is usually done using only ordinal numbers.

In order to count from 10 to 20, the numerals 10 and 11 are given in full forms. But the other numbers (12 to 19) are not. Only ordinal numbers ‘second’ to ‘ninth’ are used, as shown below.

(466) ref 06012.004
 Sangavulu. Sangavul vua-n aite, arua-na, atoli-na,
 ten ten fruit-CONS one, second-3SG.POSS third-3SG.POSS
 aṽati-na, al̄na-na, m̄arv̄e-na, raṽerua-na, rattoli-na,
 fourth-3SG.POSS fifth-3SG.POSS sixth-3SG.POSS seventh-3SG.POSS eighth-3SG.POSS
 rap̄pati-na.
 ninth-3SG.POSS
 ‘10. 11, its second, its third, its fifth, its sixth, its seventh, its eighth, its ninth.’

When the end of the decade is reached, it is stated as ‘its tenth’, followed by the full form of the new decade.

- (467) ref 06012.004-005
 sangavulu-na, mo-ngavul rua
 ten-3SG.POSS 3SG-decade two
 ‘its tenth, twenty’

Now that 20 has been established, it is used as a reference point. Counting goes on to 21, using a classifier *ngav* ‘measure’ and a reference number *atoli-na* ‘its third’. However, only the short form is used. The decade expressing 20 itself is not repeated.

- (468) ref 06012.006
 ngav atoli-n aite, arua-na, atoli-na...
 measure third-CONS one second-3SG.POSS third-3SG.POSS
 ‘twenty-one, two, three...’

Then, 22, 23, etc until 29 are simply expressed with ordinal numbers as *aruana*, *atolina*, ‘its second, its third’ etc., and not **ngav atolin aruana* ‘its second’ **ngav atolin atolina* ‘its third’, etc. Thus, out of context, the ordinal numbers *aruana* ‘its second’ or *raʻveruana* ‘its seventh’ do not inform on the decade one is counting. For example, *raʻveruana* ‘its seventh’ can mean the seventh number after 10, or the seventh number after 20, or the seventh number after 120, etc. In the following sections, I consider only long forms.

5.3.4 Numbers between hundreds. In their full forms, numbers between 100 and 109 are composed of (i) the phrase for ‘hundred’ based on ‘ten’ *mongav sangavul*, (ii) the reference number for 200 *ʻarua* (listed in the dictionary as the equivalent to English ‘twice’) with the third person singular possessive suffix *na*, (iii) the ligature *i*, (iv) and last a number in the ones-place position. This is shown below.

- (469) ref 06012.087
 mo-ngav sangavul ʻa-rua-na i ʻat
 3SG-measure ten time-two-3SG.POSS LIG four
 ‘one hundred and four’

In the hundreds, all numbers between 1 and 9 (that is 201-209, 301-309, etc, until 809) are composed according to the above description. The only changes are those made to the hundred, the term indicative of the hundreds-place position, and the reference number, as shown below.

(470) mo-řa rua řa-toli-n aite
 3SG-time two time-third-CONS one
 ‘two hundred and one’

(471) mo-řa řati řa-lřa-n i řat
 3SG-time four time-five-CONS LIG four
 ‘four hundred and four’

In the hundreds, all numbers between 11 and 19 (that is 111-119, 311-319, etc, until 819) are composed (i) the phrase for hundred, (ii) the reference number with the third person singular possessive suffix, (iii) the decade *mosangavul* expressing the tens-place position, (iv) the classifier for 10 *vua* marked with a possessive suffix, (vi) the ligature *i*, (vii) and last a number in the ones-place position. This is exemplified below for the number 412.

(472) mo-řa řati řa-lřa-n mo-sangavul vua-n i rua
 3SG-time four time-five-CONS 3SG-ten fruit-CONS LIG two
 ‘four hundred and twelve’

Numbers between 121 and 199 are composed of (i) the phrase for hundred based on 10 *mongav sangavul*, (ii) the reference number for 200 with the third person singular possessive suffix *řarua-na*, (iii) the decade *mongavul* (iv) the number expressing the tens-place position, (v) the classifier for decades *ngav*, (vi) the reference number (with possessive suffix) higher than the number in the tens-place position by one increment, (vii) the ligature *i*, (viii) and last a number in the ones-place position. This is exemplified below for the number 125.

(473) Elicitation, 2006, SLL.

mo-ngav sangavul ųa-rua-na mo-ngavul rua ngav
 3SG-measure ten time-two-3SG.POSS 3SG-decade two measure
 atoli-na i lińa
 third-3SG.POSS LIG five
 ‘one hundred and twenty-five’

Numbers above 220 differ from numbers above 125 in that they are composed of (i) a phrase for hundred based on *mońa*, (ii) the reference number for a higher hundred with the third person singular possessive suffix. The other positions in the numeral are the same: (iii) the decade *mongavul* (iv) the number expressing the tens-place position, (v) the classifier for decades *ngav*, (vi) the reference number higher than the number in the tens-place position by one increment, (vii) the ligature *i*, (viii) and last a number in the ones-place position. This is exemplified below for the number 251.

(474) ref 06012.233

mo-ńa rua ųa-toli-n mo-ngavul lińa ngav mńarńe-n aite
 3SG-time two time-third-CONS 3SG-decade five measure sixth-CONS one
 ‘two hundred fifty-one’

The reference number when counting from 900 onwards is not *tara* ‘thousand’ but the *mongav sangavulun* ‘its hundred’.

(475) ref 06012.340

mo-ńa lńarńati **mo-ngav sangavulu-n** mo-sangavul
 3SG-time ninety 3SG-measure ten-CONS 3SG-ten
 ‘nine hundred and ten’

We have seen above (table 5.54) that the hundreds all have the form *mońa* plus a number, as in *mońa lińa* ‘five hundred’. The form *mońa* can be analyzed as follows: *mo-* the subject agreement prefix, and *ńa*. There are two possible glosses for *ńa*: the verb ‘to go’, or the multiplicative *ńa-*, (as in *ńarua* ‘twice’ the forms used as reference numbers for hundreds), which could derive from the POc causative prefix *paka. I have chosen to gloss *ńa* in *mońa*

rua ‘200’ as ‘time’, the multiplicative, despite that fact that the verb ‘go’ or the causative prefix *ʔa* are possible candidates. This choice has no bearings on the analysis.

To summarize, numbers up to 999 are formed following the pattern in table 5.59 below.

Table 5.59: Number formation

	Hundred	Hundred-place	Reference Hundred	Decade	Ten-place	CLF	Reference Decade	CLF	Lig	One-place
91				mongavul	m̄arpati	ngav	sangavuluna			aite
102	mongav	sangavul	varuana						i	rua
111	mongav	sangavul	varuan				sangavul	vuan		aite
253	mo'va	rua	vatolin	mongavul	lima	ngav	m̄arven		i	tol
910	mo'va	lm̄arpati	mongav sangavulun	mosangavul						

5.3.5 Numbers between thousands. I have very limited and incomplete data on numbers between thousands.

I elicited the following numbers: 1100, 3540, and 6817. All three numbers show that there is no reference number when counting towards 2000. Instead, the classifier *tunge(i)* is used. Numbers in the thousands are composed as follows: (i) the word for thousand *tar(a)*, (ii) the thousands-place, (iii) the classifier *tunge(i)*- with construct suffix. At that point, the descriptions given in the previous sections for numbers in the hundreds-place and in the tens-place apply.

(476) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.

tar aite tunge-n mo-ngav sangavul
 thousand one and-CONS 3SG-measure ten
 ‘one thousand one hundred’

(477) ref 06012.382

tar i tolu tunge-n mo-’va li’ma ngav li’mar’ve-n mo-ngavul ’vati
 thousand LIG three and-CONS 3SG-time five measure sixth-CONS 3SG-decade four
 ‘three thousand five hundred and forty’

(478) ref 06012.383

tar i li’marava tungei-ne mo-ngavul mar’vetol ngav rap’pati-na
 thousand LIG six and-CONS 3SG-decade eighty measure nine-3SG.POSS
 mo-sangavul vua-n i li’mar’verua
 3SG-ten fruit-CONS LIG seventy
 ‘six thousand eight hundred and seventeen’

It is possible that the numbers 3540 and 6817 are erroneous, due to performance errors on the part of the consultant. They do not conform to the pattern established in the previous table, nor are they consistent with each other. In the form for 3540, a reference number for 600 is missing. In the form 6817, the hundred should be expressed as *mo’va li’mar’vetol*. More examples are required to understand how to count in between thousands.

5.4 Numerals and noun modifiers.

As we have seen, the counting system of Ma'ŕea is rather complex. It has been supplanted by the Bislama (that is, English) numbers. The younger speakers know (to some extent) at least the numbers 1 to 10 in Ma'ŕea, and in addition, a few random numbers (usually number ending in zeros), but they cannot count from 1 to 100, or beyond. The three middle-aged speakers I interviewed knew how to count in Ma'ŕea, but preferred to use Bislama for higher numbers.

There are few examples of numerals in the corpus. My youngest consultant describing his family said the following:

- (479) ref 06034.004
tuan nao ro, mo-ŕe kaŕnam i l(i)ŕarŕetol.
with 1SG then 3SG-make 1PL.EXCL LIG eighty
'With me, that makes us 8.'

The word for 8 in the above sentence is *l(i)ŕarŕetol*. This is the lexeme used for 80 and 800 as described in the previous sections. The word for 8 is *rattol*. Another older consultant used the same word *l(i)ŕarŕetol* to refer to 8 children. Therefore, it is unlikely that the choice of *l(i)ŕarŕetol* for the numeral 8 is a performance error. In another narrative, the lexeme used to refer to the numeral 6 is *l(i)ŕaraŕa*, whereas the cardinal number 6 is *ŕaraŕa*. Based on the forms provided in natural discourses, it is possible that cardinal numbers from 1 to 10 may have had two forms, one when used as numbers (that is to count from 1 to 10), and a different form when used as noun modifiers or predicates. Evidence partially supporting this idea comes from the use of *aite* 'one'. When counting from 1 to 10, the cardinal number used is *tea* 'one', but the lexeme *aite* is used when counting things, as in *kou aite* 'one fowl'. This hypothesis requires further research.

6 Noun phrases

Maximally, a noun phrase is composed of the following elements:

(Quant) (Plural) **N** (N-poss) (N) (Adj) (Det) ((lig) Num) (Quant) (Clf (N-Poss)) (Rel)

Note that there are no examples in the data where all possible constituents of the NP appear in a single phrase, and that some elements are incompatible with others.²⁷

In this chapter, I first describe the types of noun that can serve as head of a noun phrase (section 6.1) and their functions (section 6.2). I then present the order of the constituents within the noun phrase (NP) and their possible combinations in section 6.3. Section 6.4 discusses determiners (articles and demonstratives) in Ma'nea. In section 6.5, plurality is discussed. Sections 6.6 and 6.7 briefly present adjectives and quantifiers, respectively. NP coordination and relative clauses are described in chapter 14.

6.1 The head of an NP.

In chapter 3, the following classes of nouns were established:

Proper nouns

 Personal names

 Calendar names

 Vocatives

 Locatives

 Place names

 Locational terms

 Relational terms

Common nouns

 Free

 Bound

 Body parts

 Kinship terms

²⁷Throughout this dissertation, I use the term 'noun phrase' to refer to NPs and DPs.

A noun phrase is made up minimally of a single noun, taken from any of the above classes. In the following example, the head of the NP is a common noun in (480) or a proper noun in (481).

(480) ref 06033.034
Mo-on **mata** mo-l-suruv.
3SG-look snake 3SG-IMPF-sleep
'He saw (that) the snake was sleeping.'

(481) ref 06033.012
Ro **Voko** mo-ngara mo-ngara mo-lo-va.
then white 3SG-cry 3SG-cry 3SG-IMPF-go
'Then White cried and cried for a while.'

A personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun can also be the head of a noun phrase and constitute an NP on its own, as exemplified in (482) below.

(482) ref 06030.030
Male mo-an **nna** mo-evu.
this.one 3SG-eat 3SG 3SG-finish
'This one already ate it.'

Other possible heads of the NP include quantifiers, as in (483).

(483) ref 07067.041
Ale **maike** ra-anan na vataolo.
then some 3PL-eat LOC different
'Then, some ate at a different (place).'

It is debatable whether numerals can head a noun phrase. In the following example, the NP object is solely composed of a numeral. I believe that the head noun is phonetically null. Its referent is retrievable from the context. Note also that except for *aite* 'one', numerals are preceded by the ligature *i*.

- (484) ref 07082.088
 Ra-sopo-rru ʋalu-n tamlo aite mʋatan i-la **i rua i tol i**
 3PL-NEG-insist to-3SG.POSS man one for 3SG.IR-take LIG two LIG three LIG
ʋati pemele.
 four like.this
 ‘They don’t force a man to take two, three, four, like this.’

6.2 Functions of an NP.

An NP can be the argument of a verb (subject or object), as shown in (481) and (482) above, the object of a preposition, in (485) below, or can act as a predicate (exemplified in (486)). In all cases, the NPs do not have any special marking.

- (485) ref 07082.176
 Ra-vol ʋaʋina tuan **na**.
 3PL-buy female with 3SG
 ‘They buy the woman with it.’

- (486) ref 07066.005
 Ese-na **Molres**.
 name-3SG.POSS Molres
 ‘His name (is) Molres.’

There appear to be, however, some restrictions regarding the type of head of the NP and its function in the grammar. Whereas a common noun or a demonstrative used as a head can serve any of the functions listed above, other noun classes (when they are used as single head of an NP) do not serve all functions, as shown in table 6.60 below. It is unclear at this stage whether these restrictions are due to inherent properties of the noun classes or due to gaps in the data.

Table 6.60: Noun classes and their possible functions

	Proper N	Common N	Pron.	Dem.	Quant.	Num.
Subject	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Object	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Object of Prep.	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	x
Subject of Vbless clause	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	✓
Predicate	✓	✓	x	✓	x	✓

6.3 Order of the constituents in the NP.

As stated in the introduction, a noun phrase can be composed of the following elements:

(Quant) (Plural) N (N-poss) (N) (Adj) (Det) ((lig) Num) (Quant) (Clf (N-Poss)) (Rel)

In this section, I present examples of complex NPs. There can be up to five constituents, including the head in a complex NP.

6.3.1 NP with two constituents. A noun phrase made up of two constituents can be composed of a common noun serving as head of the NP, and another element that functions as a modifier. The modifier occurs to the right of the head N. There are two exceptions: the plural marker *re* and the quantifier *te* occur to the left of the NP. Some examples follow.

6.3.1.1 N_{head} N

- (487) ref 06003.038
 I-sile lap **kou řařina.**
 3SG.IR-give DAT fowl woman
 ‘He will give (it) to the female fowl.’

Note that the second N can also be modified, by another N in (488), an adjective in (489), or a more complex structure (as exemplified in (490)).

- (488) ref 06045.082
ima rau talaua.
 house leaves palm
 ‘palm leaf house’
- (489) ref 06007.131
 Mo-l-to tuan **natu-n** **supa** **lavoa.**
 3SG-IMPF-stay with child-CONS chief big
 ‘She was staying with the child of the high chief.’
- (490) ref 07068.057
sala-n **wheeli-n** **trak** [**ma** Hilux].
 road-CONS wheel-CONS truck COMP Hilux
 ‘the road for the wheel of the truck that (is) a Hilux.’

The structure of the above example can be schematized as: $[NP_1 N_{head} [NP_2 N\text{-Poss} [NP_3 N\text{-Poss} [Rel]_{NP_3} NP_2] NP_1]$, where NP3 contains the relative clause and modifies NP2, which in turn modifies NP1.

6.3.1.2 N_{head} N-Poss

- (491) ref 06031.032
Natu-n vomae mo-sa mo-sakel na patu-n kou.
 child-CONS dove 3SG-go.up 3SG-sit LOC head-CONS fowl
 ‘Dove’s child sat on Fowl’s head.’

6.3.1.3 N_{head} Quant

- (492) ref 07086.013
 Mo-la **buk maike.**
 3SG-take book some
 ‘He took some books.’

6.3.1.4 Quant N_{head}

- (493) ref 06014.033
 Surae mo-traem mo-v i-alal **te** **sala.**
 Surae 3SG-try 3SG-say 3SG.IR-search some road
 ‘Surae tried to look for a passage.’

6.3.1.5 N_{head} Det

- (494) ref 06033.007
Ki-sopo-r-laʋ **aʋia** **le.**
2PL-NEG-DL-take Malay.apple DET
'You will not take the Malay apple.'
- (495) ref 07083.019
Na-on dav mo-l-nile **nila lere.**
1SG-see seem 3SG-IMPF-nail nail DET.PL
'I see it seems that he is nailing the nails.'

More is said about articles in section 6.4.

If the head of the NP is not a common noun, the following combinations are possible:

6.3.1.6 Demonstrative_{head} Rel

- (496) ref 07085.007
Na-var sur **maro** [ma matua-ku].
1SG-speak about this.one COMP right-1SG-POSS
'I speak about the one that (is on) my right.'

6.3.1.7 Pronoun_{head} Rel.

- (497) ref 06028.023
Ale **nira** [ma Tutuva palai].
then 3PL COMP Tutuba likewise
'Then the ones that (are from) Tutuba too.'

6.3.2 NP with three constituents. The most commonly found complex NP in the corpus contains three constituents. The head is always a common noun. The nature of the optional constituents is detailed in table 6.61 below. Although the table below may not exhaust all possible combinations, it gives a general overview of the NP. Some examples follow.

Table 6.61: NPs with three constituents

Quant.	Pl	N	N	N	Adj	Det	Num	Quant.	Clf	Rel
		✓			✓			✓		
		✓			✓	✓				
		✓			✓					✓
		✓	✓			✓				
		✓						✓		✓
		✓	✓				✓			
		✓			✓		✓			
		✓				✓	✓			
		✓					✓			✓
		✓					✓		✓	
		✓							✓	✓
		✓	✓						✓	
		✓			✓				✓	
	✓	✓							✓	
✓		✓			✓					
		✓	✓							✓
✓		✓	✓							
	✓	✓						✓		
		✓	✓							✓
		✓				✓				✓

6.3.2.1 N_{head} Poss Quant

(498) ref 07085.053

Udu-na maike ra-l-rere.
tooth-3SG.POSS some 3PL-IMPFF-show
‘Some of his teeth are showing.’

6.3.2.2 N_{head} N-Poss Rel

(499) ref 07070.034-036

Sara konatu, **Patu-n Ṽanua** [ma Amsaran].
place there head-CONS island COMP Amsaran
‘The place there, Patun Ṽanua which (is at) Amsaran.’

In example (499), the place name *Patun Vānua* ‘head of the island’ is composed of two common nouns; thus this structure contains three constituents.

6.3.2.3 N_{head} Adj Quant

- (500) ref 07080.041
 Na-el **dam varvari maike.**
 1SG-dig.up yam small some
 ‘I dug some small yams.’

6.3.2.4 N_{head} Quant Rel

- (501) ref 06045.028
 Mo-dom **tamlo maike** [ma pili-ra ra-ravutu].
 3SG-cut man some COMP hand-3PL 3PL-broken
 ‘He cut some men whose hands were broken.’

6.3.2.5 N_{head} N Adj

- (502) ref 06003.034
 Mo-on **kou vāvina lavoa** mo-ńe-l-ma.
 3SG-look fowl woman big 3SG-IT-IMPF-come
 ‘He saw (that) the big female fowl was coming again.’

6.3.2.6 N_{head} N-Poss Adj

- (503) ref 07022.020
 Ra-lo-ńańan **per~pere-n** **vuae vaitina**
 3PL-IMPF-play RED~branch-3SG.POSS tree big.PL
 ‘They play on the big tree branches.’ (And not *‘branches of big trees’)

In the above example, the noun *pere* ‘branch’ is reduplicated, suggesting that it is plural. Given that the adjective is also plural, we have evidence that in this sequence of N_{head} N -*poss* *Adj*, the adjective modifies the head noun, as it agrees with it.

6.3.3 NP with four constituents. In the corpus, the head of a complex NP containing four elements is a common noun. The (non-exhaustive) possible combinations of constituents are summarized in table 6.62.

Table 6.62: NPs with four constituents

Quant.	Pl	N	N	Adj	Adj	Det	Num	Quant.	Clf	Rel
		✓	✓	✓			✓			
		✓		✓	✓		✓			
		✓		✓	✓				✓	
	✓	✓						✓		✓
		✓	✓					✓		✓
		✓	✓				✓			✓
✓		✓		✓			✓			
✓		✓					✓		✓	
		✓		✓	✓	✓				
		✓		✓			✓		✓	
		✓	✓			✓	✓			
		✓	✓	✓		✓				

6.3.3.1 $N_{head}N$ Adj Num

(504) ref 06003.016
 Na-on **kou vāvina lavoā aite.**
 1SG-look fowl female big one
 ‘I see a big female fowl.’

(505) ref 06015.026
 Na-la **sope aka du aite.**
 1SG-take piece canoe good one
 ‘I took a piece of good canoe.’

6.3.3.2 N_{head} Adj Adj Num

(506) ref 07033.002
 Song mo-sua na **aka du vaise aite.**
 Jean 3SG-paddle LOC canoe good small one
 ‘Jean paddles with a small good canoe.’

6.3.3.3 N_{head} N-Poss Quant Rel

(507) ref 07082.113

Rau-n **mele iʋisa** [**ma** ko-laʋ=i=a].
leaves-CONS cycad how.much COMP 2SG-take=TR=3SG
'(No matter) how many cycad leaves you take (it).'

6.3.3.4 N_{head} N-Poss Num Rel

(508) ref 06005a.018

Mo-laʋ **patu-i** **pua** **aite** [**ma** mo-pailu].
3SG-take head-CONS bamboo one COMP 3SG-crooked
'He took a stalk of bamboo that is crooked.'

6.3.3.5 N_{head} Adj Num Clf

(509) ref 06021.009

Mo-vle **ina du ait no-na**.
3SG-pick.up thing good one CLF-3SG.POSS
'He picked up a good thing for him.'

6.3.3.6 N_{head} N-Poss Det Num

(510) ref 07085.130

Vu-n **vuae ror i rua** ra-r-tur mar~marʋitu.
stem-CONS tree here LIG two 3PL-DL-stand.up RED~close
'These two trunks here are close to each other.'

6.3.3.7 Ambiguous examples. The number of constituents in the following NP is unclear. Three possible analyses are provided.

(511) ref 07048.046

Vu-n **ṗaka lavo**a [**ma** mo-tur na...]
stem-CONS banyan big COMP 3SG-stand.up LOC
'The stem of the big banyan that stands on...'

Analysis 1: [the stem of [the big banyan that stands on...]]

Analysis 2: [[the big banyan stem] [that stands on...]]

Analysis 3: [the stem [of the big banyan] [that stands on...]]

In analysis 1, the relative clause and the adjective modify the noun *ǰaka* ‘banyan’. This NP contains two constituents. In analysis 2, the relative clause and the adjective modify the head *vu-n* ‘stem’. In analysis 3, the relative clause modifies the head *vu-n* ‘stem’ and the adjective modifies *ǰaka* ‘banyan’. In these last two analyses, the NP is made up of three constituents.

Similarly, the two NPs in boldface below, which share the same structure, are ambiguous.

(512) ref 07022.093

Ra-sev~sev na **pere-n** **vuae vaitina lere.**
3PL-RED~hang LOC branch-CONS tree big.PL DET.PL
‘They hang on the big tree branches.’

(513) ref 07022.025

Ra-lo-ǰaǰan na **pere-n** **vuae vaitina ror.**
3PL-IMPF-play LOC branch-CONS tree big.PL here.PL
‘They are playing on these big tree branches here.’

Analysis 1: [the branches [of these big trees]]

Analysis 2: [these [branches of [big tree]]]

Analysis 3: [these [big [tree branches]]]

Under analysis 1, the NP contains two constituents, whereas under analysis 2, there are three constituents. Finally in analysis 3, the NP contains four constituents.

6.3.4 NP with five constituents. There are few examples of an NP with as many as five constituents. The elicited example (515) is the only example I have found so far of a numeral followed by a quantifier.

6.3.4.1 N_{head} Adj Adj Clf N-Poss

- (514) ref 07048.017
Aka du lavoa no-n **pupu**
 canoe good big CLF-CONS grandpa
 ‘grandpa’s big good canoe’

6.3.4.2 Pl N_{head} Det Num Quant

- (515) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
Re viriu lere sangavul nirev ra-ulo.
 PL dog DET.PL ten all 3PL-bark
 ‘All the ten dogs barked.’

6.4 Determiners.

In this section, I present data on articles and demonstratives.

6.4.1 Articles.

6.4.1.1 Articles with singular NPs. The articles that can modify a singular NP are described in details in Guérin 2007; therefore I only summarize the main findings here. Ma’vea has a four-way article system, which differentiates (in)definiteness and (non)specificity, as defined below. The relevant forms are given in the following table (from Guérin 2007:541).

Table 6.63: Article system with singular NPs

	Specific/referential	Non-specific/non-referential
Definite	NP (le)	NP
Indefinite	NP aite	te NP aite

Indefinite specific: When a speaker marks an NP as indefinite specific, he presupposes the existence of the referent of the NP, but he does not identify this referent because he does not assume that the hearer can identify it or the identity of the referent is not

important to the discourse (Givón 2001a:440, Gundel et al. 1993:277; Hawkins 1978:215; Payne 1997:265).

(516) Arlyne wanted to marry **a** Norwegian, but he refused.

Definite specific: A noun phrase is understood as specific/referential when the speaker assumes the existence of a particular referent in the universe of discourse. Definite and specific/referential expressions refer to uniquely identifiable entities, like *the sun*, or *the boy next door*.

Indefinite non-specific/non-referential: The referent of a noun phrase with an indefinite non-specific/non-referential reading stands as a typical representative of its class, type or genus. By using an indefinite non-specific expression, the speaker makes no assumption about the hearer's familiarity with the referent (Givón 1978:294; Givón 2001a:440; Hawkins 1978:209,215, Werth 1980:257).

(517) Arlyne wanted to marry **a** Norwegian, (any Norwegian), but couldn't find one.

Definite non-specific/non-referential: Whether definite expressions can also be interpreted as being non-specific/non-referential is a matter of debate (see Chesterman 1991:11,24; Givón 1978:294; Hawkins 1978:215; Payne 1997:265 for the view that definite expressions can be non-specific. But see Enç 1991:9, and Gundel et al. 1993:278, who maintain that definite expressions are always referential/specific).

For the purpose of this chapter, I assume that definite expressions can have a non-specific reading, (in which case they are called generic expressions). A definite non-specific expression is used to refer to a class or a genus in its entirety, or to properties of that genus. In English, generics can be expressed by *a*, *the*, or a bare plural, as shown below (Hawkins 1978:214).

(518) **A/the** lion is a noble beast. **The/ø** lions are noble beasts.

6.4.1.2 Article with plural NPs. There is only one article in Ma'vea that is used to indicate plurality, the article *lere*.

(519) ref 07069.037
 Nao na-v: 'Viriu **lere** i rua ra-r-lo-ímereng sa le?'
 1SG 1SG-say dog DET.PL LIG two 3PL-DL-IMPF-bark what DET
 'I said: 'What are these two dogs barking (at)?''

(520) ref 07037.063
 Tamlese **lere** ra-sa.
 elder DET.PL 3PL-go.up
 'These elders went up.'

Lere is composed of the definite specific article *le* and the plural marker *re*. *Lere* fulfills two functions: (i) it marks an NP as specific and definite because it modifies nouns that have already been introduced in the discourse and are thus uniquely identifiable by the hearer; and (ii) it indicates that the NP is plural.

Lere also has two deictic functions. Like *le* (see Guérin 2007:549), *lere* can be used as an anaphor to reintroduce in the discourse an entity whose referent has been previously identified, but might not be present in the mind of the hearer. Example (521) below refers to some branches that were described about 70 lines earlier in the text, on line 07022.025.

(521) ref 07022.093
 Ra-sev~sev na **pere-n vuae vaitina lere**.
 3PL-RED~hang LOC branch-cons tree big.PL DET.PL
 'They hang on these big branches of the tree.'

The second deictic function of *lere*, similar to the demonstrative function of *le*, is that *lere* has weak exophoric force and is thus often accompanied by another "true" demonstrative determiner.

- (522) ref 07039.089
 Ra-an inatar **lere nelere**.
 3PL-eat thing.PL DET.PL this.PL
 ‘They eat all these things here.’

The above NP has thus two determiners. Similar determiner doubling exists in Greek and Irish Gaelic.

It is also possible to indicate plurality by placing the plural marker *re* before the noun and *lere* after the noun (*re* is treated in more details below, in section 6.5). This is the only example in the data with both these plural markers.

- (523) ref 07063.005
 Mo-ter **re nani lere** mo-lio=ra na vunatae-n m̃atiu vataolo.
 3SG-move PL goat DET.PL 3SG-move=3PL LOC root-CONS coconut different
 ‘He moved the goats, he moved them to a different coconut tree.’

6.4.2 Demonstratives. Ma’ea has demonstrative determiners as well as demonstrative pronouns. I present here demonstrative determiners. Demonstrative pronouns are described in section (3.2.3).

Three demonstrative determiners are found in the data: *nele*, *(a)ro*, and *nor(o)*, with corresponding plural forms. They are reported in the table 6.64.

These demonstratives do not form a three-way system commonly found in other languages representing the notions proximate-medial-distal (as in Tamambo Jauncey 1997:208). They refer to a spatial or temporal location whose proximal distance is either speaker-oriented (with their deictic meaning ‘here’ and ‘now’) or discourse-related.

Table 6.64: Demonstrative determiners

	Singular	Plural
This	nel(e)	neler(e)
This here	(a)ro	ror
This now	nor(o)	noror

(524) ref 06015.216-217

Na taro **nele** na-pete-duse=i...
 LOC time that 1SG-INCPT-think=TR
 ‘At that moment, I just realized ...’

(525) ref 06019.002

Taiña-n navaisesea **aro** mo-ńmata.
 father-CONS child this.here 3SG-dead
 ‘The father of this/the child here is dead.’

(526) ref 07030.004

Mo-valao mo-l-ńva na ńvanua **nor** te ne sa **nor**?
 3SG-run 3SG-IMPF-go LOC island here.now or but what here.now
 ‘He is running to this/the island here or what is this/here?’

One common formal characteristic the determiners share is their plural form, ending with [r]. It is likely that this [r] is the plural word *re*, shortened to [r] word finally. One obvious difference between the above demonstratives is their form. *Nele* contains the specific definite article *le*. The other two have *ro* in common, which is not, to my knowledge, a morpheme. The other difference is that the forms *aro* and *noror* also function as locational adverbs, as shown in (527) and (528) below, whereas the demonstrative *nel(e)(re)* is never found in this role.

(527) ref 07034.016
 Ki-r-ńa **aro** Ma'veja.
 1PL.EXCL-DL-come this.here Ma'veja
 'We came here, (to) Ma'veja.'

(528) ref 07022.122
 Rau-n mo-sa mo-avtai **nor** aulu.
 leaves-3SG.POSS 3SG-go.up 3SG-appear here.now above
 'Its leaves go up and appear here on top.'

The demonstrative determiners tend to refer to both a temporal and a spatial location (this, now, and here), but the spatial location need not be speaker-oriented. It is often discourse-oriented. In the following example, for instance, *aro* does not refer to a location in the proximity of the speaker. It refers anaphorically to an entity that has been previously mentioned in the text (*anan* 'party'). In Himmelmann's (1996:226) terminology, this is considered the "tracking use" of the deictic.

(529) ref 06041.003
 Re ńasi nirev ra-va na anan **aro**.
 PL bird.fish everyone 3PL-go LOC eat here
 'All the birds went to this party.'

Ror, *nor(o)(r)*, and *nelere* also refer anaphorically to earlier textual information. In the following examples, the referents of the NPs preceding the demonstratives have already been mentioned in the text.

(530) ref 07082.067
 Ro me ro tamlese **ror** i rua ...
 then FUT then old here.PL LIG two
 'Then, these two men here...'

(531) ref 07039.097
 Ra-l-an ineler **nelere**.
 3PL-IMPF-eat thing.PL these.PL
 'They are eating these things here.'

- (532) ref 06043.108
 Inor **nor** me i-tuen nno.
 thing.PL here.now FUT 3SG.IR-help 2SG
 ‘These things here will help you.’

Aro and *nele* can also be used as discourse deictic (Himmelman 1996:224-225) to refer to events or propositions in the discourse. In the following example, *aro* is a cataphoric discourse deictic: its reference is associated to a following discourse segment. The referent is “created at the very moment when this use occurs” (Himmelman 1996:224).

- (533) ref 06030.007
 Ululdun **aro** mo-’va pemel: . . .
 story here 3SG-go like.this
 ‘This story here goes like this: . . .’

In the next example, *nele* is an anaphoric discourse deictic that points to a temporal location in a narrative.

- (534) ref 06015.216-217
 Na taro **nele** na-pete-duse=i . . .
 LOC time this 1SG-INCPT-think=TR
 ‘At that moment, I just realized . . .’

As seen in section 3.2.3, *aro* and *nel(e)* can also be used as a demonstrative pronoun.

6.5 Plurality.

There are several ways to mark an NP as plural. These options are discussed in turn below.

- Reduplication of the noun
- Numerals, quantifiers, or plural determiner modifying the noun
- Plural affixes
- The plural maker *re* before a noun

As Blust (2005:220) notes, number marking in PAn is more commonly found with [+human] than [-human]. Lynch et al. (2002:37-8) also mention that Oceanic languages often display a hierarchy of animacy with regards to plurality: if a noun refers to an animate, it is more likely to be marked for plural.

In Ma'ŕea, the division is also between [+/- animate]: plurality on a [-animate] noun is optional. As seen below, the [-animate] noun *dam* 'yam' appears without modifiers, but is still cross-referenced on the verb with the plural agreement *ra-*.

- (535) ref 06016.016
Dam ra-stat, ra-l-ul.
yam 3PL-start 3PL-IMPF-grow
'The yams started growing.'

On the other hand, a [-animate] noun marked for plural can, but need not, license the subject plural agreement marker on the verb. In examples (536) to (538), the plural subject is not cross-referenced on the verb with the third person plural *ra-* but with the third person singular realis *mo-* and irrealis *i-*.

- (536) ref 07037.130
Inelere neler mo-l-tur ale.
thing.PL this.PL 3SG-IMPF-stand.up there
'These things are staying there.'

- (537) ref 07085.012
Maike **palo-ira mo-pal tamlo.**
some leg-3PL 3SG-like man
'Some, their legs are like a man's.'

- (538) ref 07082.181
Nir varvari i-řa lap re famly nirev.
3PL small.PL 3SG.IR-go DAT PL family everyone
'The small (things) will go to all the families.' (Lit: Them small)

In comparison, in examples (539) and (540), the subject agreement marker is the third person plural *ra-*.

(539) ref 07085.013
 Maike **palo-ira ra-pal** manki.
 some leg-3PL 3PL-like monkey
 ‘Some, their legs are like a monkey.’

(540) ref 07048.037
Re ineike ra-noa.
 PL thing.PL 3PL-cooked
 ‘The things are cooked.’

A [-animate] noun is also not necessarily cross-referenced with plural object clitic on the verb, as in (541) compared with (542).

(541) ref 07083.020
 na **nila i rua** [ma mo-nile=**a**]
 LOC nail LIG two COMP 3SG-nail=3SG
 ‘on the two nails that he nailed (it)’

(542) ref 07085.009
Re inoror [ma na-one=**ra** na nunua ro] ...
 PL thing.PL COMP 1SG-look=3PL LOC picture here
 ‘(The) things that I see (them) on the picture here...’

More examples are needed to determine whether plurality is optional with [+animate, -human]. The noun *viriu* ‘dog’ below is used with the numeral *i rua* ‘two’ and plurality is marked on the verb.

(543) ref 07069.037
Viriu lere i rua ra-r-lo-ńmereng sa le?
 dog DET.PL LIG two 3PL-DL-IMPf-bark what DET
 ‘What are these two dogs barking at?’

When [+human] nouns are marked for plural, cross-referencing is obligatory. There are no attested examples where a [+human] noun is not cross-referenced on the verb with a plural subject.

(544) ref 07037.063
Tamlese lere ra-sa.
 elder DET.PL 3PL-go.up
 ‘These elders went up.’

(545) Constructed example
***Tamlese lere mo-sa.**
 elder DET.PL 3SG-go.up

Bearing these facts in mind, in the rest of this section I will illustrate the different means used to mark a noun as plural.

6.5.1 Noun reduplication. In the following example, the reduplicated noun *palpala* ‘beds’ is plural, as indicated by the fact that the beds are counted.

(546) ref 06016.015
 Ro ra-r-ŵe **pal~pala-n** dam, **aite** na uta sa-n
 then 3P-DL-make RED~bed-CONS yam one LOC garden CLF.LOC-CONS
 ǃao, **aite** na uta sa-n ǃilae.
 swamphen one LOC garden CLF.LOC-CONS plover
 ‘Then they made yam beds, one in the swamphen’s garden, one in the plover’s garden.’

Reduplication is treated in detail in chapter 4.

6.5.2 Numerals, quantifiers, and determiners. Most common nouns do not inflect for number (but see below for a subset of common nouns which does). Plurality is marked with a numeral, a quantifier, or a plural determiner, as shown in (547) to (549), respectively.

(547) ref 07039.032
 Ro ra-riv na vitu ro **i rua** .
 then 3PL-plant LOC moon here LIG two
 ‘Then, they plant (yams) during these two months here.’

(548) ref 07085.053
 Udu-na **maike ra-l-rere.**
 tooth-3SG.POSS some 3PL-IMPF-show
 ‘Some of his teeth are showing.’

(549) ref 07075.039-040
 Umim, vul~vuluna eře-m **lere ra-voko** i-ev.
 beard-2SG RED~hair-3SG.POSS body-2SG.POSS DET.PL 3PL-white 3SG.IR-finish
 ‘These beard and body hairs of yours will be all white.’

6.5.3 Plural affixes. There are two types of nouns which inflect for plural: kinship terms and the common noun *inao* ‘thing’.

6.5.3.1 Kinship terms. Plurality on kinship terms is indicated by the prefix *na-*, as shown below.

(550) ref 06007.200
 Ra-r-řeře **na-natu rarua** i l(i)ńarřetol.
 3PL-DL-father PL-child 3PL.two LIG eight
 ‘They fathered their eight children.’

(551) ref 06025.005
 Weře rar vomae, ra-r-var **na-ńarau rarua** ...
 pigeon 3PL.DL dove 3PL-DL-tell PL-wife 3PL.two
 ‘Pigeon and Dove said to their two wives ...’

6.5.3.2 Inao ‘thing’. The common noun *inao* ‘thing’ is unspecified for number. It can be used to refer to a singular entity when modified by *aite* ‘one’, or it can refer to plural as shown below in (553), where it is modified by *i řati* ‘four’.

(552) ref 07086.017
Inao vaise aite mo-valao.
 thing small one 3SG-run
 ‘A small thing ran.’

- (553) ref 07081.060
 inao **i v̄ati**
 thing LIG four
 ‘four things’

The noun *inao* ‘thing’ can also function as a root to which a determiner (and possibly quantifiers) attaches to form the following nouns:

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---------------|---------|------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| (554) | Inaite | [<i>inao</i> | ‘thing’ | + <i>aite</i> | ‘one’] | ‘something, one thing’ |
| | Inel(e) | [<i>inao</i> | ‘thing’ | + <i>nele</i> | ‘this’] | ‘this thing’ |
| | Inor(o) | [<i>inao</i> | ‘thing’ | + <i>noror</i> | ‘this.here’] | ‘this thing here’ |
| | Inatar | [<i>inao</i> | ‘thing’ | + ? <i>tara</i> | ‘thousand’] | ‘things’ |
| | Ineler(e) | [<i>inao</i> | ‘thing’ | + <i>nelere</i> | ‘these’] | ‘these things’ |
| | Inoror | [<i>inao</i> | ‘thing’ | + <i>noror</i> | ‘these.here’] | ‘these things here’ |
| | Ineike | [<i>inao</i> | ‘thing’ | + ? <i>maike</i> | ‘some’] | ‘some things, few things’ |

The nouns *inaite*, *inel(e)*, and *inor(o)* have a singular reference. They can only be (optionally) modified with a singular determiner.

- (555) ref 06015.078
 Na-on **inaite** mo-voko mo-ńa.
 1SG-look thing 3SG-white 3SG-come
 ‘I saw that one white thing came.’

- (556) ref 06021.015
Inel nel mo-isat.
 thing this 3SG-bad
 ‘This thing is bad.’

- (557) ref 06043.108
Inor nor me i-tuen nno.
 thing here.now FUT 3SG.IR-help 2SG
 ‘This thing here will help you.’

Examples (556) and (557) above (and (559) below) also demonstrate that the nouns and their determiners “agree”, so that an NP such as **inele nor* is unattested.

The nouns *inatar*, *inel(e)*, and *inoror* are specified as plural. They are (optionally) modified by plural determiners, so that a form such as **inatar le* is unattested.

- (558) ref 07039.089
 Ra-an **inatar lere neler.**
 3PL-eat thing.PL DET.PL this.PL
 ‘They eat these things.’
- (559) ref 07048.030
 Ra-vol **inelere neler** ra-tur pos ra-ńńa.
 3PL-buy thing.PL this.PL 3PL-stand.up turn 3PL-come
 ‘They bought all these things, they turned and came back.’
- (560) ref 07081.040
 Na-ńe **inoror i ńvati.**
 1SG-make things LIG four
 ‘I do these four things here.’
- (561) ref 07085.009
Re inoror ma na-one=**ra** na nunua ro ...
 PL thing.PL COMP 1SG-look=3PL LOC picture here
 ‘The things that I see (them) on the picture here...’

Cross-referencing plurality on the verb or a clitic is, however, optional with [-animate] nouns, as indicated above. Thus, the noun *inatar* below is referred in the relative clause by the third person singular clitic *a*, despite its plural reference.

- (562) ref 07081.084
 Tankiu talsea ńńatan **inatar** ma kańńim ki-ńe=i=**a.**
 thanks very COMP thing.PL COMP 2PL 2PL-make=TR=3SG
 ‘Thank you very much for the things that you did (it).’

The noun *ineike* is found once in the corpus with a clear singular referent. The story (narrated by a young speaker) is about a man and a demon creature. The creature is referred to as *ineike* below.

- (563) ref 07065.077
 Taro-n ma **ineike mo-tete...**
 time-3SG.POSS COMP thing 3SG-fly
 ‘(At) the time when the thing flew...’

Other examples of *ineike* refer to plural referents, although plurality is confounded by the fact that it is optionally encoded, as noted above.

- (564) ref 07048.077
 Ra-son **re ineike** mo-ʻa mo-ev.
 3PL-put.inside PL thing.PL 3SG-go 3SG-finish
 ‘They put the things inside until it was completed.’

- (565) ref 07080.065
 Ro taʻma-n Eileen mo-ʻma mo-tikel **ineike** ma ki-tau=**a**.
 then father-CONS Eileen 3SG-come 3SG-reach thing.PL COMP 1PL.EXCL-put=3SG
 ‘Then Eileen’s father comes and touches the things that we put (it).’

More research is needed here to understand the distribution of the noun *inao* ‘thing’ and its derivatives.

6.5.4 Plural marker *re*. We have seen in the previous section that the plural marker *re* is suffixed to determiners to indicate plurality. The same morpheme is also found in pre-nominal position, with [+/- human] nouns, as shown below.

- (566) ref 06015.182
Re weti ra-ravutu evui.
 PL vein 3PL-broken all
 ‘The veins are all broken.’

- (567) ref 07067.012
 Mo-sop **re ʻvae ror**.
 3SG-follow PL tree here.PL
 ‘He followed the hibiscus trees here.’

(568) ref 07082.149
 Kańim ev, **re ulvo** tuan **re tamlese**
 2PL finish PL young with PL old
 ‘you all, the young ones with the elders’

(569) ref 07081.043
 Na-ńe **re inoror** mo-ńa lape=ra.
 1SG-make PL thing.PL 3SG-go DAT=3PL
 ‘I do these things for them.’

There is a puzzling usage of *re* in the corpus, reported in (570), that I will not investigate at this point. *Re* appears between two nouns in a possessive relation.

(570) ref 07085.028
 Varango-n **re** pil~pili-na ra-r-ńarav.
 finger-CONS PL RED~hand-3SG.POSS 3PL-DL-long
 ‘The fingers of his hands are long.’

The position of *re* in the corpus suggests that it indicates plurality on (in)definite nouns that are specific/referential.

In the following three examples, only an indefinite and referential reading is possible.

(571) ref 06006.011
 Ko-ńa, ko-ńa ńalu-n **re tamlo** ra-one=a. . .
 2SG-go 2SG-go with-3SG.POSS PL man 3PL-look=3SG
 ‘You go, you go with it, men see it. . .’

A non-referential reading of *tamlo* ‘man’ in (571) would be understood as ‘human beings’, which is clearly not the intended reading. Similarly below, if *tamlese* ‘elders’ was non-referential, the narrator would refer to the class of [+elder, +human beings], but in this example he only refers to those people who used to live on Mańea.

(572) ref 07067.002

Io amma **re tamlese ra-l-to** aulu.

yes before PL old 3PL-IMPF-stay above

‘Yes, before, old men were living above.’ (above, that is, in the bush, as opposed to now, by the sea)

Last, in (573), *re manmerika* does not refer to the class of all American people, but only to a subset of military personnel during World War II.

(573) ref 07037.007

Na ma **re manmerika ra-outem** kañim aro.

LOC COMP PL manmerika 3PL-kick.out 2PL here

‘At (the time) when Americans kicked you out (from) here.’

Re does not occur with negation or the conditional mood, contexts where a non-referential reading is possible. In order to mark as plural an indefinite, non-specific noun, the quantifier *te(a)* ‘some’ is used or a bare noun, such as *tamlo* ‘people’ as shown below. Both are cross-referenced with plural agreement on the verb.

(574) ref 06041.041-042

Tamlo ra-mo-rong ra-on otoli-ku, **te ra-mo-rong** ra-mo-an
man 3PL-COND-feel 3PL-look egg-1SG.POSS some 3PL-COND-feel 3PL-COND-eat
nna. . .
3SG

‘If people want to see my egg, if some (people) want to eat it, . . .’

Lynch et. al. (2002:37) mention that “an unmarked noun can usually be used to express both singular and plural meanings.” In Mañea, there is only one [+human] noun which can be construed as singular or plural without modifiers, the noun *tamlo* ‘man’. When it is cross-referenced with a singular agreement marker, it refers to a man, as in (575). The plural ‘men’ is formed with the addition of the plural marker *re*, as shown in (576).

- (575) ref 05001.040
 Ro ra-r-to ro **tamlo mo**-la^v=i=a mo-tikou=a.
 then 3PL-DL-stay then man 3SG-take=TR=3SG 3SG-marry=3SG
 ‘Then they stayed, then the man took her, he married her.’
- (576) ref 07068.137
 Ko-describem **re tamlo**.
 2SG-describe PL man
 ‘Describe the men.’

When *tamlo* ‘man’ (used without *re*) is cross-referenced with a plural agreement marker, it refers to the generic non-specific noun ‘people’.

- (577) ref 06005a.019
 Pua ro ra-^{ve} ^ńatan **tamlo ra**-adi vle tuan.
 knife here 3PL-make COMP man 3PL-can climb with
 ‘This knife here, they make (it) so that people can climb with (it).’

Note that a bare noun in object position can be ambiguous between a generic reading, and an existential plural reading similar to ‘some’.²⁸

- (578) ref 06020.002
 Ari^{vi} mo-var vomae mo-v: ‘Me ro da-r-sua da-r-sa
 rat 3SG-tell dove 3SG-say FUT then 1PL.INCL-DL-paddle 1PL.INCL-DL-go.up
 na ^vanua vaise aite, da-r-alal **ńasi**.’
 LOC island small one 1PL.INCL-DL-search fish
 ‘Rat said to Dove: ‘We will paddle up to a small island and look for fish.’’

In (578), the rat invites the dove to go fishing. The NP *ńasi* ‘fish’ does not refer to a pre-existing representation of a fish: it is not a specific fish they want to catch. On a generic reading, the speaker’s intent is solely to refer to the notion of ‘fish’, as in *to go fish-searching*. On an existential reading, the speaker invites his addressee to look for some fish.

²⁸Although, according to Carlson (1977:428-9) the “plural use of \emptyset NP is not to be distinguished from its generic uses.”

6.6 Adjectives.

6.6.1 Placement. As can be seen from the examples below, adjectives in Ma'ŕea follow the noun they modify. An adjective denoting value, such as *du* 'good' precedes *vaise* 'small' denoting dimension.

- (579) ref 07033.002
Song mo-sua na aka **du vaise** aite.
Jean 3SG-paddle LOC canoe good small one
'Jean paddles with a small good canoe.'

An adjective denoting color such as *viria* 'black' precedes the adjective *lavoa* 'big' denoting dimension.

- (580) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
Kou **viria lavoa** mo-tamlesea.
fowl black big 3SG-old
'The big black fowl is old.'

In the corpus, two adjectives at most can follow the head noun. My youngest consultant offered the following phrase with three adjectives, in the order color>age>dimension.

- (581) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
ńasi **ara tamlesea lavoa** aite
bird red old big one
'a big red old bird'

This phrase contrasts with example (580) above, elicited from an older consultant. In her example, there are only two adjectives used as modifiers.

6.6.2 Plural adjectives. Four adjectives denoting dimension are specified for number. *Valavoa* and *vaitina* both mean 'big', but they contrast in number. *Vaitina* is always associated with a plural reference; *valavoa* is singular.

- (582) ref 07022.093
 na pere-n vuae **vaitina** lere
 LOC branch-CONS tree big.PL DET.PL
 ‘on the big tree branches’
- (583) ref 06018.013
 Nno, laso-m **valavoa**, ma nao vaisesea.
 2SG penis-2SG.POSS big.SG COMP 1SG small
 ‘You, your penis (is) big. (The one) that (is) mine (is) small.’

Similarly, *vaisesea* and *varvari* both mean ‘small’. *Varvari* is the plural equivalent of the singular *vaisesea*.

- (584) ref 06043.127
 na ʔanua **varvari** lere
 LOC island small DET.PL
 ‘on these small islands’
- (585) ref 06014.022
 na ʔanua **vaisesea** aite
 LOC island small one
 ‘on a small island’

6.7 Quantifiers.

Quantifiers are defined as noun modifiers indicating quantity or scope (see for example Schachter and Shopen 2007:37).

The following lexemes are considered to be quantifiers in Maʔea: *maike* ‘some’, *ev(ui)* ‘all, every’, *paparao* ‘all’, *te(a)* ‘some(one), any(one)’, *tuana* ‘plenty, lots’, and *iʔisa* ‘how much/many’.

The quantifier *maike* ‘some’ can be used with mass and count nouns.

- (586) ref 06044.020
Ra-la wine **maike** tuan dry gin.
3PL-take wine some with dry gin
‘They took some wine with dry gin.’

- (587) ref 07067.040
Re tamlese ro, **maike** ra-anan apu vataolo.
PL old here some 3PL-eat fire different
‘The men here, some eat (at) a different fire.’

The word *ev(ui)* functions as a verb, an aspect marker indicating completion (described in chapter 9). It also functions as the quantifier ‘all’ when it occurs after a personal pronoun, as below.

- (588) ref 06015.004-012
Na fraede, kañnam **evu**, kañnatol tata, papa, u, Mosela, Moltas, Tavon,
LOC Friday 1PL.EXCL finish 1PL.PCL mom dad uh Mosela Moltas Tavon
Vodal, ki-si alao.
Vodal 1PL.EXCL-go.down sea.shore
‘On Friday, we all, me, mom, dad, hmm, Mosela, Moltas, Tavon, Vodal, we went
down to the sea.’

Ev(ui) may also attach to two personal pronouns *nira* ‘3PL’ and *nida* ‘1PL.INCL’. Note that the first person plural inclusive pronoun is *ida*. However, this form is sometimes pronounced as *nida* by younger speakers.

- (589) ref 07082.116
tamlo **nirev**
man 3PL.all
‘all the men’

- (590) ref 07082.129
 Ro **nidev** da-ria laʋ=i=a.
 then 1PL.INCL.all 1PL.INCL-must take=TR=3SG
 ‘Then we must all take it.’

The quantifier *paparao* ‘all, full’ differs from *ev(ui)* in that it indicates completion of a unit of time.

- (591) Elicitation, 2007, SLL.
 Mo-(*)-usa siao **paparao**.
 3SG-IMPF-rain year all
 ‘It rained one full year.’

There is only one example of *paparao* in the texts, where it modifies a predicate.

- (592) ref 06015.109
 Tasi na puru-ku mo-ara **paparao**.
 sea LOC back-1SG.POSS 3SG-red all
 ‘The sea behind me was all red.’

We saw in the previous sections that the quantifier *te(a)* appears before the noun, whereas all other modifiers occur after the noun. In pre-nominal position, *te(a)* ‘any’ is always in the scope of negation or the irrealis mood.

- (593) ref 06042.101
 Mo-sopo **te** ina isat.
 3SG-NEG some thing bad
 ‘Nothing is wrong.’ (Lit: there is not any/some bad thing.)

This quantifier is seldom found in post-nominal position, where it becomes partitive.

- (594) ref 06042.102
 Nao na-sav apu mʻatan me pal kaʻnim **tea** ki-lavoa ki-mʻa.
 1SG 1SG-light fire COMP FUT like 2PL some 2PL-big 2PL-come
 ‘I lit a fire so that like, some/any of you (who) are big would come.’

The quantifier *tuana* ‘plenty, lots’ modifies nouns and pronouns.

- (595) ref 06022.006
 Nir **tuana**, ra-to tuan dir~dirong ra-dirong pua ro, **tuana**
 3PL plenty 3PL-stay with RED~drum 3PL-beat bamboo then plenty
 ra-l-sava.
 3PL-IMPF-dance
 ‘A lot of them remain with the drum, they beat the bamboo, then plenty were
 dancing.’

The following lexeme *iʋisa* ‘how much, how many’ is an interrogative pronoun (see chapter 13). It can also be interpreted as a quantifier or an indefinite pronoun.

- (596) ref 07082.109
 Nno ko-v ko-mo-la **te iʋisa**, ale...
 2SG 2SG-say 2SG-COND-take some how.much then
 ‘You, if you want to take whatever number, then...’

- (597) ref 06044.037-038
 Re ʋaʋina tuan re tamlese maike ma ra-l-to, nir **iʋisa**
 PL female with PL old some COMP 3PL-IMPF-stay 3PL how.much
 ra-l-to ro ra-ntao.
 3PL-IMPF-stay then 3PL-afraid
 ‘Some women and men that were remaining, how many of them were remaining,
 then they were afraid.’

Last, there are a few lexemes indicating a defined quantity, which are all based on the numeral *aite* ‘one’: *taitē* ‘one’, *aitenge* ‘(only/exactly) one’, *taitenge* ‘(only/exactly) one out of a group’, and *mataitenge* ‘a few’.

Both *aitenge* and *taitē* mean ‘one’. It seems that the main difference between the two is that *taitē* (which is possibly composed of *te* and *aite*) is non-referential, as it is found with irrealis mood and in negative sentences. *Aitenge* on the other hand is only used with realis.

- (598) ref 06044.032
 Mo-sopo-ííe-lo **taitē** i-to.
 3SG-NEG-IT-IMPF one 3SG.IR-stay
 ‘Not one remains.’

- (599) ref 06035.051
 Ra-on v́atal **aitenge** si na mo-ulua.
 3PL-look banana one exactly only 3SG-grow
 ‘They saw (that) exactly only one banana grew.’
- (600) ref 07085.075
 Rarua ra-r-sev na vuae **aitenge**.
 3PL.DL 3PL-DL-hang LOC tree one
 ‘They hang to only one tree.’
- (601) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
Taitenge na i-ma i-sasa no-ku!
 one only 3SG.IR-come 3SG.IR-work CLF-1SG
 ‘Only one would come work for me!’
- (602) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Amma ta-ma’ve ra-l-to aulu. Na konro **mataitenge** ra-lolo
 before CLF.from-ma’vea 3PL-IMP-stay above but now few 3PL-stay
 aulu, tuana ra-to alao.
 above plenty 3PL-live sea.shore
 ‘Before denizens of Ma’vea lived above (~in the bush). But now only few live above,
 plenty stay by the sea.’

More research is needed in this area of the grammar to understand the exact difference between these forms.

7 Possession

Oceanic languages distinguish direct and indirect possession. Nouns are divided into two classes and different possessive constructions are used for each class. Some nouns take a possessive suffix and are used in direct possessive constructions. Indirect possession is expressed by the presence of a classifier to which a possessive suffix is attached (see for example Ross 2004:512).

Ma'vea also distinguishes between these two types of possession. Direct possession is marked directly on the possessed noun, as we shall see in section 7.1. Indirect possession (presented in section 7.2) is marked with one of six classifiers. In section 7.3, I compare the Ma'vea possessive system to the POc system reconstructed in Ross 2004. Section 7.4 discusses the flexibility that a noun may have while participating in several possessive constructions (as is the case in other Oceanic languages, Lynch et al. 2002:42). There also exists in Ma'vea a set of possessive predicates. They are described in section 7.5. Last, we will see how possession and benefaction overlap in section 7.6.

7.1 Direct possession.

7.1.1 Nouns directly possessed. It is difficult to define with precision the semantic classes of nouns participating in direct possessive constructions. They include: body parts and bodily functions (e.g. life, age, breath, blood, saliva, cry, idea, louse, voice, and illness), kinship terms (such as father, mother, and also including personal name and the noun *aruua* 'friend'), articles of clothing, and household goods (such as bed, pillow, door, fire wood).

Direct possession is expressed by a possessive suffix attached to the noun when the possessor is not expressed as an NP. Alternatively, if no suffix exists for the person and number of the possessor (see table 7.65 below), the nouns are followed by an independent pronoun (as in (606)). Some examples follow.

- (603) ref 07043.011
Lalao-na mo-si mo-ʋa.
 saliva-3SG.POSS 3SG-go.down 3SG-go
 ‘Her saliva was hanging down.’
- (604) ref 06031.012
 Kou mo-v: **arua-ku**, nno ko-l-to, nao ka-ńe-l-tapula.
 fowl 3SG-say friend-1SG.POSS 2SG 2SG-IMPf-stay 1SG 1SG.IR-IT-IMPf-return
 ‘Fowl said: ‘My friend, you stay here, I will go back.’”
- (605) ref 06006.020
 Na-vir **suni-ku**.
 1SG-throw hat-1SG.POSS
 ‘I threw my hat.’
- (606) ref 07077.022
 Na-perpero apu **talio darua**.
 1SG-forget wood fire 1PL.INCL.DL
 ‘I forgot our firewood.’
- (607) ref 06019.019
 Mo-v i-kil sa **pere-na**, mo-on dumana aulu.
 3SG-say 3SG.IR-look go.up branch-3SG.POSS 3SG-see plenty above
 ‘He looked up at its branch, he saw plenty above.’

7.1.2 Non-pronominal possessors. We have seen above examples of directly possessed nouns, where the possessor assumes the form of a possessive suffix. If the possessor is expressed by a full NP instead, the possessee takes the suffix *-n*, also pronounced *-na* though rarely. This suffix is also found to indicate whole-part relationships.

In the literature on POc and PAn, a possessive suffix that occurs between two nouns is termed a genitive phrase marker (Blust 2005:215), a possessive marker (Pawley and Sabaya 1990:148), a construct suffix (François 2002:96, Hyslop 2001:166, Lynch et al. 2002:41), or a possessive linker (Jauncey 1997:240). I will use the term “construct suffix” throughout.

It is not uncommon in Oceanic languages for the construct suffix to have the same form as the third person singular possessive suffix (Lynch et al. 2002:41). This is the

case in Maŵea. The third person singular possessive suffix is *-na*. It is also pronounced [n] like the construct suffix, even when the possessor is not expressed as an NP. Despite their homophony (and possible common origin), these two bound morphemes have different distributions, as we will see below (in section 7.2).

In the following examples, the possessed nouns are a kinship term and a body part in (608), and a name in (609). Whole-part relations are presented in (610) and (611). Note that it is always the case that the possessor NP follows the possessee.

(608) ref 06031.033
Natu-n vomae mo-sa mo-sakel na **patu-n** kou.
 child-CONS dove 3SG-go.up 3SG-sit LOC head-CONS fowl
 ‘Dove’s child went up and sat on Fowl’s head.’

(609) ref 06045.267
 Ra-tau **ese-n** Piria.
 3PL-put name-CONS wild.yam
 ‘They named it Piria.’(Lit: they put piria’s name to it)

(610) ref 06024.016
 Ka-ŵa ka-song **mallu-n** aŵa-m.
 1SG.IR-go 1SG.IR-hide under-CONS wing-2SG.POSS
 ‘I will go hide under your wing.’

(611) ref 06019.023
 Mo-l-sa aulu sur **pere-n** vavrui.
 3SG-IMPF-go.up above about branch-CONS tree.sp
 ‘He went up for the ‘vavrui’ tree’s branch.’

Possession is recursive. In the following elicited example, the nouns *vulu-* ‘hair’ is directly possessed by *vanatu-* ‘daughter’, who is in turn directly possessed by *John*. Both possesseees take the construct suffix *-n*.

(612) Elicitation, 2005, PVM.
vulu-n vanatu-n John
 hair-CONS daughter-CONS John
 ‘John’s daughter’s hair’

7.1.3 Possessive suffixes. Possessive suffixes and free forms (in bold face) presented in chapter 3 are repeated below. The free forms are identical to subject and object independent pronouns.

Table 7.65: Possessive suffixes and pronouns

Person	Number			
	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal/trial
1INCL	-ku	-(i)da	darua/o	datol
1EXCL		-m̄am	-m̄amrua/o	-m̄amtol
2	-m	-m̄im	-mrua/o	-mtol
3	-n(a)	-(i)ra	raru/a/o	ratol

As noted above, a noun which is directly possessed takes a possessive suffix matching the possessor's features.

- (613) ref 06016.050
 Ka-deo madia ro me ko-on **tae-ku.**
 1SG.IR-defecate first then FUT 2SG-look excrement-1SG.POSS
 'I will defecate first, then you will look at my excrement.'

In case there is no possessive suffix available, the possessive pronoun directly follows the possessee.

- (614) ref 06016.040
 Da-r-on **tae** **daruo.**
 1PL.INCL-DL-look excrement 1PL.INCL.DL
 'We will look at our excrement.'

7.2 Indirect possession.

Nouns used in indirect possessive constructions do not take a possessive suffix. They require a classifier to which a possessive (or construct) suffix is attached. Classifiers highlight a property of the possessed object, which is given prominence in the structure (See for example Croft 2003:37).

There are six classifiers in Ma'vea:

- (615) *a-* 'to be eaten'
ma- 'to be drunk'
no- 'general possession, valuables'
pula- 'animal raised, vegetable planted'
sa- 'housing and land'
ṛadoue- 'a dead man's possession'

The classifiers *a-*, *ma-*, and *no-* are reflexes of the POc classifiers *ka- 'food', *m^(w)a 'drink', and *na- 'general' (Lichtenberk 2002:445-6, Lynch et al. 2002:77). These classifiers are also found in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:235), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:176), and Araki (François 2002:98).

The Ma'vea classifier *pula-* also has cognates in these three languages: *bula-* 'living things that one owns' in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:235), *bula-* 'natural or valued object possession' in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:176), and *p(u)la-* 'economical possession' in Araki (François 2002:98). According to Jauncey (1997:225), the classifier *bula-* is found in several other languages of Vanuatu: in Mota, spoken in the Banks, in Raga (Pentecost), Tangoa (South Santo), and Ṽao (Malakula), but not in Mwotlap also spoken in the Banks (see François 2001) nor in South Efate (Thieberger 2004).

The other two classifiers *sa-* and *ṛadoue-* do not have cognates in Tamambo, Araki, and Lolovoli, the languages most closely related to Ma'vea. Jauncey (1997:249) notes the existence of a classifier in Tamambo used for a dead man's possession, but its form *koru-* is not related to Mavea's *ṛadoue-*.

Each classifier will be addressed separately in the following sections.

7.2.1 A- The classifier *a-* infers that the item possessed is meant to be eaten.

- (616) ref 05001.051
 Ko-song oroto a-ṛam.
 2SG-split fruit.SP CLF.EAT-1PL.EXCL
 'Split our fruit (*Barringtonia edulis*) (to eat).'

As the examples show, the classifier follows the noun phrase and acts as a noun modifier. We will see in section 7.5 below that the classifier precedes the noun if the noun is used predicatively.

(617) ref 06016.058
 Ko-avanao **dam a**-ku.
 2SG-steal yam CLF.EAT-1SG.POSS
 ‘You stole my yam (to eat).’

(618) ref 05001.069
 Mo-vir **loko a**-na.
 3SG-throw laplap CLF.EAT-3SG.POSS
 ‘She threw his laplap (to eat).’

If the possessor is a full NP, the classifier is marked with the construct suffix *-n*. This is shown in example (619) below.

(619) ref 07080.057
 Nira ra-ře inanan vaisesea **a-n** **re famli**.
 3PL 3PL-make food small CLF.eat-CONS PL family
 ‘They make a small party for the families (to eat).’

These examples confirm that the suffix *-n* is not a third singular possessive suffix. Recall that a possessive suffix must agree in person and number with the possessor. Here, the possessor is plural (*re famli* ‘the families’), but the construct suffix is invariably *-n*.

7.2.2 *Ma-* This classifier indicates that the possessed item is to be drunk.

(620) Elicitation, 2005, PVM.
 Mo-ling wae maike **ma**-ku.
 3SG-pour water some CLF.drink-1SG.POSS
 ‘He poured me some water.’ (Lit: my water to drink)

7.2.3 *No-*. According to Jauncey (1997:224, 236) *no-* in Tamambo denotes ownership (of inanimate objects), passive ownership (of language, birth), and experiencer (of an emotion or attitude). In Araki (François 2002:99) and Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:180), *no-* is also a general classifier with a range of functions including traditional ownership of objects and work. In Ma’vea, *no-* is the most generic classifier. It serves a wide range of functions.

It is used to indicate ownership of valuable property such as a knife, a canoe, a spear, or a pig.

(621) ref 06016.013

Ro ra-r-la pua **no** rarua.
 then 3PL-DL-take knife CLF 3PL.DL
 ‘Then they took their knives.’

(622) ref 06026.013

Mo-si na aka du **no-na** ro, mo-sua mo-tapula.
 3SG-go.down LOC canoe good CLF-3SG.POSS then 3SG-paddle 3SG-return
 ‘He went down to his canoe, then paddled and returned.’

(623) ref 07064.021

Mo-v varava **no-na**.
 3SG-say pig CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘He said it was his pig.’

The type of valuable property that *no-* classifies need not be tangible. Ownership of knowledge and of a story is also marked with *no-*. It is customary to hear the following example at the end of a narrative.

- (624) ref 06027.033
 Avonana-n ululdunia **no**-ku noro.
 end-CONS story CLF-1SG.POSS now.here
 ‘Here is the end of my story.’

No- is also used to refer to (respected) individuals, in which case it does not really entail ownership. In this example, the possessor does not own the possessee *tija* ‘teacher’.

- (625) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Tamlo le tija **no**-ku.
 person DET teacher CLF-1SG.POSS
 ‘This man is my teacher.’

Last, the classifier *no-* is also used to define one’s activities or tools related to one’s activity.

- (626) ref 06034.019
 Ro sasa **no**-n ta-ma’vea...
 then work CLF-CONS denizen-Ma’vea
 ‘Then, the work of Ma’vea men...’

- (627) ref 07028.002
 Ko-rong ko-mo-sa pala-n kavura **no**-n Jonsin...
 2SG-feel 2SG-COND-go.up bed-CONS copra CLF-CONS Jonsin
 ‘If you want to go to Jonsin’s copra bed...’

This last example also shows that the classifier takes the construct suffix *-n* when the possessor is non-pronominal.

7.2.4 *Pula-*. The classifier *pula-* is used mainly to mark the possession of fruits or vegetables one cultivates, or an animal one wishes to raise. *Pula-* does not surface in the data with other noun types (such as ornaments, tools, etc)

In the following example, a woman finds a prawn and decides to feed it everyday.

- (628) ref 06036.005
 Mo-v ura ro ura **pula**-na.
 3SG-say prawn here prawn CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘She said that this prawn here was her prawn.’

This next example demonstrates the use of *pula-* with cultivated goods. Note that the classifier is suffixed with the construct morpheme *-n*.

- (629) ref 07028.011
 Lolo-n kakao tuan ímatiu **pula**-n Setrak.
 inside-CONS cacao with coconut CLF-CONS Setrak
 ‘Inside the cacao and coconut (plantations) of Setrak.’

7.2.5 Sa- The classifier *sa* is used specifically with possession of land and housing. It is not associated in the corpus with other nouns.

- (630) ref 06020.014
 Ka-sivo na ívanua **sa** da-rua, na nno?
 1SG.IR-go LOC island CLF.LOC 1PL.INCL-DL but 2SG
 ‘I’m going to our island, but you?’

- (631) ref 06036.029
 Mo-sa aul aima **sa**-na.
 3SG-go.up above home CLF.LOC-3SG.POSS
 ‘He went up to his home.’

- (632) ref 06016.012
 Me ro da-r-íva da-r-vuso uta **sa**-ku.
 FUT then 1PL.INCL-DL-go 1PL.INCL-DL-clear garden CLF.LOC-1SG.POSS
 ‘We will go clear my garden.’

When the possessor is expressed by an NP, this classifier takes the construct suffix *-n*.

- (633) ref 07028.007
 Mo-sa na ima **sa**-n Setrak.
 3SG-go.up LOC house CLF.LOC-CONS Setrak
 ‘He went up to Setrak’s house.’

This classifier has a restricted distribution. It is associated with the closed semantic noun class referring to housing and land, containing the following members:

- (634) **v̌anua** ‘island’ **vatano** ‘ground’
aima ‘home’ **ima** ‘house’
uta ‘garden’ **lolo** ‘inside, garden’

The noun *sara* ‘place’ was not found in the data with the classifier *sa-*. Instead this noun was used as to indicate a place to sleep or with the classifier *no-*. Nouns not referring to housing or land cannot be used with *sa-*. On the other hand, reference to houses and land may be made with other classifiers, as will be shown below.

7.2.6 *Ṁadue-*. This possessive classifier is used to refer to items belonging to a deceased person. I have very limited data on this classifier.

- (635) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
Upu **Ṁadue-n** John.
cloth CLF-CONS John
‘The clothes of the late John.’

7.3 Possession in POc and Maṽea.

According to Ross (2004:513), and Lynch et al. (2002:75-77), POc had several possessive constructions, summarized as follows:

Table 7.66: Possession in POc

Possession type	Possessee			Possessor
Direct	N		-*i	Personal Noun
Indirect	N	CLF	-*i	
Direct	N _[+human]		-*ñā	Specific
Indirect	N	CLF	-*ñā	
Direct	N		*qi	Non-specific
Indirect	N		*ni	

Personal noun possessors are preceded by the POc personal article *-i suffixed to the possessee in direct possessive constructions or suffixed to the classifier in indirect possessive constructions.

With specific possessors, the possessee in direct constructions or the classifier in indirect constructions is marked with the possessive suffix *-ña ‘3SG’. Note that, with specific possessors, (i) in direct constructions, if the possessee is N_[-human], the article *na appears before the possessor as in:

- (636) POc (Lynch et al. 2002:76)
 *a qaqe-ña **na** boRok
 DET leg-3SG DET pig
 ‘pig’s leg’

and that (ii) in indirect constructions, the orders [Possessee CLF-ña Possessor] and [CLF-ña Possessee Possessor] are both possible (Lynch et al. 2002:77).

While the same form is used for both direct and indirect possessive constructions when the possessor is a personal noun or a specific noun, different forms are used when the possessor is non-specific: non-specific possessors are preceded by the non-specific possessive particle *qi in direct possessive constructions (Lynch et al. 2002:76). In indirect possessive constructions, non-specific possessors are preceded by *ni, “a descendent of the Proto Malayo Polynesian indefinite genitive article” (Lynch et al. 2002:77). In this case, there is no classifier before *ni.

The remainder of this section demonstrates how these constructions are expressed in Ma’vea today. In a nutshell, the POc construction with *qi is expressed by the construct suffixes *-i* or *-n* in Ma’vea. All other POc possessive constructions have merged in Ma’vea. They are all expressed with the construct suffix *-n*.

7.3.1 Personal noun possessor. In POc, personal nouns were preceded by the article *i (Lynch et al. 2002:71). This article is also used when the personal noun is a possessor.

The article *i is suffixed to the possessee, or a classifier, as in the following examples, (adapted from Lynch et al. 2002:76-77).

(637) *a qaqe-i X
 DET leg-DET X
 ‘X’s leg’

(638) *a Rumaq na-i X
 DET house CLF-DET X
 ‘X’s house’

In Ma’vea, there is no equivalent article used before personal nouns. When a personal noun is used as possessor in a possessive construction, the noun or the classifier is marked with the construct suffix *-n-*.

(639) ref 06045.267
 Ra-tau **ese-n** **Piria.**
 3PL-put name-CONS wild.yam
 ‘They named it Piria.’ (Lit: they put piria’s name to it)

(640) ref 07028.011
 m̄atiu **pula-n** **Setrak**
 coconut CLF-CONS Setrak
 ‘the coconut (plantations) of Setrak’

7.3.2 Specific possessor. In POC, a noun or classifier is marked with the suffix **-ña* if the possessor is specific (Ross 2004:513). In Ma’vea, this suffix is realized as *-n*.

In the following example, the possessee (*ese-* ‘name’) is used in a direct possessive construction. The possessor (*m̄adoudua* ‘old woman’) is specific, as it is followed by a relative clause. The construct suffix *-n* is used on the possessed noun.

(641) ref 06007.179
 Mo-sol **ese-n** **m̄adoudua ma** mo-ta, ra-vol=i=a.
 3SG-name name-CONS old.woman COMP 3SG-from 3PL-buy=TR=3SG
 ‘He put the name of the old woman who came from, they bought (her).’

The following example contains the noun (*paoʋ* ‘grater’) used in an indirect possessive construction. It is followed by a classifier to which the construct suffix *-n* is attached. The classifier is then followed by a specific possessor, represented by a personal name.

- (642) ref 07054d.002
 Ko-laʋ paoʋ **no-n** Auntie Eileen.
 2SG-take grater CLF-CONS Auntie Eileen
 ‘Take Auntie Eileen’s grater.’

7.3.3 Non-specific possessor. In POc, a non-specific possessor is preceded by the morpheme **qi* in direct constructions, while the morpheme **ni* was used between the possessee and a non-specific possessor in indirect possessive constructions. As shown in table 7.66 above, no classifiers are reconstructed in this type of indirect possessive construction. In the following sections, I present data on (in)direct possessive constructions with non-specific possessors in Maʋea.

7.3.3.1 Non-specific possessor in indirect possessive constructions. As mentioned above (section 7.3), classifiers were not used in indirect possessive constructions with a non-specific possessor in POc. As the following example demonstrates, this is not the case in Maʋea. A classifier is used in this type of construction. The construct suffix *-n* is attached to the classifier.

- (643) ref 07070.044
 sios **no-n** male re
 church CLF-CONS this PL
 ‘their church’ (Lit: the church of these (people) there)

7.3.3.2 Non-specific possessor in direct possessive constructions. There are two possible constructions in Maʋea for non-specific possessors in direct possessive constructions: the construct suffixes *-n* and *-i*.

In most of the data, the suffix *-n* is added to possessee in a direct construction with a specific possessor (as seen in (642) above) or a non-specific possessor. In the following example, the noun phrase *peren vuae vaise aite* ‘a small branch’ is introduced in the text for the first time. The possessor is non-specific, the possessee is marked with *-n*.

- (644) ref 06020.054
 Mo-on **pere-n** **vuae vaise aite** mo-l-sala.
 3SG-see branch-CONS tree small one 3SG-IMPF-float
 ‘He saw a small branch (of a tree) floating.’

There is only a handful of examples in the corpus where *-i* is chosen with a non-specific possessor in a direct possessive construction. The following two examples originate from the same narrative. In this narrative, a character is instructed to go to an island, on which he will find a special tree. To refer to the tree the first time, the suffix *-i* is used, in addition to the indefinite determiner *aite* (see chapter 6).

- (645) ref 06004.005
 Ko-on **vu-i** **vuae aite**.
 2SG-see trunk-CONS tree one
 ‘You will see a tree.’ (Lit: a tree’s trunk)

The character then goes to the island, finds the tree, and climbs it. The tree is now specific and definite, thus it is now used with the construct *-n*.

- (646) ref 06004.007
 Mo-vle na **vu-n** **vuae**.
 3SG-climb LOC trunk-CONS tree
 ‘He climbed the tree.’

When the construct suffix *-i* is chosen (mostly by older speakers), the possessor is [-human]. There are no examples in the data of the construct suffix *-i* used with a [+human] possessor.

- (647) ref 05001.077
 Kańam **na-natu-i** mńalavua.
 1PL.EXCL PL-child-CONS mullet
 ‘We are mullet children.’
- (648) ref 07066.045
 Mo-si atano **mallu-i** maradi aite.
 3SG-go.down ground under-CONS stone one
 ‘He went down under a stone.’
- (649) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
natu-i sala
 child-CONS road
 ‘bastard (Lit: child of a road)’

There is one counterexample to the claim made above that the suffix *-i* is used in a direct construction with a non-specific possessor. The following example was taken at the end of a narrative about a taroa bird. This bird is clearly definite and specific in this example.

- (650) ref 06013.035
Natu-i taroa aite mo-avtai na sun.
 child-CONS bird.SP one 3SG-appear LOC hat
 ‘A child of the taroa bird appeared in the hat.’

It is possible that the use of *-i* with a specific possessor is a performance error, given that this is the only example of such a usage found in the corpus.

7.3.4 Summary. Based on the above examples, we can say that the following POc possessive constructions are collapsed in Mańea. They are all expressed with the suffix *-n*.

Table 7.67: Possession in POc expressed with *-n*

Possession type	Possessee			Possessor
Direct	N		-i	Personal Noun
Indirect	N	CLF	-i	
Direct	N		-ñā	Specific
Indirect	N	CLF	-ñā	
Indirect	N		ni	Non-specific

While this POc construction:

Table 7.68: Non-specific possessor

Possession type	Possessee		Possessor
Direct	N	qi	Non-specific

is expressed by *-i* or *-n* in Ma'vea. It is possible that the free POc morpheme *qi has been reanalyzed as the suffix *-i* in Ma'vea and as Ross (2004:514) notes, this reanalysis is a common feature of Central/Eastern Oceanic languages.

The semantic differences between the following two constructions in Ma'vea remain to be determined with precision:

- (651) NP-*n* NP
 NP-*i* NP

These constructions express direct possession. The first NP takes a bound possessive suffix, the second NP is non-specific. The differences between *-i* and *-n* may be due to the [-/+human] feature of the possessee. This remains to be further investigated.

7.4 Flexibility in the possessive system.

Some nouns appear in both direct and indirect possessive constructions; while other nouns may freely associate with a range of classifiers (depending on the relation between the

possessor and the possessee). Both cases are detailed in this section.

7.4.1 One noun, several classifiers. The choice of a classifier is dependent on two factors: (i) the type of noun that is possessed and (ii) the relation that the possessor entertains with the possessee. Regarding the first factor, there are a few semantic constraints on the pairing of a noun and a classifier, due to the fact that classifiers can be used metaphorically. Metaphorical extension of a classifier is widely attested in the Oceanic linguistic literature (Lichtenberk 1983b:170).

In the following examples, the possessed noun is *kou* ‘fowl’. It can be used with three different classifiers.²⁹

Animals offered as gifts or payment are marked with the classifier *no-*, which indicates a valued possession.

(652) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Me ka-vol te **kou** aite **no-m**.
FUT 1SG.IR-buy some fowl one CLF-2SG.POSS
‘I will buy a fowl for you (as gift).’

Animals that are to be eaten are classified with *a-*.

(653) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Me ka-vol te **kou** aite **a-m**.
FUT 1SG.IR-buy some fowl one CLF.eat-2SG.POSS
‘I will buy a fowl for you (to eat).’

Animals that one raises are used with *pula-*.

²⁹The possession-benefaction polysemy in examples (652) to (654) is due to the semantics of the verb and the non-specificity of the possessed noun. This polysemy is described in section 7.6 below. See also Lichtenberk 2002 and Margetts 2004.

- (654) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Me ka-vol te **kou** aite **pula-m**.
 FUT 1SG.IR-buy some fowl one CLF-2SG.POSS
 ‘I will buy a fowl for you (to raise).’

However, pigs are never used with *pula-* in the speech of older speakers, even to refer to pigs one raises. Young speakers (most of whom have not witnessed the raising, killing, or ceremonial offering of pigs) tend to use *pula-* with all animals and pigs as well, in an attempt to generalize the use of this classifier. A similar leveling process is found in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:238).

As we have seen, some nouns enjoy a certain freedom and can be associated with several classifiers, depending on the relation between the possessee and the possessor the speaker wishes to convey. However, the difference between the use of one classifier over another is not always clear, as we will see below.

The following four Ma’ŕea examples are taken from the same text. In the first two examples, the classifiers *no-* and *pula-* are used to describe a copra bed.

- (655) ref 07028.003
 na pala-n kavura **no-na**.
 LOC bed-CONS copra CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘at his copra bed’

- (656) ref 07028.022
 na pala-n kavura **pula-n** Jonsin.
 LOC bed-CONS copra CLF-CONS Jonsin
 ‘at Jonsin’s copra bed’

In this pair, the use of *pula-* seems unusual. *Pula* denotes (in general) possession of animals one raises or plants one cultivates, so that *pula-* is describing *kavura* ‘copra’ instead of the head noun *pala* ‘bed’. The use of two different classifiers thus reveals a structural difference.³⁰ In example (655), *pala-n kavura* form a complex noun phrase, and the classifier modifies this phrase:

³⁰I am thankful to Yuko Otsuka for pointing this out to me.

- (657) [[pala-n kavura] no-na]
 [[bed-CONS copra] CLF-3SG.POSS]
 ‘his copra bed’

In (656) on the other hand, the structure is possibly as follows:

- (658) [pala-n [kavura pula-n Jonsin]]
 [bed-CONS [copra CLF-CONS Jonsin]]
 ‘the bed of Jonsin’s copra’

In the following two examples, the classifiers *a-* and *pula-* both describe a plantation.

- (659) ref 07028.004
 na lolo-n m̃atiu a-na
 LOC inside-CONS coconut CLF.eat-3SG.POSS
 ‘inside his coconut (plantation)’

- (660) ref 07028.020
 na m̃atiu pula-n Edison
 LOC coconut CLF-CONS Edison
 ‘at Edison’s coconut (plantation)’

Here, the use of the classifier *a-* ‘to be eaten’ to describe the plantation seems quite unusual. However, in Fijian, the food classifier is also used metaphorically to describe one’s weight or a gossip about someone (Lichtenberk 1983b:173). But while *pula-* describes the plantation as a cultivated land, the kind of relation that the Ma’vea classifier *a-* adds to a possessive relation when used metaphorically with non-edible entities is unclear.³¹

7.4.2 One noun, several possessive constructions. Most nouns in Ma’vea are either used in direct possession or in indirect possession, but not in both. This is the case, for example, with the pair *tingting* ‘thought’, a Bislama loan, and *dusdusei-* ‘thought’, the Ma’vea noun. The Bislama noun is used with a classifier in indirect constructions, whereas its Ma’vea counterpart is used in direct possessive constructions.

³¹It is possible that there are two different lexical items *a-*, one used for items to be eaten, and one used in a more general way. This is also possibly the case in Fijian (Albert Schütz p.c., Oct 17, 2008).

(661) ref 07052.025
 Noro na-l-lusum **tingting no-ku.**
 now 1SG-IMPF-lose thought CLF-1SG.POSS
 ‘Now I am losing my thoughts.’

(662) ref 07052.063
Dusdusei-ku mo-v i-lus.
 thought-1SG.POSS 3SG-say 3SG.IR-lose
 ‘I lost my thoughts.’

A small set of lexical items, however, appear in the data in direct and indirect possessive constructions. This phenomenon called “overlap” by Lichtenberk (1985:108), following Lynch (1973), is reported in Araki (François 2002:47), Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:238), Wayan Fijian (Pawley and Sabaya 1990:168), and seem to be a recurrent feature of Central and Eastern Oceanic languages (Ross 2004:511), and POc (Lynch et al. 2002:42, 76).

The noun *sun(i)* ‘hat’ in Ma’ea is a case in point. As shown in (663), it is used with a possessive suffix in the direct construction and followed by a classifier in (664) in an indirect possessive construction.

(663) 06006.020
 Na-vir **sun-i-ku...**
 1SG-throw hat-1SG.POSS
 ‘I threw my hat ...’

(664) 06031.019
 Mo-dus **sun no-na...**
 3SG-think hat CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘He thinks about his hat...’

A total of five lexemes have been found so far to “overlap” between the direct and indirect possessive constructions, namely: *sun(i)* ‘hat’; *aka* ‘canoe’; *tanga* ‘basket, purse’; *sara* ‘bed, place’; and *ʔaka* ‘bow’. They all have in common that they represent important traditional objects.

It is difficult to determine the exact semantic difference between the use of a classifier and the use of a direct possessive construction. It is possible that direct possession highlights the possessor as an owner, whereas the classifier highlights the possessee (as property with some (special) properties).

There is a structural difference between the two constructions. When an adjective follows the noun, only the classifier construction is possible. So we have the following triplet:

(665) ref 06042.008
 Ro mo-tai **aka-na**.
 then 3SG-pull canoe-3SG.POSS
 ‘Then he pulled his canoe.’

(666) ref 06026.013
 Mo-la’í mo-si na **aka du no-na**.
 3SG-take 3SG-go.down LOC canoe good CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘He put it in his good canoe.’

(667) Constructed example
 *aka **du-na**
 canoe good-3SG.POSS

Note that inherently bound nouns (such as kinship terms) are restricted to the direct construction. When an adjective follows the possessed noun, it follows the possessive suffix too, as in:

(668) Constructed example
 ta’ña-**na**
 father-3SG.POSS
 ‘his father’

(669) Constructed example
 ta’ña-**na** vaise
 father-3SG.POSS small
 ‘his paternal uncle (Lit: his small father)’

7.5 Possessive predicates.

English expresses possession in (at least) the following manners:

- (i) My X.
- (ii) I have/own/possess X.
- (iii) X belongs to me.

There are two possessive predicates in Ma'ŕea, namely *doro* 'own' and *er(e)* 'lack, not have', which seem to be near equivalent to the English construction (ii) above, to indicate (non)possession. They are discussed in turn below. In the last part of this section, the predicative use of nouns in possessive constructions is presented. These constructions seem closest to the last English construction in (iii).

7.5.1 *Doro* 'own'. There is in Ma'ŕea a predicate that expresses possession the way the second English example does: *I own X*. This predicate is *doro* 'own, possess', it puts emphasis on the possessor, the subject of the sentence.

(670) ref 06006.006
Malao mo-**doro** sun aite.
megapode 3SG-possess hat one
'Megapode owns a hat.'

(671) ref 07080.027
Ne sa ma ko-**doro** nna...
FOC what COMP 2SG-possess 3SG
'Whatever you possess (it)...'

When elicited, this predicate showed some restrictions in terms of the type of noun that it could take as object. The following examples were elicited from the same speaker. He used the predicate *dor(o)* to indicate possession of housing, vehicle, clothing, animals, food, and money (in (672)), but he did not accept the use *dor(o)* with inherently bound nouns (in (673)).

(672) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
 Na-**dor** ima/ aka/ upu/ viriu/ rais/ manea.
 1SG-own house canoe clothes dog rice money
 ‘I own a house/a canoe/ clothes/a dog/rice/money.’

(673) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
 *Na-**dor** tasi-ku/ *vulu-ku/ *ese-ku.
 1SG-own brother-1SG.POSS hair-1SG.POSS name-1SG.POSS

He did, however, accept the following use of *dor(o)* with a kinship term.

(674) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
 Mary mo-tamlesea, me i-**doro** te na-natu-na.
 Mary 3SG-old, FUT 3SG.IR-own some PL-child-3SG.POSS
 ‘When Mary will be old, she’ll have children.’

Several explanations are possible here:

(i) *Doro* cannot be used with kinship terms. The use of *doro* with *natu-* ‘child’ in (674) is a performance error.

(ii) *Doro* cannot be used with kinship terms, except with *natu-* ‘child’, because children are not culturally seen as an everlasting possession, or a possession that one has control over, because they can be adopted, get married, and leave the family, etc. This could be similar to the Hawaiian *a/o* possession (Wilson 1976), where *a* indicates that the possessor has no control over the possession, while *o* indicates control over the possessee. The contrast is exemplified below. If this analysis is correct, we might expect *doro* to be used with *taña-* ‘husband’ and *marau-* ‘wife’, given that the possessor does not exert much control over these possesseees either. This remains to be verified.

(675) Hawaiian (from Wilson 1976:44)
Ko’u lima ‘my hand’
Ko’u makuahine ‘my mother’
Ko’u mele ‘my song (about me)’
Ka’u keiki ‘my child’
Ka’u wahine ‘my wife’
Ka’u mele ‘my song (which I composed)’

(iii) The last (and least) possible explanation for the use of *doro* in sentence (674) could be associated with the irrealis marker. The subject (Mary) has no control over an event (to have children) that could potentially happen, or not happen. If this is the case, we would expect other kinship terms such as younger brother, younger sister, father-in-law, etc, to be also used with *doro* in irrealis mood, given that the possessor has little to no control about these distant relatives.

7.5.2 *Er(e)* ‘not have, lack’. The predicate *er(e)* has two functions in Ma’vea. It can be used as a negative existential predicate (as in (676)) or to indicate the lack of possession of an inherently bound nouns such as a kin term (in (677)). According to Payne (1997:126), this dual function is not uncommon in the languages of the world.

(676) ref 06042.003
na taro ma Aese mo-**er** tamloi-na
LOC time COMP Ais 3SG-not.have man-3SG.POSS
‘at the time when there were no men on Ais Island’ (Lit: Ais Island did not have/lacked its man)

(677) ref 06043.013
Nna mo-**er** tasi-na.
3SG 3SG-not.have brother-3SG.POSS
‘He doesn’t have a brother.’

Er(e) is discussed in chapter 13.

7.5.3 Predicative use of nouns in possessive constructions. We saw in the preceding sections that a noun can be followed by a classifier to indicate indirect possession. An example is repeated below.

(678) ref 05001.069
Mo-vir **loko** a-na.
3SG-throw laplap CLF.EAT-3SG.POSS
‘She threw his laplap (to eat).’

If the classifier precedes the noun, as in (679) and (680) below, the noun acts as a predicate and the classifier becomes the subject of this verbless clause.

(679) ref 07065.047

Mo-taravun sa mo-vara=i: ‘**A**-ku **poa**.’
 3SG-rise go.up 3SG-tell=TR CLF.EAT-1SG.POSS pig
 ‘He got up and said: ‘My (thing) to eat (is a) pig.’”

(680) ref 05001.065

A-n **taña-ira** aite, **a**-ratol aite.
 CLF.EAT-CONS father-3PL one CLF.EAT-3PL.PCL one
 ‘(There is) one to eat for their father, (there is) one to eat for them.’

Placement of the classifier and the possessee thus vary depending on their syntactic use. When the possessed item is used predicatively, it follows the classifier. Of the six classifiers found in Ma’vea, four are used in the data as subject of a nominal predicate: **a-** ‘to be eaten’ as in (680) above, *no-* ‘general possession’ in (681) below, **pula-** ‘animal raised’ in (682), and **ña-** ‘to be drunk’ in (683) and (684).

(681) ref 06023.004

Weŕe aite, nna **no**-na sun aite.
 dove one 3SG CLF-3SG.POSS hat one
 ‘(There was) a dove, he had a hat.’ (Lit: his (thing is) one hat)

(682) ref 06037.071

Pula-ku varua mo-tao pere sa?
 CLF-1SG.POSS bird 3SG-nest branch what
 ‘I have a cardinal bird, on which branch did it nest?’ (Lit: my (thing is) a cardinal bird)

(683) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Ratol **ña** ratol vusa aite.
 3PL.PCL CLF.drink 3PL.PCL coconut one
 ‘They (have) one coconut to drink.’ (Lit: their (thing) to drink (is) one coconut)

- (684) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Ratol **ńa** ratol vusa i tol.
 3PL.PCL CLF.drink 3PL.PCL coconut LIG three
 ‘They (have) three coconuts to drink.’ (Lit: their (things) to drink (are) three
 coconuts)

7.6 Possession and Benefaction.

Lichtenberk (2002) and Margetts (2004) report on the relation that exists between possession and benefaction: in many languages, possession and benefaction are often expressed with a single syntactic construction. Both Lichtenberk (2002:447) and Margetts (2004:449) argue that in Oceanic languages, possessive constructions extended their functions to encode benefaction. Lichtenberk (2002:471) assumes that this extension is primarily found with the possessive classifier for food, and that other classifiers can only rarely be extended to encode beneficiaries. Margetts (2004:449), on the other hand, shows that the semantic extension from possession to benefaction is a general principle that is not restricted to a particular classifier.

In Ma’ea, two possessive classifiers were found in the data to add a beneficiary to the sentence: the general classifier *no-*, and the classifier *ńa-* used to indicate possession of items to be drunk. The possession-benefaction polysemy of these two classifiers is detailed below.

7.6.1 No-. We saw above that *no-* indicates general possession, or possession of valuable goods. An example of valuable possession is given below.

- (685) ref 07082.146
 Tankiu **no**-ku i-ńa ńalu-ńim.
 thanks CLF-1SG.POSS 3SG.IR-go to-2PL.POSS
 ‘My thanks would go to you all.’

The above example is a clear case of possession, despite the fact that the possessee is an abstract notion. There is no notion of benefaction involved here.

In the following example, the classifier *no-* can be interpreted as a possessive classifier, but a benefactive implicature is also carried in this example, hence the dual translation. As Margetts (2004:450) notes (following Croft 1985), a benefactive implicature is common with verbs of creation (such as *veia* ‘make’).

- (686) ref 07043.029
 Ka-**ve** rai **no**-na.
 1SG.IR-make leaf CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘I will make her (medicinal) leaf/a (medicinal) leaf for her.’

There are indeed quite a few examples in the data with a dual possession-benefaction interpretation. In the following example, Marcel is about to organize a (ceremonial) party. The party is his (to organize), and for him (to collect money for his bride).

- (687) ref 06045.006
 Ra-**na** sur inan **no**-n Marcel.
 3PL-come about food CLF-CONS Marcel
 ‘They come for Marcel’s (ceremonial) party/ for the party for Marcel.’

Similarly, in the following example, the fundraising is organized by the school and the money raised would be for the school.

- (688) ref 07041b.009
 Me ka-la^{vi} ka-si na fundraising **no**-n sukul.
 FUT 1SG.IR-take 1SG.IR-go.down LOC fundraising CLF-CONS school
 ‘I will take (it) down to the school’s fundraising/ the fundraising for the school.’

In the next example, the notion of possession is entirely absent. The classifier *no-* solely indicates a beneficiary.

- (689) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Ra-sasa **no**-ku.
 3PL-work CLF-1SG.POSS
 ‘They work for me.’

The verb *sasa* ‘work’ is intransitive. There is no object to be possessed in this sentence, thus the reading is solely of benefaction (see Margetts 2004:456). There are few elicited examples where only benefaction is entailed, as below.

- (690) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Na-la sope upu ʋalu-n John **no**-m.
 1SG-take piece cloth from-CONS John CLF-2SG.POSS
 ‘I took a piece of cloth from John for you.’

Note the placement of the classifier at the end of the sentence. If *no-* were used as a possessive marker, it would have to be positioned right after the possessed noun.

7.6.2 *ṁa-*. The classifier *ṁa-* was described above as marking items to be drunk. This section exemplifies the use of *ṁa-* as marking a beneficiary.

The following examples are from a story where a father is asked to split nuts for his five children, named after the five fingers. In the first example, the classifier *a-* for edible objects is used.

- (691) ref 05001.052
 Mama! Ko-song oroto **a-ṁam**.
 dad! 2SG-split nut CLF.EAT-1PL.EXCL
 ‘Dad! Split the nut (*Barringtonia edulis*) for us (to eat).’

In the following example, describing the father’s action, the narrator uses the classifier *ṁa-* to indicate possession and benefaction.

- (692) ref 05001.053
 Mo-song **ṁa**-n varango patpoa.
 3SG-split CLF.drink-CONS finger thumb
 ‘He split (it) for Thumb/he split Thumb’s.’

7.6.3 Summary. Margetts (2004:449) argues that the benefactive reading of a possessive construction evolved from an implicature in the possessive construction. She posits

three stages of grammaticalization. At first, both readings (possessive and benefactive) are possible (stage 1). Then, the benefactive implicature tends to grammaticalize in the language (stage 2), but the ambiguity between the two readings is retained when the possessee is in object position. The two structures overlap in meaning until further grammaticalization (stage 3) makes the two constructions distinct. At that stage, benefactive and possessive constructions operate on separate grounds: they involve different word order or different morphemes. Their meanings do not overlap. Margetts (2004:449) also notes that these posited stages refer to the state of grammaticalization of individual possessive constructions in a language, so that a possessive construction X can reach stage 3, while in the same language construction Y is still at stage 1.

It is difficult to determine the state of grammaticalization of the *no* and *ṁa*- benefactive constructions, but it seems that *no*- is more grammaticalized than *ṁa*-. *No*- is used in constructions that have no entailment of possession (as in (689)), in which case its placement in the sentence may differ from its placement as a possessive classifier (as shown in (690)). More data is needed, however, to support these claims.

8 Prepositions and prepositional phrases.

This section is devoted to the study of seven prepositions: *řalu-*, *do(řń)dořńi-*, *sur(i)*, *lap(e)*, *dal*, *na*, and *tuan*. These prepositions can also be divided into three groups, as explained in section 8.1. Section 8.2 describes the preposition *řalu-*, which is allative ‘direction ‘to(wards)’ or ablative/source ‘from’ and the preposition *do(řń)dořńi-* ‘straight’. In section 8.3, the prepositions *sur(i)*, and *lap(e)* are described. *Sur(i)* can also be allative indicating a direction to(wards), locutional topic (similar to ‘about’), and purposive. *Lape* is dative, benefactive (‘for’), or substitutive (‘instead of’). Finally in section 8.4, the prepositions *dal*, *na*, and *tuan* are discussed. *Dal* means ‘around’, *na* indicate temporal and spatial location (‘at’, ‘in’, ‘on’) or instrument (‘with’), and *tuan* indicates instrument and comitative (‘with’).

These prepositions have one property in common: they add an oblique phrase (with semantic role of goal or recipient to name a few) to a sentence. The added oblique phrase can be considered an argument or an adjunct. The distinction between oblique argument and oblique adjunct is provided in section 8.5.

8.1 Types of prepositions.

One formal difference separates the bare prepositions *dal*, *na*, and *tuan* from the other prepositions. These three prepositions are free morphemes, while the others may be bound. The set of bound prepositions can be further divided into two groups: the noun-like prepositions *řalu-* and *do(řń)dořńi-* which take a possessive suffix, and the verb-like prepositions *lap(e)* and *sur(i)* which may take an object clitic. Similar subclasses of prepositions are found in Araki (François 2002:156), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:134-135), and Sye (Crowley 1998:186).

Table 8.69: Prepositions

	řalu 'to, from'	do(ř)doři 'straight'	lape 'for'	suri 'to, for'	dal 'around'	tuan 'with'	na 'in, at'
Poss. suffix	√	√	x	x	x	x	x
Object clitic	x	x	√	√	x	x	x

When a full noun phrase (instead of a suffix) is used after the prepositions *lape* and *suri*, the prepositions lose their final vowel. *Sur(i)* is realized as *sur*, while *lap(e)* is reduced to *lap*, often pronounced [lav], as shown below.

(693) ref 06016.038

Ra-r-var **suri**=a mo-řa.
 3PL-DL-talk about=3SG 3SG-go
 'They talked about it for a while.'

(694) ref 06022.003

Sur pong aite, tamlesea aite.
 about night one elder one
 'One day, there was an old man.'

(695) ref 06019.009

Mo-vara-i **lape**=ao mo-v...
 3SG-say-TR DAT=1SG 3SG-say
 'He said to me that...'

(696) ref 06005.024

Ro mo-sile **lap** řařine ma mo-sao.
 then 3SG-give DAT female COMP 3SG-sick
 'Then he gave (it) to the woman who was sick.'

When an NP follows the noun-like prepositions *řalu-* and *do(ř)doři-*, it is cross-referenced on the prepositions with the construct suffix *-n*, as in possessive constructions.

- (697) ref 07063.007
 Mo-wesil **ǃalu-ńam**.
 3SG-whistle to-1PL.EXCL
 ‘He whistled at us.’
- (698) ref 06005.025
 Mo-var mo-du **ǃalu-n tamlo** ma mo-sile=a rai.
 3SG-talk 3SG-good to-CONS man COMP 3SG-give=3SG leaf
 ‘She thanked the man who gave her (medicinal) leaves.’
- (699) ref 07070.120
 Vu-n ńatiu aite mo-soǃ **dodońi-n** Patu-n ǃanua.
 stem-CONS coconut one 3SG-fall straight-CONS head-CONS island
 ‘The coconut tree fell right on Patun Vanua.’

8.2 The noun-like prepositions *ǃalu-* and *do(ń)dońi-*.

8.2.1 *Do(ń)dońi-*. This preposition indicates the manner in which to reach a location, similar to English ‘straight, right’. It is possibly related to the body part *dońi-* ‘neck’. This preposition is found in the corpus as *dodońi-* and *dońdońi-*, as shown in (699) above and (700) below.

- (700) ref 07031.056-057
 Ki-r-ńa **dońdońi-n** lolo-n ńatiu a-n Richard.
 1PL.EXCL-DL-come straight-CONS inside-CONS coconut CLF.eat-CONS Richard
 ‘We came straight in Richard’s coconut plantation.’

8.2.2 *ǃalu-*. This preposition is used to indicate direction to(wards) or from the person/entity whose features are encoded by the possessive suffix or the following NP. In that sense, this preposition adds a goal or a source to a sentence. Note that the NP following *ǃalu-* or the possessive suffix attached to *ǃalu-* always refer to a [+animate] entity in the corpus.

8.2.2.1 Goal. In the following examples, *ǎalu-* indicates the spatial direction expressed in English by ‘to(wards)’ and adds a goal to the sentence.

(701) ref 06021.039
 Mo-vir nna mo-si **ǎalu-n** mala.
 3SG-throw 3SG 3SG-go.down to-CONS hawk
 ‘He threw it to the hawk.’

(702) ref 06022.012
 Ka-sava ka-ǎa mǎrǎit **ǎalu-na**.
 1SG.IR-dance 1SG.IR-go close to-3SG.POSS
 ‘I will dance and go close to him.’

In the following examples, the motion indicated by *ǎalu-* does not involve the physical movement of an entity. The motion is metaphorical.

(703) ref 07063.007
 Mo-wesil **ǎalu-mǎm**.
 3SG-whistle to-1PL.EXCL
 ‘He whistled at us.’

(704) ref 06042.076
 Mo-rru **ǎalu-n** tamlo vaise.
 3SG-insist to-CONS man small
 ‘He insisted to the child.’

(705) ref 07070.118
 Ra-l-pre **ǎalu-na**.
 3PL-IMPF-pray to-3SG.POSS
 ‘They pray to him.’

(706) ref 06016.008
 Ra-r-lo-du **ǎalu** rarua.
 3PL-DL-IMPF-good to 3PL.DL
 ‘They are good to each other.’

(707) ref 06045.110³²

Ro Tari mo-v: ‘Mo-l-to **ǎalu-m.**’
then Tari 3SG-say 3SG-IMPF-stay to-2SG.POSS
‘Then Tari said: ‘It’s up to you.’

(708) ref 06005.010

Ro, tamlo le mo-vara=i **ǎalu-n** mo-v: ‘Ko-mo-tarao=a...’
then man DET 3SG-talk=TR to-3SG 3SG-say 2SG-COND-want=3SG
‘Then the man talked to him and said: ‘If you want it...’

This last example comes from a story narrated to me by a young consultant who was about 31 years old in 2006. This consultant used *ǎalu-* with the verb *varaia* in this and another story he narrated. An older consultant (age about 65) did not agree with this combination. She corrected the sentence with the dative-benefactive *lap(e)* instead of *ǎalu-*.

Although *ǎalu-* is found in the corpus predominantly after intransitive verbs (as shown above), examples in the corpus show that this preposition can also follow locational nouns (in (702) above), and (the object of) a transitive verb (as in (709) to (711)).

(709) ref 07079.013

Mo-tau=ra **ǎalu-n** sapur-ira.
3SG-put=3PL to-CONS uncle-3PL
‘She puts (~leaves) them to (~with) their uncle.’

(710) ref 07084.044

Mo-lo-vusong udu-na **ǎalu-n** tamlo ma mo-l-to na aka.
3SG-IMPF-show tooth-3SG.POSS to-CONS man COMP 3SG-IMPF-stay LOC canoe
‘He is showing his teeth to the man who is in the canoe.’

(711) ref 06015.167-168

Ra-la plastik-i dae aite, [...] ra-sevu=i **ǎalu-ku.**
3PL-take bottle-CONS blood one [...] 3PL-hang=TR to-1SG.POSS
‘They took a bottle of blood, [...] they hang it on(to) me.’

³²A similar idiomatic expression is found in Bislama, namely *i stap lo yu*.

8.2.2.2 Source. In the next set of examples, the preposition *ʋalu-* introduces a source. Note that motion from the source is only metaphorical in the corpus, and does not involve physical motion.

(712) ref 07081.037

ǀMatan ma Aileen mo-l-vaiesea, mo-susu **ʋalu-na**.
 because COMP Aileen 3SG-IMPF-small 3SG-breast from-3SG.POSS
 ‘Because when Aileen was small, she breast-fed from her.’

(713) ref 07043.022

Te **ʋalu-n** rua mo-sopo-on te rai aite ma i-sile=a nna?
 some from-CONS two 3SG-NEG-look some leaf one COMP 3SG.IR-give=3SG 3SG
 ‘Does one among you two not see (~know) a (medicinal) leaf that he would give (it) to her?’

The following two examples are ambiguous between the source and the goal interpretation of *ʋalu-*.

(714) ref 06016.025

Ro mo-on dam, dam ara ma mo-us=i=a **ʋalu-n** ǀpao.
 then 3SG-see yam yam red COMP 3SG-ask=TR=3SG from-CONS bird
 ‘Then he saw the yam, the red yam he had asked from the swamphen bird.’

(715) ref 07080.086

Ra-sopo-si **ʋalu-na**.
 3PL-NEG-cross to-3SG.POSS
 ‘They are not angry with her.’

8.3 The verb-like prepositions *sur(i)* and *lap(e)*.

8.3.1 *Sur(i)*. The preposition *sur(i)* is used to introduce oblique phrases with the semantic roles of temporal location, goal (allative), locutional topic, and purposive. This morpheme is partly similar to its cognate *huri* in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:145) and a potential reflex of the allative preposition *suRi reconstructed in POc (Lynch et al. 2002:87).

8.3.1.1 Temporal location. The preposition *sur(i)* is used in the following idiomatic expression, where it indicates a temporal location.

- (716) ref 06014.001
Sur pong aite Surae rar tina-na ra-r-lo-to.
 about night one Surae 3PL.DL mother-3SG.POSS 3PL-DL-IMPF-stay
 ‘One day, there were Surae and his mother.’

This expression is commonly found at the beginning of narratives and it is the only type of example where *sur(i)* marks a temporal location.

8.3.1.2 Goal. The function of *sur(i)* is similar to *ʔalu-* in that it indicates a direction and adds a goal to a sentence. *Sur(i)* is used to indicate movement to(wards) a location where a person is going. At the point where the examples below occur in the stories, the location had not yet been reached.

- (717) ref 06028.006
 Ra-l-sivo ro, ra-tikel Nalapa, seu Nalapa, ra-l-si **sur** Tevo.
 3PL-IMPF-go then 3PL-reach Nalapa beat Nalapa 3PL-IMPF-go.down to Tevo
 ‘They reached Nalapa, went past Nalapa they went towards Tevo.’

- (718) ref 06024.052
 Ra-r-lo-sa **sur** ono.
 3PL-DL-IMPF-go.up to sand
 ‘They two went up to the shore.’

- (719) ref 06020.037
 Mo-laʔi=a ro ra-r-lo-ʔa **sur** ʔvanua sa-n ariʔi.
 3SG-take=3SG then 3PL-DL-IMPF-go to island CLF.LOC-CONS cat
 ‘He took him, then they two went towards the cat’s island.’

We saw in the previous section that *ʔalu-* also indicates a direction to(wards) a reference point. The main difference between *sur(i)* and *ʔalu-* is that *sur(i)* is (in the corpus) followed by an NP[-animate] that points to a location, whereas *ʔalu-* is followed with an

NP[+animate] to indicate direction to(wards) a person. A similar animacy constraint is also found with the comitative *to* in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:136), and the location/source preposition *telei* in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:256). As we will see below, when *sur(i)* assigns other semantic roles, this animacy constraint does not hold.

8.3.1.3 Locutional topic. The term ‘locutional topic’ is borrowed from Jauncey (1997:62). The NP marked as locutional topic indicates what the event denoted by the verb is about (see also Andrews 1985:73 and Hyslop 2001:146). This role is clearly expressed after verbs of saying or talking, where *sur(i)* marks the following NP as being the subject matter.

(720) ref 07081.001
 Ok me ka-var **sur** taro ma na-ǎa na-vol Eileen.
 ok FUT 1SG.IR-talk about time COMP 1SG-go 1SG-buy Eileen
 ‘Ok, I will talk about the time I went to buy Eileen.’

(721) ref 06016.038
 Ra-r-var **suri**=a mo-ǎa.
 3PL-DL-talk about=3SG 3SG-go
 ‘They talked about it for a while.’

8.3.1.4 Purposive/reason. Thompson et al. (2007:251) note that it is possible for languages to use the allative marking to also encode purpose clauses. We will see that *sur(i)* is also used in Maǎea to form the complex wh-word *sur sa* ‘for what reason’ (see chapter 13), and it is used as a complementizer to introduce purpose clauses (in section 14.4).

As a preposition, *sur(i)* marks the NP following it as the purpose (in (722)) or reason (in (723)) for the action of the verb.

(722) ref 06005.012
 I-ǎa **sur** rai na ǎanua vaise.
 3SG.IR-go about leaf LOC island small
 ‘He will go for the (medicinal) leaf on the small island.’

- (723) ref 07081.031
 Na-sile tamlese nna **sur** dae.
 1SG-give old 3SG about blood
 ‘I give it to the old man for the blood.’

It is sometimes difficult to determine whether *sur(i)* encodes reason or purpose. In the following sentences (and given the context in the story), I believe that both interpretations are possible.

- (724) ref 07082.143
 Me ro ko-ria vʻangan tamlo ma ra-ña **sur** inan no-m.
 FUT then 2SG-must feed man COMP 3PL-come about food CLF-2SG.POSS
 ‘You will have to feed the men who come for the purpose~because of your party.’

- (725) ref 06005.015
 Mo-sora=i **suri**=a.
 3SG-send=TR about=3SG
 ‘He sent (him) for the reason~purpose of it.’

- (726) ref 06031.020
 Mo-tur pos **sur** sun.
 3SG-stand.up turn about hat
 ‘He turned around for the hat.’

The following examples are ambiguous between a locutional topic and a reason interpretation.

- (727) ref 06021.036
 Mo-l-ʻe lal=i=a **sur** sun.
 3SG-IMPF-make scold=TR=3SG about hat
 ‘He is scolding him about the hat.’

- (728) ref 06031.031
 Ra-r-lo-ngas **sur** sun mo-ʻa.
 3PL-DL-IMPF-quarrel about hat 3SG-go
 ‘They were quarrelling about the hat for a while.’

(729) ref 06033.010
Voko mo-ngara **sur** a'via.
white 3SG-whine about Malay.apple
'Voko whines about the Malay apple.'

(730) ref 06043.065
Nao-n mo-karaia **suri**=a.
face-3SG.POSS 3SG-afraid about=3SG
'Her face expressed fear of it.'

8.3.1.5 Patient. There is a single example in the texts (reported below) where the preposition *sur(i)* clearly introduces a patient.

(731) ref 06044.039
Ra-v ra-ve ina isat **suri**=ra.
3PL-say 3PL-make thing bad about=3PL
'They said they did something bad to them.'

The following elicited sentence is ambiguous between patient and locutional topic.

(732) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
Mo-varvar **suri**=ao.
3SG-talk about=1SG
'He criticized me.'

8.3.2 *Lap(e)*. The preposition *lap(e)* assigns a recipient role to the following NP (or clitic), in ways similar to the Lolovoli preposition *lawe* (Hyslop 2001:146). *Lap(e)* marks an NP as dative, benefactive, or substitutive.

8.3.2.1 Dative. The preposition *lap(e)* is used to encode the grammatical relation indirect object for a subset of verbs that are three-place predicates. Two verbs in the corpus appear with the dative preposition. They are *sile* 'give' and *vara* 'tell, say'.

- (733) ref 06003.025
 Me ko-mas ko-ńe-l-sile sun le **lape**=ao.
 FUT 2SG-must 2SG-IT-IMPF-give hat DET DAT=1SG
 ‘You must give again the hat to me.’
- (734) ref 06019.009
 Mo-vara=i **lape**=ao mo-v...
 3SG-say=TR DAT=1SG 3SG-say
 ‘He said to me that...’
- (735) ref 07043.034
 Ki-r-var tankiu **lap** řařin řaduodua.
 1PL.EXCL-DL-say thanks DAT female old.woman
 ‘We said thank you to the old woman.’

Note that the verbs *vara* ‘tell’ and *sile* ‘give’ also occur in double object construction.

- (736) ref 06042.057
 Ko-vara=i=**ao** **nna**.
 2SG-tell=TR=1SG 3SG
 ‘You tell it to me.’
- (737) ref 07082.012
 Ro ra-sile=**o** **nna**.
 then 3PL-give=2SG 3SG
 ‘Then they gave it to you.’

8.3.2.2 Benefactive. In the following example, the noun phrase that follows *lap(e)* is the recipient or beneficiary of the event described by the verb. The narrator is explaining the tradition of purchasing a bride from her parents. The groom has to organize a ceremony where he pays his mother in-law for (breast)feeding her daughter/his wife.

- (738) ref 07081.036
 Na-tava susu mo-řa **lap** řaduodua sur Eileen.
 1SG-pay breasts 3SG-go BEN old.woman about Eileen
 ‘I pay the breast to the old woman for Eileen.’

The Kastom ceremony is made for the benefit of the mother in-law, for the purpose of marrying Eileen.

Note that it is sometimes the case that the (metaphorical) directionality towards the recipient is reinforced by a verb of movement such as *úa* ‘go’ or *si* ‘go down’, forming a serial verb construction.

(739) ref 07081.018
 Mo-pal na-ǎe Kastom mo-ǎa **lape=ra**.
 3SG-like 1SG-make customs 3SG-go BEN=3PL
 ‘It is like I make the Kastom for (Lit: it goes to) them.’

(740) ref 07070.014 ³³
 Da-toǎ i-si **lape=ra**.
 1PL.INCL-call 3SG.IR-go.down BEN=3PL
 ‘We called for them.’ (Lit: We called, it went down towards them.)

8.3.2.3 Substitutive. Whereas a benefactive indicates that the entity is the recipient who benefits from an event, a substitutive indicates that an event is performed on behalf of someone else.

(741) ref 06027.007
 Ko-mo-adi taur sio **lape=ao**, ka-tara=i=a.
 2SG-COND-can hold king.fisher SUB=1SG 1SG.IR-chop=TR=3SG
 ‘If you could hold the king fisher for me, I would chop it.’

(742) Elicitation 2007, EVK.
 Ko-mo-sa na Utalaǎe, me ko-vol otoli-n kou **lape=ao**.
 2SG-COND-go.down LOC Santo, FUT 2SG-buy egg-CONS fowl SUB=1SG
 ‘If you go to Santo, you will buy eggs for me (on my behalf).’

(743) Mo-var~vara **lape=ao**.
 3SG-RED~say SUB=1SG
 ‘He spoke on my behalf.’

³³According to EVK, a consultant senior to the speaker of that example, this sentence is incorrect. *ǎalwira* should replace *lapera*.

Whereas in the first example (741), the speaker will benefit from the action of the interlocutor, in the other two examples ((742) and (743)), there is no entailment of benefaction.

8.4 The bare prepositions *dal*, *na*, and *tuan*.

These prepositions all have in common that they never take suffixes or clitics, even when the complement is pronominal.

8.4.1 *Dal*. The preposition *dal* ‘around’ indicates a location.

(744) ref 06022.012
Kańim ki-tur **dal** kańarua.
2PL 2PL-stand.up around 1PL.EXCL.DL
‘You stand around us.’

(745) ref 06022.027
Mo-l-suruv **dal** apu.
3SG-IMPF-sleep around fire
‘He slept around the fire.’

(746) ref 07046.033
Mo-ńa **dal** aka.
3SG-go around canoe
‘He went around the canoe.’

The preposition *dal* ‘around’ is possibly related to *talio*, found in the compound *apu talio*. This compound refers to the wood and the fire lit at night, to warm up those who sleep around it.

(747) ref 07077.026
I-ran ka-ńa ka-alal **apu talio** daruo.
3SG.IR-day 1SG.IR-go 1SG.IR-search fire talio 1PL.INCL.DL
‘When it will be day, I will go look for our firewood.’

8.4.2 *Na*. The preposition *na* serves two main functions: it indicates a location and it adds an instrument to a sentence.

8.4.2.1 Location. The main role of *na* is to indicate a (static) spatial location.

(748) ref 07026.026
Ko-lař loko ko-si ko-tau=a **na** vopa-n mor.
2SG-take laplap 2SG-go.down 2SG-put=3SG LOC hole-CONS oven
'Take the laplap, put it down in the fire place.'

(749) ref 06003.018
Sun mo-l-to **na** vatano.
hat 3SG-IMPF-stay LOC ground
'The hat is on the ground.'

The location may be abstract or metaphorical, as shown below.

(750) ref 07079.008
na kastom Mařea
LOC customs Mařea
'in Mařea's customs'

(751) ref 07080.056
re famly **na** tařal ma Eileen
PL family LOC side COMP Eileen
'the family on Eileen's side'

The preposition *na* also indicates a temporal location.

(752) ref 06015.001
na oktoba pongi-n mo-sangavul vua-n aite.
LOC october night-CONS 3SG-ten fruit-CONS one
'on October the eleventh'

(753) ref 07039.024
Matan ra-rivu **na** vitu i rua.
because 3PL-plant LOC moon LIG two
'Because they plant during these two months.'

The preposition *na* may follow verbs of movement, as shown below.

- (754) ref 06004.006
 Ro mo-sua mo-*va*, mo-sua *va* **na** ureure vaise.
 then 3SG-paddle 3SG-go 3SG-paddle go LOC islet small
 ‘Then he paddled for a while, he paddled to go to the small islet.’
- (755) ref 06015.227
 Ki-tol-avtai **na** hospital.
 1PL.EXCL-PCL-appear LOC hospital
 ‘We all came out of the hospital.’
- (756) ref 06015.161
 Ki-tol-tio **na** trak no-n tamlesea Setrak.
 1PL.EXCL-PCL-jump LOC truck CLF-3SG.POSS old Setrak
 ‘We jumped in Setrak’s truck.’
- (757) ref 06003.026
 Sun mo-so^v **na** patu-na.
 hat 3SG-fall LOC head-3SG.POSS
 ‘The hat fell from his head.’

We could argue that in the preceding examples, *na* indicate respectively a goal in (754); a motion away from an entity (allative) in (755); in (756) a motion into an entity (illative); and last in (757) a source or allative. I believe, however, that *na* always indicate a static location (as opposed to *valu-* and *lap(e)* which indicate direction, and *sur(i)* which indicate a temporal location). The different meanings associated with the prepositions are determined by the verbs. Consider examples (755) and (756). The outward direction in (755) comes from the verb *avtai* ‘come out, appear’. The inward direction in (756) is determined from the verb. The verb phrase *tio na NP* in the corpus always refers to a movement inward. In the following example on the other hand, the participant is jumping away from some entity, and down onto the sand. The directionality is here indicated by the nuclear serial construction with *si* ‘go down’ as V2.

- (758) ref 06024.055
 Mo-tio si **na** ono.
 3SG-jump go.down LOC sand
 ‘He jumped down onto the sand.’

8.4.2.2 Instrument. *Na* can also add an instrument role.

(759) ref 07026.015
Ko-las=i=a **na** madoni.
2SG-fasten=TR=3SG INST midrib
'Fasten it with the midrib (of the *Heleconia indica* plant).'

(760) ref 06014.038
Mo-tau lalati-ra **na** nile.
3SG-put tight-3PL INST nail
'He put them tight with nails.'

(761) ref 06033.016
Ra-r-*ma* ra-r-utu **na** kurua.
3PL-DL-come 3PL-DL-fetch INST basket
'They went to fetch water in~with the bamboo basket.'

It is interesting to compare the following two examples because *na* can mark both instrument and location with the same verb *sev* 'hang'. The difference in semantic role comes from the type of NP found after *na*.

(762) ref 07085.065
Mo-sev **na** *marao-na*.
3SG-hang INST left-3SG.POSS
'He hangs with his left (hand).'

(763) ref 07085.075
Rarua ra-r-sev **na** vuae aitenge.
3PL.DL 3PL-DL-hang LOC tree one
'Together they hang on one (and the same) tree.'

In example (762), *na maraona* 'his left hand' indicates the means with which the character is hanging. But in (763), *na vuae* 'on the tree' indicates from what the characters are hanging.

8.4.2.3 Other functions. The preposition *na* is also used to introduce a variety of other phrases, that do not fit in the instrument or location categories.

- (764) ref 07041b.021
 Nao ka-vara=i **na** Bislama.
 1SG 1SG.IR-tell=TR NA Bislama
 ‘Me, I will tell (it) in Bislama.’
- (765) ref 07046.057
 Ki-song ale **na** lang.
 1PL.EXCL-hide there NA wind
 ‘We hide there from the wind.’
- (766) ref 07068.009
 Na-l-sasa Canal **na** taxi.
 1SG-IMPF-work Luganville NA taxi
 ‘I was working in Luganville as (a) taxi (driver).’
- (767) ref 06034.016
 Tamlo ra-l-ŕe manea **na** kavura.
 man 3PL-IMPF-make money NA copra
 ‘Men are making money from~with copra.’
- (768) ref 07083.030
 Sea ro ra-ŕe=i **na** vuae.
 stool here 3PL-make=TR NA tree
 ‘This stool here, it is made of wood.’

These examples show that *na* can be considered a “default” preposition, with little semantic content of its own. It is used to introduce all sorts of oblique phrases.

8.4.3 Tuan. The preposition *tuan* assigns comitative or instrumental role to the NP following it. “Comitative” is understood as accompaniment of an entity X by another entity Y (where Y, called a companion, is often [+animate]), or by a person with an inanimate

object, the latter called a “confective” (Lehmann and Shin 2005:12).³⁴ “Instrument” is defined as a tool that the actor uses to perform the action of the verb (Lehmann and Shin 2005:13).

8.4.3.1 Comitative. In the following example, the subject of the verbs *sau* ‘lift’ and *tete* ‘fly’ carries with him a hat. The preposition *tuan* thus assigns a confective role to the phrase following it.

- (769) ref 06006.013
Mo-sau sun, mo-tete **tuan** nna.
3SG-lift hat 3SG-fly with 3SG
‘He lifted the hat, he flew with it.’

In the next examples, the phrase following *tuan* is a companion, according to Lehmann and Shin’s (2005:11) terminology.

- (770) ref 06042.107
Ki-ña **tuan** tamlo vaise.
2PL-come with man small
‘You come with the small boy.’

- (771) ref 07062.003
Na-l-to **tuan** ñaduodua palia-ku.
1SG-IMPF-stay with old.woman in.law-1SG.POSS
‘I was staying with my mother in law.’

Lehmann and Shin (2005:22) briefly acknowledge that comitative and coordination are often expressed by the same means, especially when comitative involves a companion (see also Payne 1997:339). This is the case in Ma’vea. The coordinators *rar* ‘3PL.DL’ and *ratol* ‘3PL.PCL’ are often replaced with comitative *tuan* (see section 14.1.1).

³⁴Page numbers for Lehmann and Shin 2005 correspond to the pages on a pdf file downloadable from Dr. Lehmann’s website: <<http://www.uni-erfurt.de/sprachwissenschaft/personal/lehmann/>>. Page numbers do not correspond to the published version of this article.

(772) ref 06033.004
A'via **tuan**. . . , a'via rar mata.
malay.apple with malay.apple 3PL.DL snake
'The Malay apple with . . . , the Malay apple and the snake.'

(773) ref 07033.009
String no-na **tuan** voso.
string clf-3SG.POSS with paddle
'His string with/and paddle.'

8.4.3.2 Instrument. In the following example, the instrument is a body part.

(774) ref 07085.072
Nna mo-sa mo-sev **tuan** pili-na.
3SG 3SG-go.up 3SG-hang with hand-3SG.POSS
'He went up and hung with his hand.'

This is the only example in the corpus of *tuan* with the function of instrument. The following example is elicited.

(775) Elicitation 2006, ANL.
Me ka-dome=a **tuan** sa?
FUT 1SG.IR-cut=3SG with what
'What will I cut it with?'

The differences between *tuan* in (774) above and *na* in (776) below remain to be established.

(776) ref 07085.065
Mo-sev **na** m'arao-na.
3SG-hang LOC left-3SG.POSS
'He hangs with his left (hand).'

8.5 Oblique: adjunct or complement?

This section seeks to determine whether the aforementioned prepositions introduce adjuncts or complements. That is, is an intransitive verb monovalent and the following prepositional phrase an adjunct? Or rather is an intransitive verb dyadic and the following prepositional phrase an oblique complement? The same problem arises with determining if transitive verbs followed by a prepositional phrase are dyadic or triadic.

8.5.1 Definitions and criteria. Oblique adjuncts are phrases that do not have a grammatical relation to a predicate. Their distribution is free, or as Andrews (1985:88) puts it, “subject to the requirement that the sentence makes sense”, so that an adjunct phrase can be added to almost any clause. Oblique complements on the other hand are part of a verb subcategorization frame and are thus required by the verb (as in *he put the book on the table*) despite the fact that they are prepositional phrases.

Several features associated with prepositional adjuncts and complements are found in Andrews (1985:90-92), summarized below.

Prepositional Adjuncts

- free distribution
- optional
- P has independent meaning
- P assigns a semantic role to the NP

Prepositional Complements

- the choice of P is subject to lexical control (determined by the verb)
- (obligatory)
- NP receives a semantic role from the predicate

Typical adjuncts in English include beneficiary, locative, temporal, and instrumental phrases, as shown below.

(777) He sang for me in the park at 2pm with his guitar.

8.5.2 Oblique adjuncts. Based on these criteria, we can say that in Ma’vea, instrument (confective) phrases with *tuan* ‘with’ are adjunct: they are optional, and assign a semantic role to the following NP.

Likewise, the prepositions *do(m)domi-* and *dal* appear to be free and not lexically controlled and thus could be considered to head adjuncts. *Sur(i)* and *na* can be said to mark temporal phrases as adjuncts. They appear at the beginning of a sentence, which suggests that they assign a thematic role to the following NP (as there is no verb to do so).

(778) ref 06022.003
Sur pong aite, tamlesea aite.
 about night one elder one
 ‘One day, there was an old man.’

(779) ref 06015.001
na oktoba pongi-n mo-sangavul vua-n aite
 LOC october night-CONS 3SG-ten fruit-3SG.POSS one
 ‘on October the eleventh’

(780) ref 06006.013
 Mo-sau sun, mo-tete **tuan** nna.
 3SG-lift hat 3SG-fly with 3SG
 ‘He lifted the hat, he flew with it.’

8.5.3 Oblique complements. Given the above criteria, we can argue that *na* in the following examples introduces a prepositional complement. The preposition itself has no meaning; the verb determines which theta-role the oblique NP receives. In (781) *na track* is illative, while in (782) *na patuna* is allative.

(781) ref 06015.161
 Ki-tol-tio **na** trak no-n tamlesea Setrak.
 1PL.EXCL-PCL-jump LOC truck CLF-CONS old Setrak
 ‘We jumped in Setrak’s truck.’

- (782) ref 06003.026
 Sun mo-soŕ **na** patu-na.
 hat 3SG-fall LOC head-3SG.POSS
 ‘The hat fell from his head.’

Lap(e) is a preposition that marks dative which can be considered oblique complement. *Sur(i)* marks locutional phrases such as the following, which can also be considered as complements.

- (783) ref 06016.038
 Ra-r-var **suri**=a mo-ŕa.
 3PL-DL-talk about=3SG 3SG-go
 ‘They talked about it for a while.’

The preposition *ŕalu-* marks an oblique complement in example (784), but example (785) is ambiguous. It is difficult to tell whether *ŕalun Peter* is a complement or an adjunct.

- (784) ref 07084.044
 Mo-lo-vusong udu-na **ŕalu**-n tamlo ma mo-l-to na aka.
 3SG-IMPf-show tooth-3SG.POSS to-CONS man COMP 3SG-IMPf-stay LOC canoe
 ‘He is showing his teeth to the man who is in the canoe.’

- (785) ref 06045.058
 Mo-ev atu **ŕalu**-n Peter.
 3SG-finish there to-3SG.POSS Peter
 ‘It is finished there with Peter.’

8.5.4 Summary. As the above examples show, *tuan* always adds an oblique adjunct, while some other prepositions are used to introduce both oblique adjunct and complement. This is summarized in the following tables. Abbreviations in the table are as follows: G ‘goal’, S ‘source’, T ‘locutional topic’, TP ‘temporal location’, P ‘purpose/reason’, Pa ‘patient’, B ‘benefactive’, D ‘dative’, Su ‘substitutive’, L ‘location’, and I ‘instrument’.

Table 8.70.a: Functions of the prepositions

	do(m̃)doňi-	dal	na		tuan	řalu-	
			L	I	I	G	S
Adjunct	√	√	√	√	√	√	(√)
Complt.			√			(√)	√

Table 8.70.b: Functions of the prepositions

	sur(i)					lap(e)		
	T	TP	P	G	PA	B	D	Su
Adjunct		√	√	√	√	√		√
Complt.	√						√	

With prepositions like *sur(i)* and *lap(e)* the distinction between adjunct and complement can be seen as a distinction between the type of semantic role they introduce. The main issue is with prepositions like *řalu-* and *na* which can mark an oblique as adjunct or complement with the same semantic role. As Andrews (1985:92) acknowledges, “drawing the complement ~ adjunct distinction may require [...] deep insight into its [a language’s] semantics.” More research is needed in this area of the grammar.

9 The verbal complex

In this chapter, I present all the elements that participate in building a verbal complex. Verbal complexes in Ma'ŕea may contain various grammatical morphemes, as shown in the following table.

Table 9.71: Order of the constituents in the verbal complex

subj. agr.	condi- tional	neg.	iterative/ inceptive aspect	no.	imper- fective	verb	adv.	transi- tive	obj.
i-, ...	mo-	sopo-	ŕe-/ pete-	r-/ tol-	l(o)-			=i	=a/NP

The subject agreement marker (see section 3.2.2) is always the first element prefixed to the rest of the verbal complex. Irrealis/realis mood distinctions are marked on the subject agreement marker, as a portmanteau morph. Agreement precedes the conditional mood, which in turn precedes negation. After negation, the inceptive or the iterative aspect marker may occur, in complementary distribution. The number and imperfective markers always appear closest to the left edge of the verb, in varying order. I will comment on this fact in 9.1.2 below. After the verb but before the object (realized as a clitic or an NP), a phrasal adverb may be inserted, along with a transitive clitic.

All morphosyntactic categories represented in the table are either prefixes or clitics, except for the adverb. There are two other categories that are part of the verbal complex, but which are independent morphemes. First is the future marker *me*. It always occurs sentence initially, and can be positioned after or before an NP subject. At the end of a sentence, two aspectual markers are possible in complementary distribution: the completive aspect (the grammaticalized form of the verb *evuia* ‘finish’) or the continuative aspectual adverbial *pa*.

The chapter is organized as follows: section 9.1 describes the left and right edges of the

verbal complex, that is, subject agreement prefixes and object clitics. Section 9.2 discusses tense, section 9.3 aspect, and section 9.4 mood. Modality is presented in section 9.5.

9.1 The edges of the verbal complex.

In the following sections, prefixes and enclitics are discussed.

9.1.1 Subject agreement markers. The agreement markers, characterized as prefixes in the chapter on parts of speech, are repeated below for convenience.

Table 9.72: Subject agreement markers

Person	Number		
	Singular		Plural
	Realis	Irrealis	Realis and irrealis
1INCL	na-	ka-	da-
1EXCL			ki-
2	ko-	ko-	ki-
3	mo-	i-	ra-

As can be seen from the above table, two subject agreement markers are morphologically marked for the irrealis mood. The first person singular realis is *na-*, and its irrealis counterpart is *ka-*. Similarly the third person singular is *mo-*, and its irrealis counterpart is *i-*. According to Jauncey (1997:334-338), *mo* used to be a realis marker in Oceanic languages, used after the subject agreement marker. In Tamambo, it is still (irregularly) used as such by speakers above 50 years of age, and thus can co-occur with any person marking. For most Tamambo speakers however, it has been reanalyzed as the third person singular subject marker. In Ma'vea, *mo-* is solely used as the third person realis singular subject agreement prefix. There is no synchronic evidence that in Ma'vea, *mo-* was also a more general realis marker.

An interesting feature of the set of subject markers is the homophony between the first

person plural exclusive *ki-* and the second person plural *ki-*. This homophony, (also found in Tamambo, Jauncey 1997:312), led me to misinterpret parts of a text (07037) where the speaker narrates an event that happened to his brother and himself (using *kir-* as the first person dual exclusive), and relates in direct reported speech his discussion of the event with a group of people, who used *kir-* second person dual marker, when they asked the speaker to detail the event. Given that Ma'vea is a pro-drop language (that is, a subject- whether an NP or an independent pronoun- is not obligatory in a sentence), it would be of interest to study in detail other discourse reference-tracking resources available to the hearer. This is, however, beyond the scope of this study.

9.1.2 Plurality. Non-singular reference of the subject can be further divided between dual, and paucal or trial. The dual marker *r-* is derived from the numeral *rua* ‘two’. This morpheme is used when the subject refers to exactly two entities. The paucal/trial marker *tol-* is derived from *tolu* ‘three’. This morpheme is used to refer to exactly three entities acting as subject or to a group of up to five or six entities. The placement of these morphemes in the verbal complex is subject to some variation. In the following subsections, I discuss the ordering of the dual and paucal morphemes (referred to as “number marking”) with respect to other constituents in the verbal complex.

9.1.2.1 Number marking and the inceptive aspect *pete*: *pete-r*, *pete-tol*. There are no examples in the corpus of the inceptive aspect used with the dual or the paucal markers. I elicited the following forms. The number morphemes occur after the aspectual marker.

- (786) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 Ra-**pete-tol**-sua.
 3PL-INCPT-PCL-paddle
 ‘They (all) just paddled.’

- (787) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Ra-**pete-r**-l-avtai.
 3PL-INCPT-DL-IMPF-appear
 ‘They (two) have just come out.’

9.1.2.2 Number marking and negation *sopo*: *r-sopo*, *sopo-r*, *sopo-tol*. In the following examples, the dual marker occurs before and after negation without any semantic differences.

- (788) ref 06018.012
 Ra-**r-sopo**-rong tamlesea.
 3PL-DL-NEG-hear elder
 ‘They (two) did not hear the old man.’

- (789) ref 07079.033
 Ki-**sopo-r**-*ǎanǎano* pili vati.
 1PL.EXCL-NEG-DL-walk hand bare
 ‘We (two) do not go empty handed.’

I was unable so far to find in the corpus an instance of the paucal marker with negation. When elicited, the paucal marker followed negation.

- (790) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 Me ra-**sopo-tol**-sua.
 FUT 3PL-NEG-PCL-paddle
 ‘They (three) will not paddle.’

9.1.2.3 Number marking and the conditional mood *mo*: *r-mo*, *mo-r*, *mo-tol*. In the following pair, the dual marker is shown to follow or precede the conditional mood marker *mo*.

- (791) ref 06033.008
 Ki-**mo-r**-laǎ=i=a, me mata i-an kamrua.
 2PL-COND-DL-take=TR=3SG FUT snake 3SG.IR-eat 2PL.DL
 ‘If you (two) take it, the snake will eat you.’

- (792) ref 06024.005
 Ra-**r**-sop ʋanua, i-ʋa ra-**r-mo**-kuro ʋanua ro ra-**r-ʋa** na
 3PL-DL-follow island 3SG.IR-go 3PL-DL-COND-leave island then 3PL-DL-go LOC
 malmalo.
 reef
 ‘They (two) follow the island for a while, if they leave the island then they will reach
 the reef.’

There are no instances in the corpus of the conditional mood marker *mo-* and the paucal marker. When elicited, the paucal marker followed the conditional.

- (793) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 Ra-v ra-**mo-tol**-sua.
 3PL-say 3PL-COND-PCL-paddle
 ‘They said they (all) would paddle.’

9.1.2.4 Number marking and the iterative aspect *ṁe*: *ṁe-r*, *ṁe-tol*. As we can see in the following examples, the dual and the paucal markers both occur after the iterative.

- (794) ref 06032.036
 Da-**ṁe-r**-lo-pos.
 1PL.INCL-IT-DL-IMPF-turn
 ‘Let us (two) go back.’
- (795) ref 07072.047
 Ale ki-**ṁe-l-tol**-tapula.
 then 1PL.EXCL-IT-IMPF-PCL-return
 ‘Then we (all) returned again.’

The placement of these number morphemes, however, is different. The dual marker occurs immediately after the iterative morpheme and before the imperfective *l(o)-*, while the paucal marker occurs after the imperfective morpheme.

9.1.2.5 Number marking and the imperfective aspect *l(o)*: *l(o)-tol* and *r-l(o)*.

The dual marker occurs consistently before the imperfective marker, throughout the data.

- (796) ref 06020.010
 Ro ra-**r**-sua ra-**r-lo-ř**va, ra-**r-lo-ř**va.
 then 3PL-DL-paddle 3PL-DL-IMPF-go 3PL-DL-IMPF-go
 ‘Then they (two) paddled for a while.’

The paucal marker, on the other hand, occurs consistently after the imperfective in the corpus.

- (797) ref 06024.028
 Ratol ra-**lo-tol**-sua ra-l-řva.
 3PL.PCL 3PL-IMPF-PCL-paddle 3PL-IMPF-go
 ‘They (all) paddled for a while.’

9.1.2.6 Summary. So far, we have the following patterns:

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|---|--------------|---|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (798) | Inceptive | > | Dual | | <i>pete-r</i> | |
| | Inceptive | > | Paucal | | <i>pete-tol</i> | |
| | (Iterative) | > | Imperfective | > | Paucal | <i>(ře)-l(o)-tol</i> |
| | (Iterative) | > | Dual | > | Imperfective | <i>(ře)-r-l(o)</i> |
| | Dual | > | Conditional | > | Dual | <i>r-mo, mo-r</i> |
| | Conditional | > | Paucal | | | <i>mo-tol</i> |
| | Dual | > | Negation | > | Dual | <i>r-sopo, sopo-r</i> |
| | Negation | > | Paucal | | | <i>sopo-tol</i> |

There seems to be variation in the placement of the dual and paucal markers. However, one speaker, EVK, (from whom the sentences are elicited, and who is the most senior consultant I worked with) rejected the sequence *r-sopo* given in (788) above. According to her, the only acceptable sequence is negation followed by the dual marker: *sopo-r*. I found two instances of *r-sopo* in two different texts, from two different speakers, but I found a total of seventeen instances of the sequence *sopo-r* in the corpus.

EVK also rejected the sequence dual marker followed by the conditional *r-mo*. I found this sequence only once in the corpus. The sequence *mo-r* was found ten times. Given that

the consultant's metalinguistic judgment is bound to be correct, we can attribute these "odd" ordering to production errors.

Another production error found in the corpus is the placement of the conditional marker *mo* before the subject agreement marker. This production error was found three times in the corpus.

- (799) ref 06033.009
 Ra-v: 'Io, mo-du, **mo-ki**-sopo-r-la^v=i=a.
 3PL-say yes 3SG-good COND-1PL.EXCL-NEG-DL-take=TR=3SG
 'They said: 'Yes, ok, we will not take it.'

If we take EVK's considerations into account, we are left with a somewhat clearer picture. Number markers occur after the inceptive and iterative aspects, after the conditional marker, and after negation, in the following order:

- (800) Conditional > Negation > Iterative / Inceptive > Dual/paucal

We are left, however, with the variable placement of the number morphemes with respect to the imperfective.

- (801) Dual > Imperfective > Paucal

There are literally hundreds of examples in the corpus with the dual marker preceding the imperfective, but not one with the imperfective preceding the dual morpheme. There are twelve verbs in the corpus where the imperfective precedes the paucal marker, but not one with the reverse ordering.

If we consider that the default order is imperfective>number, we can posit that to avoid a phonologically impossible sequence with the dual marker **m̃e-l-r*, the dual marker is shifted before the imperfective: *m̃e-r-lo*. However, the order **m̃e-l-r* would be possible if the full form of the imperfective was chosen, to form: **m̃e-lo-r*. This form is, however, unattested.

If we assume that the default order is number>imperfective, we can then posit that the paucal number is shifted after the imperfective to avoid the sequence **m̃e-tol-l(o)* which would result in the gemination of the consonant <l>. However, this geminate is possible in the language (as seen in the phonology chapter). Given these fact, I am not at present in a position to decide which word order, if any, is the default one.

9.1.3 Object enclitics. Object clitics are provided in table 9.73 below.

Table 9.73: Object enclitics

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1INCL	=ao	=(i)da
1EXCL		
2	=o	
3	=a	=(i)ra

Empty cells in the above table indicate that there are no clitic forms for first exclusive plural and second plural. The independent pronouns *kañim* and *kañam* respectively are used instead.

Object enclitics attach to the end of the verbal complex. They occur after the transitive clitic (if present), whether at the right edge of a verb (as in (802)) or at the right edge of a verbal adverb (as in (803)).

(802) ref 06015.114
 Āpaio aite mo-at=i=ao!
 shark one 3SG-bite=TR=1SG
 ‘A shark bit me!’

(803) ref 07072.043
 Ra-klinim momos=i=a.
 3PL-clean good=TR=3SG
 ‘They cleaned it well.’

Clitics and co-referential NP objects may not co-occur.

(804) Constructed examples.

Mo-at=i=a.
3SG-bite=TR=3SG
'He bit it.'

(805) Mo-at **sun**i.

3SG-bite hat
'He bit the hat.'

(806) *Mo-at=i=a **sun**i.

3SG-bite=TR=3SG hat

Object clitics close off the verbal complex. They are the last morphemes that can morphologically attach to the verbal complex. No clitics were found after the object clitics. More is said on transitivity in chapter 10.

9.2 Tense.

Tense, aspect, and mood (TAM henceforth) are used to characterize an event in terms of its location in time (tense), in terms of its structure (aspect), or the likelihood of its realization (mood) (see for example Chung and Timberlake 1985:202). In Ma'ea, they are expressed (i) morphologically in the verbal complex by morphemes prefixed to the verb (aspect and mood); (ii) periphrastically by independent morphemes occurring at the beginning of a sentence (tense), or at the end of the clause (aspect). This section is devoted to tense, the following two sections to aspect, and then to mood.

Tense is used to position the temporal location of an event in relation to another reference point in time. An event can thus occur before, simultaneously, or after a reference point (see Bhat 1999:13, Comrie 1976:2). Relative distances between the event under consideration and a point of reference may be encoded with a three-way tense distinction: future, present, and past; or a two-way distinction, such as future/non-future (Payne 1997:236). Ma'ea has a two-way tense system, encoding events as either future or non-future.

9.2.1 Future. The future is the marked tense. A sentence in the future tense is marked by the free morpheme *me* or the morphemes *me ro*, which occur sentence initially, as in (807) and (808), or just after the subject, as in (809) and (810). I did not find any semantic difference between *me* and *me ro*. When I asked my consultants, I was told that *me ro* is more “correct” and that *me* is a shorter form.

(807) ref 06036.046

Naʼaʼvi tae viriu **me nno** ko-sop-an laʼ=i=a, mo-isat.
 1SG-bake excrement dog FUT 2SG 2SG-NEG-eat take=TR=3SG 3SG-bad
 ‘I baked dog’s excrement, you will not be able to eat it, it is bad.’

(808) ref 06016.045

Me ro nao ka-ʼva ka-deo asao.
 FUT then 1SG 1SG.IR-go 1SG.IR-defecate far
 ‘I will go defecate far away.’

(809) ref 06036.050

Nno me ko-sop-an laʼ tae-n viriu.
 2SG FUT 2SG-NEG-eat take excrement-CONS dog
 ‘You will not be able to eat the dog’s excrement.’

(810) ref 06016.061

Nao me ro ka-suruv aul pere-n vuae.
 1SG FUT then 1SG.IR-sleep above branch-CONS tree
 ‘I will sleep on top of the trees.’

The position of the future marker *me (ro)*, with respect to the independent pronoun subject (or a full noun phrase), suggests that *me (ro)* is a free morpheme and not part of the verbal complex per se. There is no noticeable pause in the audio recordings between the subject and the future marker which would suggest left dislocation of one element over the other.

As mentioned in Chung and Timberlake 1985:206, there is a correlation between tense and mood. The future, they argue (1985:243), “is a semantic category where tense and

mood merge.” In Ma’vea, indeed, the future tense requires the use of the irrealis subject agreement markers.

(811) ref 06017.003
 Tañanatu-na mo-v **me** i-sua.
 husband-3SG.POSS 3SG-say FUT 3SG.IR-paddle
 ‘Her husband said he would paddle.’

(812) *tañanatu-na mo-v **me mo**-sua.
 husband-3SG.POSS 3Sg-say FUT 3SG-paddle

9.2.2 Non-future. Sentences that are not marked for future tense can express present or past depending on the context of the utterance.

(813) Navaisesea le mo-l-ngara.
 child DET 3SG-IMPF-cry
 ‘The child is/was crying.’

Temporal adverbials such as *napar* ‘today’, *talapong* ‘last night’, *nano’vi* ‘yesterday’ or *tur’uaite* ‘every day’ are then used to ensure the intended time interpretation, if the context of utterance is insufficient.

To refer to an event that occurred in a distant past, the adverb *amma* ‘before’ is used, sometimes modified by the degree marker *los(o)* ‘more, very’.

(814) ref 06042.001-003
Amma, amma los, na taro ma Aese mo-er tamloi-na.
 before before more LOC time comp Ais 3SG-not.have man-3SG.POSS
 ‘Before, a long time ago, when there were no men on Ais Island.’

Events that occurred in a distant past may also be described with the phrase *ina mar amma* ‘things of before’. The meaning of *mar* remains to be established.

(815) ref 07069.001-005
 1984? 85? 80? 87? 80. Ok, **ina mar amma.**
 1984? 85? 80? 87? 80 ok thing MAR before
 ‘(In) 1984? 85? 80? 87? 80. Ok, a long time ago.’

9.3 Aspect.

Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of an event (Chung and Timberlake 1985:202, Comrie 1976:3, based on Holt 1943). According to Bhat (1999:43-60), there are three main aspectual categories:

- **View of the event:** imperfective (the view of the internal structure of the event from inside) and perfective (the view of the event as a whole, from outside).
- **Phases of the event:** whether the event is viewed as ingressive/beginning, progressive, or egressive/ending.
- **Quantification of the event:** whether the event is viewed as iterative, habitual, or frequentative.

Bhat (1999:45) argues that the aspectual category “view of the event” is cross-linguistically closer to the verb than the other two categories (phases and quantification of the event). This claim seems to hold true in Ma’vea. As seen in a previous example, repeated below, the imperfective marker *l(o)* is closest to the head of the verbal complex, whereas the quantificational aspect *m̃e* is farther away from the verb.

- (816) Ra-**mo**-sopo-**m̃e**-r-**lo**-*ṽ*a.
3PL-COND-NEG-IT-DL-IMPF-go
‘If they (two) do not go anymore.’

Givón (2001a:340) argues that the ordering of morphemes in the verbal complex reflects an iconicity universal, where an aspectual operator with narrow scope over the verb will appear closer to the verb, whereas a modal operator taking scope over a clause will be farther away from the verb. As can be seen in (816) above, the modal operator *mo* ‘COND’ is the furthest away from the verb.

In the following sections, I show that the three aspectual categories distinguished in Bhat 1999 are present in Ma’vea. Section 9.3.1 describes the aspectual marking of the view of the event, section 9.3.2 phases of the event, and section 9.3.3 quantification of the event.

In order to isolate aspectual distinctions, I asked one consultant to translate Dahl's (1985) TAM questionnaire.³⁵

9.3.1 View of the event.

9.3.1.1 Perfective. The perfective aspect is defined by Dahl (1985:78) as “denoting a single event, seen as an unanalyzed whole, with a well-defined result of end-state located in the past.” Dahl's (1985:198-206) questionnaire lists examples numbered 91; 92; 99; 100; 101; 162; 165; and 175 as the “typical” occurrences of perfective. I report below in (818) and (819) examples 91 and 92 from Dahl 1985:202.

(817) What your brother reaction BE when you gave him the medicine (yesterday)? He
COUGH once. He COUGH twice.

(818) Na-sile=a medicine nanov. Mo-inu=a ro vurui-na
1SG-give=3SG medicine yesterday 3SG-drink=3SG then cough-3SG.POSS
mo-sivo. **Mo-vru** v̄aitenge.
3SG-go.down 3SG-cough once
'I gave him medicine yesterday. He drank it then his cough went down. He coughed
once.'

(819) **Mo-vru** v̄arua.
3SG-cough twice
'He coughed twice.'

The above examples contain no special marker in the verbal complex, only the subject agreement marker and the verb. The perfective aspect in Ma'ŕea is unmarked, or marked with a zero morpheme.

³⁵I modified the questionnaire slightly to fit the cultural reality of Ma'ŕea. For example, where the questionnaire asks how long it takes to write a letter/letters, I often asked instead how long it took to weave a mat/mats.

9.3.1.2 Imperfective. This aspect is used to indicate that an event is unbounded, that is, the event’s edges (the beginning and the end) are not of concern. The event is described as on-going (Bhat 1999:46, Dahl 1985:75, Givón 2001a:289, Payne 1997:239). According to Dahl (1985:92-3), if a language has a perfective-imperfective split, then the imperfective will, in general, also serve as a marker of the progressive aspect. This is possibly because diachronically, the domains where the imperfective and the progressive occurred overlapped.

There are four ways in Mañea to indicate that an event is ongoing: the imperfective marker *l(o)*; the grammaticalized form of the verb *ũa* ‘go’; the morpheme *pa* ‘still’; and the verb *tur(u)* ‘stand’.

9.3.1.2.1 Imperfective *l(o)*. In Dahl’s (1985:198-206) questionnaire, the “typical” progressive examples are his examples numbered 5; 6; 9; 10; 11; 12; and 83. I report below on example 83 in Dahl (1985:201).

(820) Father to child: (Please do not disturb me), I WRITE a letter.

(821) Kañaruo ki-r-**lo**-sasa, ki-r-**l**-ul pepe.
 1PL.EXCL.DL 1PL.EXCL.DL-IMPF-work 1PL.EXCL.DL-IMPF-write letter
 ‘We are working, we are writing a letter.’

The morpheme *l(o)* is present in the sentence, to express that the event is on-going.

9.3.1.2.2 *ũa* ‘go’. Dahl (1985:93) argues that the progressive is more often expressed periphrastically. There is in Mañea a periphrastic construction which can also indicate that an action is on-going. The verb *ũa* ‘go’ is grammaticalized with the third person singular subject marker to express that an event is in progress and is on-going for a while.

- (822) ref 07032.031
Ra-tov **mo-řa**.
3PL-call 3SG-go
'They called for a while.'

As a progressive marker, *řa* can also be found with the imperfective *l(o)*.

- (823) ref 07032.015
Ra-řa ra-pula **mo-lo-řa**.
3PL-go 3PL-fish 3SG-IMPF-go
'They went to night-fish for a while.'

The progressive *molořa* and *mořa* can co-occur consecutively in a sentence, in that preferred order.

- (824) ref 07064.019
Mo-aso=a **mo-lo-řa mo-řa**.
3SG-search=3SG 3SG-IMPF-go 3SG-go
'He searched it and searched it.'

There are thirteen instances in the corpus where *molořa* precedes *mořa* and just one example of the reverse order. The choice of *molořa* over *mořa* to indicate progressive remains to be understood. There is no semantic difference between these two forms, nor is it the case that *molořa* describes an event as on-going for a longer period than *mořa*.

Payne mentions (1997:244, 248) that there is often a connection between aspect marking and locational/directional marking. As the example below demonstrates, the verb *řa* 'go' is also often used to indicate a direction. In that case, it is followed by a locative noun or a place name.

- (825) ref 06028.020
 Ra-ŕe leo, mo-si Tutuva, ra-ŕe leo **mo-ŕa** Aese.
 3PL-make voice 3SG-go.down Tutuba 3PL-make voice 3SG-go Ais
 ‘They pass the message down to Tutuba Island, they pass the message to Ais Island.’

Grammaticalized, the verbal complex *moŕa* retains this notion of directionality, marking an event as continuing towards an end point.

- (826) ref 06028.018
 Tamlo ra-l-to, **mo-ŕa** mo-ran tarlavua.
 man 3PL-IMPF-stay 3SG-go 3SG-day morning
 ‘The men stayed until daylight.’

In the preceding example, *moŕa* is construed as a near equivalent to ‘until’. The staying event is described as continuing throughout the night, reaching the next day.

The form *molŕa* is also used in Maŕea to mean ‘nearly, almost’ (or ‘klosap’ in Bislama).

- (827) **Mo-l-ŕa** ma i-soŕ na patliu.
 3SG-IMPF-go COMP 3SG.IR-fell LOC mountain
 ‘He nearly fell off the cliff.’

The notion of directionality and continuity is also present in this meaning of *molŕa*, in the sense that if “he” in the above example would have continued his action, he would have fallen. So, metaphorically, “he” was going towards his falling.

9.3.1.2.3 *pa* ‘still, yet’. The aspectual adverbial morpheme *pa* ‘still, yet’ usually occurs at the end of a sentence, to indicate that an event is still on-going. It is used in conjunction with the imperfective *l(o)*.

- (828) ref 06015.043-045
 Ra-toŕ ra-toŕ mo-ŕa ra-v ki-tol-sa. Mo-dere. Kaŕnatol
 3PL-call 3PL-call 3SG-go 3PL-say 1PL.EXCL-PCL-go.up 3SG-no 1PL.EXCL.PCL
 ki-l-olo **pa**.
 1PL.EXCL-IMPF-surf still
 ‘They called and called for a while, told us to come up. No. We kept surfing.’

(829) ref 06043.033

Ra-r-taravun tarlavua los mo-pal sara mo-l-ńarńario **pa**.
3PL-DL-rise morning more 3SG-like place 3SG-IMPF-dark still
'They get up very early morning, like the place is still dark.'

When *pa* occurs in a negative sentence, it indicates that the event has not yet come to be realized.

(830) ref 07039.051

Ro mo-ńala mo-**sopo-lo**-ter=i=a **pa**.
then 3SG-bud 3SG-NEG-IMPF-bloom=TR=3SG still
'It is budding, it is not blooming yet.'

There are examples where the morpheme *pa* is not combined with the imperfective bound morpheme *l(o)*, as in the following example.

(831) ref 06016.053

Mo-v: 'Ale nno **pa** ko-deo ko-deo **pa** ka-on
3SG-say then 2SG still 2SG-defecate 2SG-defecate still 1SG.IR-see
tae-m.'
excrement-2SG.POSS
'He said: 'Ok, you defecate first, you defecate first, I'll watch your excrement.'''

When *pa* is not combined with the imperfective, it does not mean 'still, yet'. Its meaning is similar in part to Bislama *fastaem* 'beforehand, to begin with', or similar to English 'first'. In the following example, the characters are looking for a particular singer. They do not ask their interlocutor to keep singing, as he was not singing when they approached him. They ask him to sing 'first' or 'now'.

(832) ref 06025.012

Ro ra-v: 'Ko-try ko-kev **pa**, ko-kev ki-rongo=a.
then 3PL-say 2SG-try 2SG-whistle still 2SG-whistle 1PL.EXCL-hear=3SG
'Then they said: 'You try to sing first, you sing, we hear it.'''

9.3.1.2.4 *Tur(u)* ‘stand up’. The posture verb *tur(u)* ‘stand up’ can be used to indicate a duration over time. The following example comes from a story where an animal puts a spell on another one. In the conclusion, the narrator mentions that the spell still applies today.

- (833) ref 06016.062
 Mo-**tur** na taro ro, mo-tikel napar.
 3SG-stand.up LOC time here 3SG-reach today
 ‘It stays since that time, until today.’

9.3.2 Phases of the event.

9.3.2.1 Inceptive. The inceptive aspect marks the starting point of an event (Payne 1997:240). In Ma’ŕea, the morpheme *pete* fulfills this role when it is accompanied by the imperfective *l(o)*, as shown in the following two examples.

- (834) 06042.123
 ro Aese tamloi-n ra-**pete-l**-lavoa na taro ro.
 then Ais man-3SG.POSS 3PL-INCP-IMP-plant LOC time here
 ‘Then, Ais, its men were starting to be numerous at that time.’

- (835) 07054a.009
 Na-**pete-l**-davo=a.
 1SG-INCP-IMP-plant=3SG
 ‘I started planting it.’

There is also a periphrastic structure indicating that an event is beginning. The inceptive aspect can be rendered with the intransitive verb *tan* ‘begin’.

(836) ref 06036.064

Mo-lo-**taur** **ǃ**iri-n malmalu mo-**tan** mo-sadi=a patu-n
3SG-IMPF-hold shell-CONS clam 3SG-begin 3SG-plant=3SG head-CONS
veas. Ro mo-**tan** mo-aǃe vua patu-na.
wild.man then 3SG-begin 3SG-cut fruit head-3SG.POSS

‘He was holding the shell of a clam, he began to plant it in the wild man’s head.
Then he began to cut his brain.’

Whereas *pete* is ingressive and marks the beginning of the action the verb denotes, *tan* (whose Bislama equivalent is *girap* ‘get up’) is used when a series of events are reported. It denotes the beginning of a new event, in a succession of events.

9.3.2.2 Perfect. Perfect is described in Bhat (1999:7, 49, 170) as denoting a past and completed event with current and continuing relevance. To indicate this notion in Maǃea, the morpheme *pete* is used, as shown below.

(837) ref 06045.006

Mo-lo-suruv mo-**pete**-lleo.
3SG-IMPF-sleep 3SG-PRF-awake
‘He was sleeping, he just woke up.’

Hyslop (2001:253) reports on a morpheme *bei* in Lolovoli, whose function is to denote the notions “just” and “for the first time”, as in:

(838) Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:255)

Ga=mo **bei** vano utu tavalu tahi.
1SG.PL.EXCL=REAL just go cross side sea
‘We have just crossed the other side of the sea (for the first time).’

This is also true of Maǃea *pete*. In the following example, the narrator describes his first experience seeing a devilish creature.

- (839) ref 07062.047-048
 Olgeta nao neva ka-on nakaimas mo-*va* na-**pete**-one=a.
 guys 1SG never 1SG.IR-look devilish.creature 3SG-go 1SG-PRF-look
 ‘Guys! I’d never seen a devilish creature before, until I just saw one.’

Bhat (1999:172) notes that in Mundari, an Austro-asiatic language, the same morpheme *ja* indicates perfect and ingressive. This seems to be the case of Ma’vea *pete*.

9.3.2.3 Completive. The completive aspect indicates that an event is complete and finished (Payne 1997:240). According to Bybee et al. (1994:53), a lexical verb like ‘finish’ is often found cross-linguistically to grammaticalize into a perfective or a completive marker. The verb *evuia* ‘complete, finish’ in Ma’vea is a case in point. This grammaticalized form occurs at the end of a clause. It is not a bound morpheme prefixed to the verb like most other aspectual markers listed above.

- (840) ref 07080.093
 Ki-anan **mo-ev** ro ale ki-varvara nira.
 1PL.EXCL-eat 3SG-finish then then 1PL.EXCL-speak 3PL
 ‘We finish eating, then we talk to them.’

The verb *evuia* grammaticalized with the third person singular agreement morpheme reflects the completive aspect in Ma’vea, not the perfective. The completive can co-occur with the imperfective aspect (as shown below), a criterion which, according to Bybee et al. (1994:51), indicates that this morpheme is not a realization of the perfective.

- (841) ref 06033.042
 Mo-I-**sov** rarua **mo-ev** ro mo-la^v rarua.
 3SG-IMPF-wash 3PL.DL 3SG-finish then 3SG-take 3PL.DL
 ‘He finished washing them completely, then he took them both.’

The aspect marker *moev* is often used as V2 in ambient serial constructions (see section 11.3.1.2.3) when a series of events are taking place one after the other. It indicates that after an action is completed, another one may start. The completive aspect also seems to

indicate that the event performed on the object has completely affected that object. Total affectedness of the object is one of the defining features of the completive (Bybee et al. 1994:57, 60). In the above example, the morpheme *moev* adds these two dimensions to the sentence: a sequential notion (after he washed them, he took them) and a notion of completeness, where the object of the washing are totally affected by the action. The same two notions are found in the example below.

- (842) ref 07026.006
 Ko-siře uri-na **mo-ev** ro ko-tara=i=a.
 2SG-peel skin-3SG.POSS 3SG-finish then 2SG-chop.grate=TR=3SG
 ‘You peel its skin, when it is finished, you grate it.’

In the above sentence, *moev* indicates that two actions are sequential (peeling then grating), but it also implies that the peeling has to be completely done (so that the peeling will affect all the vegetable’s skin) before the second event (grating) can take place. The second kind of meaning -that of a completely affected patient- is particularly clear with adjectival verbs (Bybee et al. 1994:74).

- (843) ref 06020.013
 Vulu-na ra-ńasa **mo-ev**.
 hair-3SG 3PL-dry 3SG-finish
 ‘His hair was completely dry.’

- (844) ref 06029.023
 Mo-lsulsu=ra mo-řa ra-malalum, malalum **mo-evu**.
 3SG-hit=3PL 3SG-go 3PL-soft soft 3SG-finish
 ‘He pounded them for a while, they were completely soft.’

According to Bybee et al. (1994:61, 105), completives often evolve into anterior (also known as “perfect”), defined as “a past action with a current relevance” before they further grammaticalize into perfective (Bybee et al. 1994:61). In Mařea, no clear cases of anterior have been found so far. Last, note that the verb *evuia* ‘complete, finish’ is also used as a lexical verb (in example (845)) and as the quantifier ‘all’ (in example (846)).

(845) ref 07062.036
 Na-l-tur na-rong vulu-n eǵe-ku **mo-ev.**
 1SG-IMPF-stand.up 1SG-feel hair-CONS body-1SG.POSS 3SG-finish
 ‘I was standing, I felt I had no more hair.’(Lit: I felt my hair was finished)³⁶

(846) ref 06041.019
 Mo-pulu=a mo-lo-ǵa ro mo-viria **evui.**
 3SG-dye=3SG 3SG-IMPF-go then 3SG-black all
 ‘He painted him for a while, then he painted him completely black.’

The notion of completeness (all members of a set) and completion (entire event accomplished) thus overlap in this lexeme.

9.3.3 Quantification of the event.

9.3.3.1 Iterative. The iterative aspect indicates that an action is taking place repetitively, on different occasions or repeatedly on the same occasion (Chung and Timberlake 1985:221). Bhat (1999:53) and Bybee et al. (1994:160) differentiate iteratives, which signal an action repeated on a single occasion, and frequentatives, which signal actions repeated on different occasions. I will not make this distinction here. I use the term iterative to cover frequentative as well. There are two possible morphological means to indicate that an event is done repetitively: the iterative morpheme *m̃e* and reduplication.

9.3.3.1.1 *m̃e* ‘iterative’. The morpheme *m̃e* indicates that an event is repeated or happening again, as shown below.

³⁶This means ‘to be scared to death’.

(847) ref 06007.134-136

Mo-**ře**ve *řa*řin aite, ale mo-**ře**-l-**ře**ve aite.
3SG-father female one ale 3SG-IT-IMPF-father one
'He fathered a girl, then, he was fathering one again.'

In the following example, negation is combined in a sentence with the iterative marker. Negation combined with the iterative aspect *ře* indicate that an event is not occurring again or not occurring anymore.

(848) ref 06020.024-026

Mo-l-tang ro,...mo-rong tamlo ait mo-varvara. Mo-rongo=a pomoro,
3SG-IMPF-cry then3SG-hear man one 3SG-speak 3SG-hear=3SG like.this
mo-**sopo-ře**-l-tang.
3SG-NEG-IT-IMPF-cry
'He was crying then [...] he heard a man talk. He heard him, he did not cry anymore.'

According to Payne (1997:241), the iterative aspect combines with a punctual verb to indicate that an action is repeated, but when combined with non-punctual verbs, the iterative may indicate instead an action in progress. This is possibly the case in Mařea, as exemplified below.

(849) ref 06024.028

Mo-**ře**-sa mo-**ře**-l-**tur** na patu-na aka ro,
3SG-IT-go.up 3SG-IT-IMPF-stand.up LOC head-CONS canoe then
mo-**ře**-l-us=i=ra.
3SG-IT-IMPF-ask=TR=3PL
'He was going up (again), he was standing up (again) at the head of the canoe, then he asked them again.'

In this example, the morpheme *ře* combined with a durative verb like *tur* 'stand' indicates continuation, while *ře* combined with a punctual verb like *usia* 'ask' indicates repetition.

9.3.3.1.2 Reduplication. Reduplication serves a variety of purposes in Ma’vea (see chapter 4). One function is to indicate that an action is taking place repetitively. Consider the verb *isia* ‘pick up by pinching’ below. The first example is taken from a text relating a Kastom ceremony, where family and island members pledge to give the groom money to pay for his wife by picking up cycad leaves. Each leaf represents one thousand vatu.

- (850) ref 07082.134
 Ro me ro nno palai ko-**is** te rau-n mele aite.
 then FUT then 2SG likewise 2SG-pinch some leaves-CONS plant one
 ‘Then you too you will pick a cycad leaf.’

In this example, the verb *isia* ‘pinch’ is not reduplicated, the object is individuated with the numeral *aite* ‘one’. In the following example, *isia* is reduplicated.

- (851) ref 06022.004
 Veas mo-**is~is** pareke.
 wild.man 3SG-RED~pinch cabbage
 ‘The wild man picked cabbage.’

In the example above, the object is not individuated. Together with reduplication, this leads to the interpretation that an unquantified amount of cabbage is being picked up by means of an iterated action of pinching. Intuitively, it seems that the iterative morpheme *m̄e* (discussed in section 9.3.3.1.1) indicates that “the iterated subevents [are] understood as distinct and individuated (on many (different) occasions)”, while reduplication indicates that “the iterated subevents [are] collectivized (may times together)” (Chung and Timberlake 1985:221). The exact difference between reduplication and the iterative morpheme *m̄e* remains to be explored in more depth.

9.3.3.2 Habitual. This aspect indicates that an event is taking place on a regular basis, from time to time (Payne 1997:241). Given its frequentative dimension, the habitual may be treated as a quantificational aspect (Bhat 1999:53).

In Dahl's (1985:198-206) questionnaire, there are three types of habitual. "Habitual generic" describes a property or a characteristic of a species, while the "simple" habitual and "habitual past" quantify over a set of occasions clearly defined in the context (Dahl 1985:97-99). I report below on two examples describing the habitual generic (examples 73 and 74 in Dahl 1985:201). Instead of cats meowing, I asked for rooster crowing, hens cackling, dog barking, and flying foxes crying.

(852) What kind of sound do cats make? What do cats do when they are hungry? They
MEOW.

(853) Ra-**I**-tarere, ra-kotkotao, viriu ra-m̄eru. Karae ra-**I**-ngara.
3PL-IMPF-crow, 3PL-cackle, dog 3PL-bark flying.fox 3PL-IMPF-cry
'They crow, they cackle, dogs bark. Flying foxes cry.'

As can be seen from the examples, the imperfective marker *l(o)* optionally appears in habitual generic sentences to indicate characteristics of a species. Recall from section 9.3.1.2.1 above that *l(o)* was also used as a progressive marker. This dual usage of *l(o)* is not typologically unusual, as Bhat reports (1999:54). Dahl (1985:88,94,102) notes if the same morpheme is used to express both progressive and habitual, this morpheme is likely to represent the imperfective aspect. This fact holds true in Ma'ŕea. The same morpheme *l(o)* is used to denote that an event is in progress or that an event is done habitually.

9.4 Mood.

Mood refers to the status of a proposition, the probability that the situation is true, or the speaker's attitude towards the situation (Palmer 2001:1, Payne 1997:234). According to Palmer (2001:4-7), languages can express modality (i) with a modal system (that is, with modal verbs such as *may* and *should* in English or with adverbs); (ii) with a mood system (that is grammaticalized mood markings such as verbal inflections); or (iii) with both. However, Palmer (2001:104) argues that this third possibility is rare, insofar as it is

unlikely for a mood and a modal system to co-exist in a language, and that if they co-occur, usually one system is bound to replace the other. Modal systems use diverse grammatical markers to differentiate several layers of modality (such as epistemic or evidential modality; and dynamic or deontic modality),³⁷ while in mood systems, these modal distinctions are arranged along a binary split in the grammar: a sentence is marked as realis or irrealis. Payne (1997:244) defines realis as asserting that a state of affairs or event happened or holds true, and irrealis as making no claims about the actuality of the event or state of affairs (see also Palmer 2001:4 and Chung and Timberlake 1985:241).³⁸

Languages vary significantly as to which modal category they mark as realis or irrealis (Chung and Timberlake 1985:241, Palmer 2001:189). Future, Negation, Interrogatives, or Imperatives, to name a few, may be irrealis in one language and realis in another (Payne 1997:245). It is therefore of interest to describe a language-internal split between realis and irrealis.

As shall become clear in the following section, Ma'vea has a binary irrealis/realis mood system. Irrealis and realis marking in Ma'vea are encoded on the subject agreement markers, realis being the unmarked mood. Note, however, that only two agreement markers have distinct realis/irrealis forms, namely *na-* '1SG' and *ka-* '1SG.IR' and *mo-* '3SG' and *i-* '3SG.IR'. With all other pronouns, deciding whether a sentence is realis or irrealis then depends on grammatical markers such as auxiliaries, complementizers, adverbials, or the grammatical marking expressing future.

Table 9.74 summarizes the split between realis and irrealis in Ma'vea. In the following subsections, I present examples of the realis/irrealis moods.

³⁷These concepts are defined in Nuyts (2006:2-6) and Palmer (2001:8-10).

³⁸Bybee et al. 1994:236-40 questions the validity of realis and irrealis as typological categories. See Palmer 2001:188-191 for a different viewpoint.

Table 9.74: Realis and irrealis split in Ma’vea

Mood	Modal category	Grammatical category licensing mood	
Realis	dynamic	auxiliary	<i>adi</i> ‘can’(ability)
			<i>leng</i> ‘cannot’
	epistemic	verb	<i>dav</i> ‘seem’
		adverb	<i>or</i> ‘maybe’
negation	prefix	<i>sopo-</i> ‘NEG’	
Irrealis	desiderative	adverb	<i>imte</i> ‘wish’
		verb	<i>-v</i> ‘want’
		verb	<i>rongoa</i> ‘sense’
		verb	<i>tarao</i> ‘prefer’
	deontic	auxiliary	<i>ria</i> ‘must’ (obligation)
			<i>adi</i> ‘can’ (possibility)
	epistemic	future	<i>me (ro)</i> ‘FUT’
	imperative	N/A	
conditional	prefix	<i>mo</i> ‘COND’	
Realis and irrealis	interrogative	N/A	

9.4.1 Realis. A sentence in Ma’vea is understood as realis by default, that is, if there is no ‘special’ marker that indicates otherwise, where a “special” marker stands for the irrealis mood licensing categories listed in table 9.74 above, then the sentence is understood to be in the realis mood.

Realis portrays events as actualized, events that have occurred in the past or that are occurring. The following example is taken from the very first lines of a story. The subject marker *mo-* prefixed to the verb *tikoua* ‘marry’ is in its realis form. The event depicted happened in the past (there are no more people leaving on Ais Island).

(854) ref 07066.001-006

Io, tamlese aite, chievu-n Aese, ese-na Molres. Molres **mo**-tikou 50.
 yes old one chief-CONS Aese, name-3SG.POSS Molres Molres 3SG-marry 50
 ‘Ok, yes, there (was) an old man, chief of Ais, his name (was) Molres. Molres
 married 50 women.’

9.4.1.1 Negation. A proposition negated with the prefix *sopo-* does not license the irrealis mood morphology.

(855) ref 06016.026
 Ro ǃilae dusdusei-na **mo-sopo**-du.
 then plover idea-3SG.POSS 3SG-NEG-good
 ‘Then, Plover, his intentions were bad.’ (Lit: his idea (is/was) not good.)

(856) ref 06016.036
Mo-sopo-on dam ara ma nna mo-rivu=a.
 3SG-NEG-see yam red COMP 3SG 3SG-plant=3SG
 ‘He did not see the red yam that he had planted.’

9.4.1.2 Interrogative. Interrogative aspect per se does not license irrealis marking on the verb, but the verb in an interrogative construction may be marked as irrealis if other factors (such as modality) requires irrealis marking.

9.4.1.2.1 Yes-no questions. Polar questions are exemplified in examples (857) and (858) below. They are not marked with a yes-no question particle. Only intonation can differentiate a yes-no question from a declarative sentence. A realis yes-no question is chosen when the question is epistemic, as in the following example.

(857) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Mary **mo-l**-to te na mo-dere?
 Mary 3SG-IMP stay or but 3SG-not
 ‘Is Mary at home or not?’

The speaker of (857) has doubt about the location of *Mary*, and needs the addressee to confirm her whereabouts. The realis mood is chosen as this question seeks confirmation of the actuality of the event (*Mary* being at home).

If, on the other hand, the speaker asks permission to perform an action, then the irrealis mood is chosen to mark deontic modality, so, in this case, the irrealis is licensed by the auxiliary *adi* ‘can’.

- (858) ref 06024.009
 Ro mo-v: ‘**Ka-adi** sop kamruo?’
 then 3SG-say 1SG.IR-can follow 2PL.DL
 ‘Then he said: ‘Could I follow you two?’’

Yes-no questions can also be marked irrealis if the information required is situated in the future. Consider (859) below.

- (859) 06045.127
 Vovaro mo-v: ‘**Me ko-la** m̄arau-m **ki-r-va**?’
 Vovaro 3SG-say FUT 2SG-take wife-2SG.POSS 2PL-DL-go
 ‘Vovaro said: ‘You will take your wife and go?’’

The subject agreement markers *ko-* ‘2SG’ and *ki-* ‘2PL’ do not change form with realis or irrealis mood, but the presence of the future marker *me* implies that they are irrealis.

9.4.1.2.2 Content questions. To form a wh-question, the information one wishes to obtain appears under the form of a wh-word. Consider the following example. The protagonists heard a beautiful song and want to find the animal singer. They ask the dove *ise* ‘who’ is singing.

- (860) ref 06025.015
 Ra-r-vaño ra-r-on vomae ro ra-v: ‘Vomae, **ise mo-l-kev**?’
 3PL-DL-walk 3PL-DL-look dove then 3PL-say dove who 3SG-IMPF-sing
 ‘They two went on, they saw Dove and asked: ‘Dove, who was singing?’’

The verb inside the above content question is marked realis, as the singing event has already taken place. The following example (like the previous one) is epistemic. The realis mood is thus chosen.

- (861) ref 06042.060
 Mo-v: ‘Taña-m **mo-l-to aḗe**?’
 3SG-say father-2SG.POSS 3SG-IMPF-stay where
 ‘He said: ‘Where is your father?/ Where does your father live?’’

Content questions can be marked irrealis if the information required is situated in the future, as in (862).

- (862) Elicitation, 2007, ANL.
 Na-er pua, **me ka-dom** bread **i-pal** sa?
 1SG-not.have knife, FUT 1SG.IR-cut bread 3SG.IR-like what
 ‘I don’t have a knife, how should I cut the bread?’

9.4.2 Irrealis. Irrealis portrays events as not actualized, or hypothetical (see for example Bhat 1999:65). As was noted in section 9.1 above, two subject agreement markers change form depending on the mood of the clause. The following subsections exemplify the modal categories that condition the use of the irrealis mood.

9.4.2.1 Conditional. Conditional sentences are made up of a condition A (generally introduced by ‘if’ in English) and a consequent B (introduced by ‘then’ in English), so that the consequent B in ‘if A then B’ will be realized (with various degree of possibility/certainty/probability) as a result of A being realized (see for example Chung and Timberlake 1985:250). The conditional mood in Ma’vea is marked with the modal prefix *mo-*. This morpheme appears in the verbal complex just after the subject agreement marker, as seen below. Only the condition clauses in Ma’vea are morphologically marked for conditional mood.

- (863) ref 07068.080
 Na-ontavse na-v **ka-mo-stop** me ro ra-lsu=ao.
 1SG-know 1SG-say 1SG.IR-COND-stop FUT then 3PL-hit=1SG
 ‘I know that if I had stopped, they would have killed me.’

The above sentence is introduced by the verb *ontavseia* ‘know’. The speaker is describing a counterfactual event. He is rather certain that the consequent would have happened if he had stopped. In the following example, on the other hand, the speaker is not certain that the condition holds. The conditional is hypothetical.

- (864) ref 06027.005
 Te ʋalu-ńnim **i-mo**-adi taur sio lape=ao,
 some with-2PL.POSS 3SG.IR-COND-can hold king.fisher DAT=1SG
 ka-tara=i=a.
 1SG.IR-chop.grate=TR=3SG
 ‘If one of you could hold the kingfisher for me, I would cut it.’

More is said on conditional adverbial clauses in 14.4.

9.4.2.2 Desiderative and Optative. The optative mood is used to express wishing and hoping. Desideratives are expressed with verbs of wanting. According to Palmer (2001:13), wishes are partly deontic (as they refer to potential events, beyond the control of the individual), and partly epistemic (as they express the speaker’s judgment about a proposition); while desideratives are deontic (Chung and Timberlake 1985:247, De Haan 2006:34-35, Palmer 2001:134).

There are four possible ways to express desire and wish in Ma’vea. They are discussed below.

9.4.2.2.1 *Imte* ‘wish’. The modal *imte* (sometimes realized as *inte*) is used to indicate a wish from the part of the speaker. We will see below other means to express wishes, but it is worth noting here that *imte* always marks a counterfactual desire.

- (865) ref 06045.260-262
Imte i-l-maur, da-ńna da-to aro, me i-var
 wish 3SG.IR-IMPF-alive 1PL.INCL-come 1PL.INCL-stay here FUT 3SG.IR-tell
 momos sara.
 good place
 ‘I wish he was/were alive. We are from here (lit: we came here to stay), he would explain the history of this location.’ (Lit: He would tell the place good)

Imte is also used to indicate a counterfactual event, and can be used, in this case, as a predicate, taking a subject agreement marker as in (867).

(866) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
Imte nao lañana, me ka-in ai.
 wish 1SG boy FUT 1SG.IR-drink kava
 ‘If I were a man, I could drink kava.’

(867) ref 07041b.012
 Ko-**inte** var ko-story...
 2SG-wish tell 2SG-story
 ‘If you wish to tell a story...’

It is possible that *imte* is the grammaticalized realization of the verbal complex *imote*, an epistemic predicate glossed as follows:

(868) I-mo-te
 3SG.IR-COND-some
 ‘If it were’

similar in part to the verbal complex *mo-sopo te* glossed as ‘3SG-NEG some’, which is the grammatical expression of a negative existential predicate (see chapter 12).

9.4.2.2.2 *Tarao* ‘prefer’. The verb *tarao* is a verb of wanting, used to indicate a desire, as in (869), or a wish (in (870)).

(869) ref 07079.048-050
 Nna mo-ontai=ra [...] ne sa ma ra-**tarao**=a.
 3SG 3SG-look.after=3PL [...] FOC what COMP 3PL-want=3SG
 ‘He looks after them, (he does) what they want (it).’

During elicitations, this verb was found to license the irrealis mood in its complement clause.

- (870) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Na-**tarao** na-v ima sa-ku i-valavoa.
 1SG-want 1SG-say house CLF.LOC-1SG.POSS 3SG.IR-big
 ‘I wish my house were big.’
- (871) Na-**tarao ka**-song apu no-ku.
 1SG-want 1SG.IR-split fire CLF-1SG.POSS
 ‘I want to split my fire wood.’

9.4.2.2.3 Rongo ‘feel’. The verb *rongo* is a perception verb, as seen below.

- (872) ref 06017.013
 M̄arau-na mo-inu=a ro, **mo-rongo** mo-du.
 wife-3SG.POSS 3SG-drink=3SG then 3SG-feel 3SG-good
 ‘His wife drank it then she felt good.’

During elicitations, this verb was found to indicate wanting or desire, similar to English ‘feel like’. It is with this meaning only that the verb *rongo* licenses irrealis in its complement clause.

- (873) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Na-**rongo ka**-in te ai.
 1SG-feel 1SG.IR-drink some kava
 ‘I want to drink kava.’
- (874) Na-**rongo** (nna) **i**-in te puro-i ai i rua.
 1SG-feel (3SG) 3SG.IR-drink some shell-CONS kava LIG two
 ‘I want him to drink two shells of kava.’

Note that the second verb cannot be without subject agreement marking (example (875)) and that the realis subject marker is illicit on that verb (in (876)).

- (875) *Na-**rongo in** te ai.
 1SG-feel drink some kava
- (876) *Na-**rongo na**-in te ai.
 1SG-feel 1SG-drink some kava

9.4.2.2.4 -v ‘say, want’. The morpheme *-v* derives from the verb *vara* ‘tell’. It can be used on its own as a lexical verb to report the speech of a third party, as shown below.

(877) ref 06045.081
 Nna **mo-v** mo-l-*ǎ*e ima aite.
 3SG 3SG-say 3SG-IMPF-make house one
 ‘He said he was making a house.’

(878) ref 06015.043
 Ra-to^ǎ ra-to^ǎ mo-*ǎ*a **ra-v** ki-tol-sa.
 3PL-call 3PL-call 3SG-go 3PL-say 1PL.EXCL-PCL-go.up
 ‘They called and called for a while, they told us to go up.’

As these examples show, the verb reduced to *-v* takes as subject agreement the person(s) whose speech is reported. The same morpheme can also be used as a complementizer after verbs of saying.

(879) ref 06045.062
 Mo-l-varai **mo-v** mo-l-sasa.
 3SG-IMPF-tell 3SG-say 3SG-IMPF-work
 ‘He said that he was working.’

A similar verb, *se* ‘say’ is found in Bislama to be used as a complementizer with verbs of saying (Crowley 2004:182). As all preceding examples show, when used as a verb or as a complementizer, *-v* is followed by the realis mood.

The morpheme *-v* in Ma^ǎvea can also indicate a desire, as seen below. When used to express a desiderative, *-v* is followed by the irrealis mood.

(880) ref 06023.017
 Nao **na-v** **ka-la** sun no-ku.
 1SG 1SG-say 1SG.IR-take hat CLF-1SG.POSS
 ‘I want to take my hat.’

9.4.2.3 Imperative. Imperatives (as in (881) or (882) below) are used to issue a command to a second person, thus they are sometimes associated with deontic modality (Bhat 1999:63, Chung and Timberlake 1985:248).

To express an imperative in Ma'ŕea, the verb is marked with the second person subject prefix, as in example (881), or the verb appears in its bare form as in (882). The latter strategy is less commonly employed.

(881) ref 06033.033
 Ro tina-rarua mo-v: **'Ko-ŕa!**
 then mother-3PL.DL 3SG-say 2SG-go
 'Then their mother said: 'Go!''

(882) ref 07054d.017
Tur asao puse rarua.
 stand.up far away 3PL.DL
 'Get away from both of them.'

Since the agreement markers for 2.SG and 2.PL do not have distinct irrealis forms, it is impossible to tell, based on the morphology, whether imperatives license irrealis.

Hortatives are a special kind of imperative, defined as encouraging or inciting someone to action, such as *let us* in English. Hortatives are expressed in Ma'ŕea with the first person plural inclusive (optionally with a dual marker), as in (883).

(883) Elicitation 2006. ANL
Da-(r)-ŕa!
 1PL.INCL-DL-go
 'Let us (two) go!'

I did not find a clear example of a third person singular imperative (such as French below).

(884) Qu' il parte!
 COMP he go.SUBJ
 'May he go!'

I elicited one example, reported below, from two consultants. These examples contain two verbs: *kuro* ‘leave’ and *inu* ‘drink’. These verbs form two independent clauses, and both verbs are in the imperative mood.

- (885) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 (Ko-)kuro=a, viriu **inu**=a.
 (2SG-)leave=3SG dog drink=3SG
 ‘Leave it, (may) the dog drink it!’

- (886) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
 Kuro=a, viriu **i**-inu=a.
 leave=3SG dog 3SG.IR-drink=3SG
 ‘Leave it, (may) the dog drink it!’

In these two examples, the first verb *kuro* ‘leave’ optionally takes the subject agreement marker *ko-* ‘2SG’. In example (885), the second verb *inu* ‘drink’ appears in its bare form, but in sentence (886), this same verb takes the irrealis agreement marker *i-*. Given that *i-* ‘3SG.IR’ is optional, I am unable to establish with certainty that imperatives are marked with irrealis mood.

9.5 Modality.

9.5.1 Epistemic modality. Epistemic modality expresses the speaker’s judgment about the factual status of a proposition or the degree of certainty the speaker has that what s/he is saying is true (see for example De Haan 2006:29, Palmer 2001:8, 24). Two morphemes in Ma’vea express this type of modality.

9.5.1.1 *Or* ‘maybe’. Epistemic modality is marked in Ma’vea with the modal adverbial *or*, glossed as ‘maybe’. Its use is exemplified in the following sentence.

(887) ref 07072.002-005

Taro na-l-vaiesea, na-pal na-varvari ror **or** **na**-pal Brownsen.
time 1SG-IMPF-small 1SG-like PL-small here maybe 1SG-like Brownsen

‘At the time I was small, I was like the children here, maybe I was like Brownsen.’

The modal adverbial *or* ‘maybe’ does not license the use of the irrealis mood.

9.5.1.2 *Dav* ‘seem’. Epistemic modality is also expressed with lexical item *dav* in Ma’ea, glossed as ‘seem’, which denotes the uncertainty of the speaker. The proposition following *dav* ‘seem’ is not marked irrealis.

(888) ref 07085.156

Mo-stat aulu patu-na, na-on **dav mo**-tau umi-na.
3SG-start above head-3SG.POSS 1SG-look seem 3SG-put beard-3SG.POSS

‘It starts on top of his head, I see it seems he has a moustache.’

(889) ref 07083.019

Na-on **dav** mo-l-nile nila lere.
1SG-see seem 3SG-IMPF-nail nail DET.PL

‘I see he seems to be nailing the nails.’

9.5.2 Deontic modality. Deontic modality refers to factors external to the speaker (such as obligation and permission), and which condition an event. Two auxiliaries express this type of modality.

9.5.2.1 *Adi* ‘can, may’. The modal verb *adi* relates to permission bestowed upon someone, when it is used with the irrealis subject markers.³⁹

³⁹With realis mood, *adi* refers to one’s ability, as shown in (9.5.3).

- (890) ref 07080.082-084
 Tamlo ra-ontavse ra-v Eileen, mo-pal ińarau-ku. Nna **i-adi** vńanńano
 man 3PL-know 3PL-say Eileen 3SG-like wife-1SG.POSS 3SG 3SG.IR-can walk
 mo-pal i-l-to aima na ma nira.
 3SG-like 3SG.IR-IMPF-stay home LOC COMP 3PL
 ‘People know that Eileen is like, my wife. She can go, like, stay at their house.’

In this example, the permission to walk freely is bestowed upon a young married woman by the community.

9.5.2.2 *Ria* ‘must’. The modal *ria* denotes an imposed obligation. This modal requires the irrealis mood morphology. In the following example, the experiencer subject of the verb *ria* has the obligation to perform an action.

- (891) ref 07080.067
 Tańa-n Eileen i-mas **i-ria** tikel inao ma
 father-CONS Eileen 3SG.IR-must 3SG.IR-must reach thing COMP
 ki-tau=a.
 1PL.EXCL-put=3SG
 ‘Eileen’s father must touch the things we gathered.’

Note that the modal *ria* cannot co-occur with negation.

- (892) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 Da-ria vńa.
 1PL.INCL-must go
 ‘We must go.’
- (893) *Da-sopo-ria vńa.
 1PL.INCL-NEG-must go
 (Intended meaning: we must not go.)

The grammatical counterpart of (893) is given below.

- (894) Da-sopo-ńa.
 1PL.INCL-NEG-go
 ‘We don’t go.’

9.5.3 Dynamic modality. Dynamic modality relates to the ability or willingness of an individual to perform an action (Palmer 2001:10). In the following two examples, the auxiliaries *adi* and *leng* are used to indicate ability or lack of ability, respectively.

(895) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Na-**adi** v̄atu aitenge sivo na pong aite.
1SG-can weave one exactly LOC night one
'I can weave exactly one (mat) per day.'

(896) ref 06031.027

Mo-**leng** tete.
3SG-can't fly
'He cannot fly.'

We saw in section 9.5.2.1 that the modal *adi* can express the modal notion of permission when used with the irrealis mood. Used with the realis mood, it expresses dynamic modality.

10 Issues in transitivity

Two transitivizing morphemes are reconstructed in POC: *i and *akin[i].⁴⁰ These morphemes attach to intransitive verbs to derive a transitive verb. With Undergoer-subject verbs (U-verbs), *i and *akin[i] have a causative function, and with Actor-subject verbs (A-verbs), *i and *akin[i] have an applicative function. Examples of the functions of *i follow.

Table 10.75: Functions of *i (From Evans 2003)

	intransitive	transitive
U-verb	*matakut ‘be afraid’	*matakut= i ‘be afraid of’
A-verb	*inum ‘drink’	*inum= i ‘drink s.t.’

In the Ma’vea dictionary I compiled (see Appendix B), there are 187 transitive verbs ending with *-ia* out of a total of 380 transitive verbs.⁴¹ While it is clear that the final [a] in these verbs represent the third person singular object clitic, the status of [i] is questionable because only a handful of these verbs have an intransitive counterpart. The data raise the following questions: (i) is it the case that many verbs just happen to end with the stem-final vowel [i] followed by the object clitic =*a*? (ii) is the sequence =*ia* is composed of a reflex of the POC transitivizer *i followed by the object clitic =*a*? (in which case =*i* could be analyzed as a transitive marker, given the fact that I do not have evidence in the data that these transitive verbs are derived from an intransitive), or (iii) out of those 187 verbs, is it the case that some have a stem-final [i] and others have a reflex of *i? (in which case, we have to determine which is which).

In order to try and answer these questions, a historical detour is needed. In section 10.1,

⁴⁰*Akin[i] is possibly bimorphemic, with the final [i] being the transitive suffix *i (Evans 2003:190).

⁴¹The entries in the dictionary are listed according to their citation form, that is, the form the speakers would give if asked “How do you say X in Ma’vea?” For a transitive verb, this means that the object clitic is added to the entry, so ‘drink’ is listed as *inua* ‘drink it’, since it is the citation form of the verb.

I summarize Evans’s (2003) proposal about the function and distribution of POc **i* and **akin[i]*. In section 10.2, I present Ma’vea intransitive verbs whose transitive counterparts contain a formal marking of transitivity. These verbs are analyzed with respect to their objects’ semantic roles to determine whether reflexes of both **i* and **akini* are present. As we shall see, there is robust evidence for reflexes of **i*, but not for **akini*. In section 10.3, I describe the large set of transitive verbs in Ma’vea that ends with the sequence *-ia*, but does not have intransitive counterparts. I tentatively propose that for most of these verbs, *i* is a transitive morpheme.

10.1 Transitivity in POc.

Lynch et al. (2002:44, 80-82) and Evans (2003) reconstruct two transitive morphemes for POc: **i* and **akin[i]*. The function of these morphemes is to transitive an intransitive verb. The morpheme **i* introduces a patient or theme as direct object (also called a “close” object in the literature), while **akin[i]* promotes an oblique argument with the semantic role of location, goal, cause, or instrument to a direct object (called a “remote” object).

Evans (2003) provides a detailed analysis of the functions of **i* and **akin[i]*, and argues (2003:93, 235) that the semantic role of an object is determined by the type of suffix and the type of verb, as summarized in table 10.76.

Table 10.76: POc transitive verbs and semantic roles (From Evans 2003:235)

	*i	*akini
Verb classes	semantic roles	
motion	location, goal	concomitant
psychological	stimulus	stimulus, cause
speech and cognition	addressee	content
bodily function	location	product
process action	patient	instrument, beneficiary

For example, the POc intransitive psychological verb **tangis* ‘cry’ is reconstructed with

both transitive suffixes and two different meanings, as shown below.

- (897) POc *i and *akin[i], from Evans (2003: 104, 209)
- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| *tangis | ‘cry’ |
| tangis- i | ‘cry for something’ |
| tangis- akin [i] | ‘cry about something, mourn’ |

Lynch et al. (2002:80-82) note that *i was a clitic, attaching to the verbal complex (a verb and possibly an adverb or another verb), with the following phonological restrictions: if the last segment of the verbal complex was a vowel other than [a], the object clitic was directly attached to that vowel, but if the last segment was a consonant or [a], then the transitivity clitic *i was first added, then the object clitic, as shown in the table below (see also Evans 2003:105-107, 117).

*Akin[i], on the other hand, is reconstructed as a free morpheme or a suffix (Evans 2003:230) attaching to verbs and not verbal complexes. This morpheme also seems to not be subject to the same phonological restriction as *i.

Table 10.77: Distribution of *i (From Evans 2003)

Verb	*i ‘transitive’	*a ‘3SG’ object clitic	Meaning
* inum	✓	✓	drink it
* soka	✓	✓	pierce it
* wase	x	✓	distribute it
* poli	x	✓	buy it
* piro	x	✓	twist, wring it

However, Evans (2003:95) also notes that the presence of reflexes of *i in some Oceanic languages (such as Saliba and Lolovoli) can be lexically, and not phonologically, conditioned. This is exemplified below in Saliba.

- (898) Saliba (Margetts 1999)
- | | |
|---------|-------------------|
| hedede- | ‘talk to someone’ |
| bahe-i | ‘carry something’ |
| liga- | ‘cook something’ |
| kuma-i | ‘plant something’ |

As we can see, one lexeme ending with [e] and one with [a] take the transitive clitic *-i*. But the other two lexemes with the same stem-final vowels do not take *-i*. The presence or absence of *-i* is thus lexically determined in Saliba, and not phonologically conditioned.

Last, following Lichtenberk (1983a:36), Evans (2003:109) notes that in Manam, **i* has been reanalyzed as the third person singular object marker.

10.2 Reflexes of **akini* and **i* in Ma’vea.

10.2.1 Reflex of **akini*. According to Evans (2003:124, based on Dixon 1988), the verb *dredre* ‘to laugh’ in Boumaa Fijian is transitivized with a reflex of **akini* to form *dredre-ta’ina* ‘to laugh at s.o.’ Evans also shows (2003:122) that in Motu, reflexes of **akini* have the shape *-Cai*, with a thematic consonant, as in *kirikiri-lai* ‘laugh at’.

In Ma’vea, the following intransitive-transitive pairs are found:

- (899) *m̄ana* ‘to laugh’ *m̄ana=tei* ‘to mock/to laugh at s.o.’
 tang ‘cry’ *tang=si* ‘cry about s.t, mourn’

These are the only examples in the corpus where a transitive suffix introduces a remote object. Due to the lack of data, it is impossible to draw any conclusions about the existence of reflexes of **akini* in Ma’vea.

10.2.2 Reflex of **i*. As noted in section 10.1, POc **i* was a valency-increasing device. It cliticized to an intransitive verb to derive a transitive verb. According to Evans (2003:81-84, 107-109), POc also had a class of underived transitive verbs taking **i*. She argues that, for these verbs, the boundary between the root and the transitive morpheme **i* was lost at a stage prior to POc. The intransitive counterparts of these transitive verbs were derived by reduplication.

- (900) *i in Pre-POc and POc (Adapted from Evans 2003:109)
- | | | |
|---------|------------|--------------------|
| Pre-POc | *suk-i | ‘pierce-tr’ |
| POc | *suki | ‘pierce something’ |
| | *susuk(-i) | ‘pierce’ |

Note that with derived transitives, *i functions as a transitivizer: adding the clitic *i to an intransitive verb derives a transitive verb. However, with the class of underived transitive verbs (such as *suki above), *i functions as a transitive marker, not a transitivizer.

In Ma’ea, both functions of *i are present. There is evidence for a reflex of the valency-increasing *i which attaches to intransitive verbs to form a transitive, and for the presence of transitive verbs ending with *i, whose intransitives are reduplicated.

In this section, I first determine whether the reflex of *i is phonologically conditioned or lexically determined. I then show that the reflex of *i in Ma’ea is a clitic. Next, I show that there is evidence for a reflex of *i that derives a transitive verb, and for a reflex of *i that is part of a transitive root.

10.2.2.1 Is =i phonologically or lexically conditioned? As mentioned above, Lynch et al. (2002:80-82) and Evans (2003:106, 117) show that *i was phonologically conditioned: it appeared after a stem-final consonant or the stem-final vowel [a]. With other stem-final vowels, the object clitic attached directly to the stem, without *i. This is exemplified below (adapted from Evans 2003:106-107).

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (901) | *kaRat | ‘bite’ | *kaRat=i=a | ‘bite it’ |
| | kita | ‘see’ | *kita=i=a | ‘see it’ |
| | poli | ‘buy’ | *poli=a | ‘buy it’ |
| | ra(b,p)u | ‘hit, spear’ | *ra(b,p)u=a | ‘hit, spear it’ |

I also mentioned above that in some languages, such as Saliba, the presence or absence of *i is lexically determined, and not phonologically conditioned (Evans 2003:95). For instance, although both transitive verbs below have the same-final vowel [e], only *bahe* ‘carry’ requires the transitive *i*. The other takes a clitic object directly.

- (902) Saliba (Adapted from Margetts 1999)
 hedede= ‘talk to s.o’
 bahe=i ‘carry s.t’

In Ma’vea, we found the following transitive-intransitive pairs.

- (903) **Derived intransitive**
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------|-----------------|
| Stem-final vowel [e] | | | |
| siṽesiṽe | ‘be peeling’ | siṽe=i | ‘peel s.t’ |
| salsale | ‘listen’ | sale=i | ‘listen to s.t’ |
| Stem-final vowel [o] | | | |
| tovtovo | ‘count’ | tovo=a | ‘count s.t’ |
| Stem-final vowel [u] | | | |
| ṽatṽatu | ‘weave’ | ṽatu=a | ‘weave s.t’ |
| ruru | ‘hunt, walk in bush’ | ru=i | ‘hunt s.t’ |
- (904) **Derived transitive**
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------|----------------|
| Stem-final consonant | | | |
| oṽ | ‘be incubating’ | oṽ=i | ‘incubate s.t’ |
| Stem-final vowel [a] | | | |
| sala | ‘be floating’ | sale=i | ‘float s.t’ |
| aira | ‘be wet’ | aira=si | ‘wet s.o/ s.t’ |
| Stem-final vowel [o] | | | |
| tiro | ‘look’ | tiro=i | ‘gaze at s.t’ |
| rong(o) | ‘hear, feel’ | rongo=a | ‘hear s.t’ |

The data suggest that the stem-final consonant and stem-final [a] and [e] license the transitive *-i*. However, the data on stem-final [u] and [o] suggest that the presence or absence of *-i* is lexically determined. More data are needed to corroborate these claims.

10.2.2.2 =i is a clitic. As noted above, Lynch et al. (2002:80-82) argue that *i was a clitic, attaching to a verbal complex. This is also true of reflexes of =i in Ma’vea. Consider the transitive verb *taur* ‘hold’. First, this verb takes a full NP object such as *veas* ‘wild man’ below or the transitive marker =i, followed by the third person clitic object =a. (Recall from section 9.1.3 that the clitic =i does not co-occur with a full NP object. It is only found in case the object is itself a clitic.)

- (905) ref 06022.018-19
 Mo-**taur veas**, mo-**taur=i=a** pomoro...
 3SG-hold wild.man 3SG-hold=TR=3SG like.this
 ‘He hold the wild man, he hold him like this...’

In the following examples, the same verb *taur* ‘hold’ is followed by the adverb *lalat* ‘tight’. The object *aka* ‘canoe’ occurs after the adverb in (906). When the object is a clitic as in (907), then the transitive marker =*i* appears at the end of the adverb, followed by the object clitic.

- (906) ref 07033.018
 Mo-**taur lalat aka** du.
 3SG-hold tight canoe good
 ‘He holds the canoe tight.’

- (907) ref 06014.037
 Mo-**taur lalat=i=a** na nile.
 3SG-hold tight=TR=3SG loc nail
 ‘He holds it tight with nails.’

The distribution of the transitive marker =*i* at the end of a verbal complex suggests that it is a clitic, as it is not selective of its stem. It can attach to a verb or an adverb.

10.2.2.3 Intransitive A-verbs. There are few intransitive verbs in Ma’vea whose transitive counterpart is formed by the addition of the transitivizer =*i*. They are all presented below. Five verbs expressing bodily functions form their transitive counterpart with a clitic of the form =*Ci*.

- (908) Intransitive A-verb expressing bodily function
- | | | | |
|------|------------|-----------------|---------------|
| lua | ‘vomit’ | lue= si | ‘vomit on’ |
| ńere | ‘urinate’ | ńere= si | ‘urinate on’ |
| deo | ‘defecate’ | de= si | ‘defecate on’ |
| lito | ‘spit’ | lito= vi | ‘spit on’ |
| siri | ‘fart’ | sir= ti | ‘fart on’ |

The clitic =*Cl* is composed of a thematic consonant, and the transitivizing clitic =*i*. The thematic consonants reflect a POC stem final consonant, reanalyzed as part of the clitic (Evans 2003:103). The clitic =*Cl* adds the semantic role of location, as shown below.

(909) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Mo-**lua**.
 3SG-vomit
 ‘He vomited.’

(910) Mo-**lua loko**.

3SG-vomit laplap
 ‘He vomited laplap.’

(911) Mo-**lue=si=ao** loko.

3SG-vomit=TR=1SG laplap
 ‘He vomited laplap on me.’

The fact that the above verbs are part of the semantic class of bodily functions, and the fact that a semantic role of location is added agree with Evans’ (2003:99) observations about the function and distribution of POC **i*, thus provide evidence for a reflex of POC **i* in Ma’vea.

Three other A-intransitive verbs are found in the data. Only two have a reflex of the POC transitivizer **i*. The verb *rongo* ‘sense’ takes the object clitic =*a* directly.

(912)	aros	‘to have scabies’	aros= i=a	‘scratch s.t’
	tiro	‘look’	tiro= i=a	‘gaze at’
	rong(o)	‘sense’	rongo= a	‘hear s.t’

These verbs take as subject an experiencer and the transitive clitic adds a stimulus. These properties are compatible with Evans’ (2003:93) description of POC **i*, confirming the presence of a reflex of POC **i*.

10.2.2.4 Intransitive U-verbs. The next set of intransitive verbs with a transitive counterpart is a set of two U-verbs. According to Evans (2003:55), in POC, stative U-verbs

(such as the verb *aira* ‘be wet’) were more likely to take the causative prefix *pa[ka] to form a transitive, whereas dynamic U-verbs (such as *sala* ‘be floating’) were more likely to be transitivized with *-i*. In Ma’vea, both are transitivized with a reflex of POC *i.

- (913) *sala* ‘be floating’ *sale=i* ‘float s.t’
 aira ‘be wet’ *aira=si* ‘wet s.o/ s.t’

10.2.2.5 Derived intransitive. As mentioned above, POC had a class of transitive verbs ending with [i]. This stem-final vowel was at a stage prior to POC the transitivizer *i, which was reanalyzed as part of the root in POC (Evans 2003:81-84, 107-109). The intransitive counterparts of these transitive verbs were derived by reduplication.

Similar verbs are found in Ma’vea, as shown in table 10.78.

Table 10.78: Derived intransitives

Transitive	Intransitive
it=i=a ‘have sex with’	itit ‘copulate’
ot=i=a ‘disturb s.o’	otot ‘be disturbing’
sar=i=a ‘spear s.t’	sarsar ‘go spear-fishing’
lako=i=a ‘decorate s.o’	lakolako ‘be decorated’
siṽe=i=a ‘peel s.t’	siṽesiṽe ‘be peeling’
vara=i=a ‘tell s.t’	varvara ‘talk’
sale=i=a ‘listen to s.o’	salsale ‘listen’
ru=i=a ‘hunt s.t’	ruru ‘hunt, walk in the bush’
vas=i=a ‘spin s.t’	vasvas ‘whirl’

In POC, the class of transitive verbs forming their intransitive counterparts by means of reduplication is the class of A-verbs: A becomes S when intransitivized (Evans 2003:82).⁴² As shown in the above table, the same class of verbs is found in Ma’vea. We thus have further evidence here for a reflex of POC *i in Ma’vea.

⁴²Note that throughout this chapter (as well as in chapter 3) I follow the POC literature (such as Evans 2003:17 and Ross 2004:507) and assume that a verb root is (in)transitive and undergoes some derivation to be (de)transitivized, noting that an alternative analysis is possible, namely that a verb’s root is unmarked for transitivity, and that both the transitive and intransitive uses of the verb are derived.

10.3 =i as a transitive marker.

We have seen so far that the morpheme =i was used as a transitivizer in POc (Evans 2003:93), and that this function is reflected in Ma'vea.

The morpheme =i is quite productive in Ma'vea. It is found with some Bislama loan words, such as *mark* 'measure' below.

- (914) ref 06045.114
Na-sopo-ontavse ise mo-**mark=i=a**.
1SG-NEG-know who 3SG-mark=TR=3SG
'I don't know who measured it.'

It is also used to derive transitive verbs from nouns.

- (915) From nouns to transitive verbs
- | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| uta | 'garden' | ute= i | 'make a garden' |
| ṽina | 'arrow' | ṽine= i | 'shoot s.t (with an arrow)' |
| sila | 'wooden knife' | sile= i | 'cut s.t pasty with a wooden knife' |
| pau | 'knee' | pau= i | 'push s.o (with the knee)' |

In Boumaa Fijian (Evans 2003:124, based on Dixon 1988), *akini is used to derive transitive verbs from interjections, nouns, or adjectives. Alternatively, *pa[ka] may be used, as in Samoan (Evans 2003:242). In Ma'vea, -i fulfills this role.

There is also a large number of transitive verbs in Ma'vea that ends with the sequence [ia], but for which no intransitive counterpart is found. The data raise the following questions about the status of [i]: is it part of the verb's root? Or is it a transitive marker? That is, is it a morpheme that marks a verb as transitive, and not a morpheme that derives a transitive verb?

In order to try and answer these questions, I first present the list of Ma'vea transitive verbs ending with [ia]. I then look at POc reconstructions of some of those verbs, to determine which ones are reconstructed with a stem-final [i]. I conclude that the status of [i] as a stem-final vowel or as a transitive marker cannot, at this stage, be determined from

historical reconstructions. I propose that a final [i] is part of a stem if and only if it is not deleted in the presence of an object NP.

10.3.1 Maŕea transitive verbs. In the following table, the transitive verbs found in the dictionary are classified according to their last segments.

Table 10.79: Transitive verbs' endings

Last one or two segments		Occurrences	Total		
-C		32	32		
-CV	-Cu	5	62		
	-Co	16			
	-Ci	5			
	-Ca	25			
	-Ce	11			
-VV	-Vu	-iu	2	286	
	-Vo	-ao	5		6
		-io	1		
	-Vi	-ai	10		14
		-ei	1		
		-oi	3		
	-Va	-ea	19		264
		-oa	23		
		-ua	35		
		-ia	187		

The table reads as follows: there are 32 instances of a transitive verb listed in the dictionary with a stem-final consonant.⁴³ 62 verbs end with the sequence CV, and 286 verbs end with VV. The sequences CV and VV are further broken down by vowel types. This table shows that the sequence [Ve] at the end of a transitive verb does not appear in the corpus. Most importantly, it shows that out of these 380 transitive verbs, almost half (that is 187) end with [ia]. If we look at the segment preceding [ia] reported in table 10.80

⁴³A transitive verb ending with a consonant indicates that it was not found in the data nor elicited with an object clitic.

below, we see that more than half of the time this segment is a consonant (that is, about 60% of the verbs (112 verbs) end with -Cia).

Table 10.80: The sequences -Via and -Cia

Last three segments		Total
-Cia		112
-Via	-uia	13
	-aia	13
	-eia	42
	-oia	7

Given that these verbs have no intransitive counterparts in the data, the question is whether *-i* with verbs ending in -Ci(a) and -Vi(a) is the transitivizing clitic or a stem-final vowel. Regarding the endings -Ca and -Va, the question is whether *-a* is an object clitic or a stem-final vowel.

10.3.2 POc and Mařea transitive verbs. One obvious problem with the sequence [Cia] at the end of a transitive verb is how to determine whether [i] is part of the root (as in -Ci=*a*) or the transitive clitic (as in -C=*i=a*). Consider the verb phrase *volia* ‘buy it’. There are two possible analyses:

(916) Mo-**voli=a**.
 3SG-buy=3SG
 ‘He bought it.’

(917) Mo-**vol=i=a**.
 3SG-buy=TR=3SG
 ‘He bought it.’

The first analysis takes [i] to be part of the root and the clitic object =*a* as being attached directly to that root. In (917) on the other hand, the root ends with a consonant and the [i] is a reflex of *i, followed by the clitic object.

Looking at proto-forms tells us that the verb ‘buy’ is reconstructed in POc as **poli*. Can we assume that in Ma’*vea* too, [i] is part of the stem and that the clitic object =*a* attaches directly to the final vowel, thus supporting the analysis in (916) above? Let us compare more verbs.

In the following table, I present POc or Proto North Central Vanuatu (PNCV) transitive verbs and their reflexes in Ma’*vea*. Unfortunately, I could only glean twenty-one proto-forms for which I have a Ma’*vea* counterparts. This leaves out ninety-one verbs ending with -*Cia* (plus all the verbs with ending -*Vi(a)*, -*Ci*, and -*Ca*) for which I could not find a corresponding proto-form.

Table 10.81: POc or PNCV transitive verbs and their Ma’*vea* counterparts

	POc or PNCV	Ma’<i>vea</i> citation form	Ma’<i>vea</i> meaning
Transitivizer *i	* <i>bala-ti</i>	<i>kalatia</i>	‘move with tongs’
	* <i>kaRa-ti</i>	<i>atia</i>	‘bite’
	* <i>tu=tu-ki-i</i>	<i>tuia</i>	‘punch’
	* <i>puat-i</i>	<i>uia</i>	‘carry’
	* <i>soka-i</i>	<i>soaia</i>	‘penetrate’
	* <i>taRa-’i</i>	<i>taraia</i>	‘grate’
	* <i>la-i</i>	<i>laia</i>	‘take’
	* <i>solat-i</i>	<i>solotia</i>	‘carry’
	* <i>ru=ru-si</i>	<i>rusia</i>	‘pull out’
	* <i>kaput-i</i>	<i>luputia</i>	‘wrap’
	* <i>pijir-i</i>	<i>’iria</i>	‘braid’
Stem-final[i]	* <i>savu[r,b]i</i>	<i>avuria</i>	‘cast’
	* <i>keli</i>	<i>elia</i>	‘dig out yam’
	* <i>kiri</i>	<i>kiria</i>	‘shave’
	* <i>sari</i>	<i>saria</i>	‘spear’
	* <i>qunsi</i>	<i>usia</i>	‘ask’
	* <i>voli</i>	<i>volia</i>	‘buy’
	* <i>v[a,e]i</i>	<i>’eia</i>	‘make’
	* <i>lavi</i>	<i>la’ia</i>	‘carry’
	* <i>viriri</i>	<i>virisia</i>	‘squeeze out’
	* <i>papi</i>	<i>’a’ia</i>	‘bake’

As the table shows, verbs reconstructed in POc or PNCV with a stem final [i] or with the transitive *i end in [Cia] in Ma'ŕea. We could assume that the ten transitive verbs with a stem-final [i] have inherited that final vowel and are thus of the shape Ci=a, and that verbs reconstructed in POc or PNCV with the transitive *i have kept this morpheme boundary and are thus of the shape C=i=a. However, it is also possible that the stem-final *[i] has been reanalyzed as a transitive marker, or that the transitive *i has been reanalyzed as part of the stem in a pre-Ma'ŕea stage, similar to example (900) above.

In the following section, I present the type of evidence that can help us argue for a verb stem-final [i] and the transitivizer =i.

10.3.3 C=i=a and Ci=a. In order to further establish the distribution of verbs ending with -Cia, I looked at their phonological behavior when followed by an NP object, as opposed to a clitic.

Table 10.82 below reports on the behavior of the reflexes of POc/PNCV verbs (from table 10.81 above) when they are followed by an NP object. As we can see, whether [i] is reconstructed as a stem-final or a transitive clitic does not seem to correlate on a synchronic perspective with its presence or absence in front of an NP object. As a result, we cannot rely on the corresponding proto-form to decide on the status of a stem-final [i] in Ma'ŕea.

Table 10.82: The sequence *Verb(-i) NP*

	POc or PNCV	Ma'vea verb + full NP object	Ma'vea meaning
Transitive <i>i</i>	*bala-ti	kalat	'move with tongs'
	*kaRat-i	at	'bite'
	*tu=tu-ki-i	tui	'punch'
	*puat-i	ui	'carry'
	*soka-i	soai	'penetrate'
	*taRa-'i	tara(i)	'grate'
	*la-i	la(i)	'take'
	*solat-i	sol(o)t(i)	'carry'
	*ru=ru-si	rus	'pull out'
	*kaput-i	l(u)put	'wrap'
	*pijir-i	řir	'braid'
Stem-final [i]	*savu[r,b]i	avur	'cast'
	*keli	el(i)	'dig out yam'
	*kiri	kir	'shave'
	*sari	sar	'spear'
	*qunsi	us(i)	'ask'
	*voli	vol(i)	'buy'
	*v[a,e]i	ře(i)	'make'
	*lavi	lař(i)	'carry'
	*viri	viris	'squeeze'
	*papi	řaři	'bake'

On the other hand, there is evidence that the transitive =*i* was a clitic in POc (see Lynch et al. 2002:80-82) and that it still behaves as such in Ma'vea, as shown above in section 10.2.2.2. The relevant examples, with the verb *taur* 'hold' are repeated below.

(918) ref 06022.018-19

Mo-**taur** **veas**, mo-**taur=i=a** pomoro...
 3SG-**hold** wild.man 3SG-**hold=TR=3SG** like.this
 'He hold the wild man, he hold him like this...'

In example (918), the verb *taur* 'hold' is followed by the NP *veas* 'wild man'. It takes the transitive clitic =*i* when the object is realized as a clitic. In example (919), an adverb

intervenes between the verb and the object NP *aka* ‘canoe’. When the object is realized as a clitic, as in (920), the transitive =*i* cliticizes onto the adverb, and the object clitic attaches to the transitive.

(919) ref 07033.018
 Mo-**taur lalat aka** du.
 3SG-hold tight canoe good
 ‘He holds the canoe tight.’

(920) ref 06014.037
 Mo-**taur lalat=i=a** na nile.
 3SG-hold tight=TR=3SG loc nail
 ‘He holds it tight with nails.’

Based on these data, we can assume that, in a verb-final sequence [Cia], [i] is a clitic if it exhibits the following three properties: (1) it appears before a clitic object, (2) it does not appear before an object NP, and (3) it can cliticize to an adverb. We do not expect a stem-final [i] to exhibit property (3), that is, to be able to surface after the adverb, separated from the stem.

Consider the verb *atia* ‘bite it’. It is a reflex of POc *kaRat-i ‘bite’, reconstructed with a stem-final consonant, and the transitivizer *i. In Maṽea, *atia* ‘bite it’ is used with [i] when followed by a clitic object in (921). But the same verb is used in its root form /at/ without [i] when the object is a full NP rather than a clitic, in (922). Last, the sequence *ati NP* in (923) is unattested in the corpus.

(921) Mo-**at=i=ao**.
 3SG-bite=TR=1SG
 ‘He bit me.’

(922) Mo-**at palo-ku**.
 3SG-bite leg-1SG.POSS
 ‘He bit my leg.’

- (923) *Mo-**at=i** **palo-ku**.
3SG-bite=TR leg-1SG.POSS

Given these properties, I assume that the [i] of *atia* ‘bite it’ is the transitive clitic.

There are, however, confounding factors which render it difficult to use property (1) above, namely that the transitive clitic deletes before a full NP object. In Ma’vea, most verb-final vowels tend to delete when the verb is followed by a full NP, but are kept when the object is a clitic. This deletion process affects the stem-final vowel [u] at the end of transitive verbs.

- (924) Mo-**rivu=a**.
3SG-plant=3SG
‘He planted it.’

- (925) Mo-**riv dam**.
3SG-plant yam
‘He planted yam.’

Deletion affects some but not all verbs with a stem-final [e] (compare *one* ‘see’ and *sile* ‘give’ below).

- (926) Mo-**one=a**.
3SG-see=3SG
‘He saw it.’

- (927) Mo-**on John**.
3SG-see John
‘He saw John.’

- (928) Mo-**sile=a**.
3SG-give=3SG
‘He gave it.’

- (929) Mo-**sile sun**.
3SG-give hat
‘He gave the hat.’

- (930) *Mo-**sil** sun.
3sg-give hat

On the other hand, the stem-final vowels [o] and [a], do not undergo deletion in front of a full NP object.

- (931) ref 06021.023
Mo-**kuro** sun.
3SG-leave hat
'He left the hat.'

- (932) ref 06023.014
Ka-**kuro=a**
1SG.IR-leave=3SG
'I will leave it.'

- (933) ref 06013.031
Mo-**sara** sun.
3SG-scratch hat
'He scratched the hat.'

- (934) *Mo-**sar** sun.
3SG-scratch hat

The above data show that stem-final vowels other than [i] may also delete before an NP object, but that this process does not affect all vowels nor all verbs. We thus have to assume that for these vowels, deletion before an NP object is lexically based. But for [i], can we make a stronger assumption? Namely that a stem-final [i] will “never” delete before a full NP object, in order to be differentiated from the transitive clitic =*i*, which will always delete before a full object NP?

There are some verbs in the corpus that always appear with a final [i], whether they are followed by an NP object or a clitic object. This is the case for *kolai* ‘lie’ below.

- (935) ref 06023.014: Analysis 1
Ko-**kola=i=ao**.
2SG-lie=TR=1SG
'You lied to me.'

- (936) ref 06023.014: Analysis 2
 Ko-**kolai=ao**.
 2SG-lie=1SG
 ‘You lied to me.’
- (937) ref 06013.012: Analysis 1
 Mo-**kola=i sio**.
 3G-lie=TR kingfisher
 ‘He lied to Kingfisher.’
- (938) ref 06013.012: Analysis 2
 Mo-**kolai sio**.
 3G-lie kingfisher
 ‘He lied to Kingfisher.’

If we choose Analysis 1, we have to explain why the clitic is maintained before the NP object in (937) but not elsewhere in the data (consider (923) for example). If we assume Analysis 2, then [i] is part of the root in (938) and, as we saw previously in (929), stem-final vowels can be maintained before an NP object. Analysis 2 has the advantage of providing an elegant account of the sequence Ci NP, whereas for the same datum, Analysis 1 would require ad hoc rules.

The problem remains with a handful of transitive verbs such as *sora(i)* ‘send’ found in the data with and without a final [i] in front of an NP object.

- (939) ref 06043.030
 Mo-**sora=i va-natu-n...**
 3SG-send=TR FEM-child-3SG.POSS
 ‘He sent his daughter...’
- (940) ref 06019.009
 Me ro ko-**sora natu-m...**
 FUT then 2SG-send child-2SG.POSS
 ‘You will send your child...’

It is thus difficult to determine, for these forms, whether the [i] is a clitic or part of the stem.

10.3.4 =i and complement clauses. There are sentences in the corpus where a verb (such as *rong voso* ‘realize’ below) takes the transitive marker =*i* when the following clause introduced by -*v* ‘say’ is in direct speech (as in (941)).

- (941) ref 07068.031
 Na-**rong voso=i na-v**: ‘Me ro te inaite i-hapen’.
 1SG-sense hold=TR 1SG-say FUT then some something 3SG.IR-happen
 ‘I realized: ‘Something will happen’.’

The same verb, however, is not marked with the transitive marker =*i* when the following clause is in indirect speech, as shown below.

- (942) ref 06015.209
 Tata mo-**vara=i mo-v**: ‘**Ko-rong voso ko-v** ra-dom ravti palo-m?’
 mom 3SG-tell=TR 3SG-say 2SG-hear hold 2SG-say 3PL-cut break leg-2SG.POSS
 ‘Mom said: ‘Did you realize that they cut your leg?’’

The only difference between the two sentences is that in (941) the clause in direct speech is ambiguous between a complement clause and an independent clause. This ambiguity does not arise with (942). Given the context of occurrence in the story, ‘you’ has just awakened from a surgical operation. He does not yet know that his leg was cut off, thus this sentence cannot mean **Did you realize **you said** they cut off your leg?*

It is possible that the transitive maker =*i* in (941) is used to ensure that the clause following *rong voso* ‘realize’ is construed as a complement clause. The same situation occurs with the verb *vara* ‘tell, say’, as shown below.

- (943) ref 06015.209
 Tata **mo-vara=i mo-v**: ‘Ko-rong voso ko-v ra-dom ravti palo-m?’
 mom 3SG-tell=TR 3SG-say 2SG-hear hold 2SG-say 3PL-cut break leg-2SG.POSS
 ‘Mom said: ‘Did you realize that they cut your leg?’’

We will see in section 11.2.2.2 that the verb *vara* ‘tell, say’ assigns either the theta-roles agent and theme, or agent, recipient, and theme, in that order. In (943) above, we can

assume that =*i* ensures that the sentence starting with *-v* is interpreted as a complement clause.

Similarly, when the prepositions *lape* and *ʋalu* follow *varaia* ‘tell’, the verb is always marked with the transitive clitic =*i*. This is shown below.

(944) ref 06003.022
 Weḗe ro mo-vara=**i** ʋ**alu**-na mo-v: ‘Sun le mal sun no-ku.’
 dove here 3SG-tell=TR to-3SG.POSS 3SG-say hat DET this hat CLF-1SG.POSS
 ‘Dove said to her: ‘This hat here, (it is) my hat.’’

(945) ref 06004.005
 Mo-vara=**i** **lape**=a mo-v: ‘Ko-sua...’
 3SG-tell=TR DAT=3SG 3SG-say 2SG-paddle
 ‘He told him: ‘You paddle...’’

The prepositions *lape* and *ʋalu* can also introduce adjuncts (see section 8.5), and the clausal complement could be analyzed as an independent clause. It is possible that, here again, the transitive marker =*i* is used to remove any ambiguity and to emphasize the fact that *varaia* is used transitively, thus that *lape*, *ʋalu* and *-v* are complements.

10.3.5 Summary. In the previous sections, I showed that there is a large number of verbs in Maḗea that ends with the sequence *Cia*. In order to distinguish a stem-final [i] and the transitive clitic =*i*, I showed that the transitive clitic =*i* has the following distribution: (1) it appears before a clitic object, (2) it does not occur before an object NP, (3) it can occur after an adverb, and (4) it can appear before a complement clause. This is summarized in table 10.83 below.

Properties 1 and 2 are somewhat problematic. I showed that some stem-final vowels other than [i] also delete before an NP object. Thus, there are pairs like *one=a* ‘see it’ and *on NP* ‘see NP’ compared to *sile=a* ‘give it’ and *sile NP* ‘give NP’ but **sil NP*. However, I made the strong assumption that a stem-final [i] will never delete before an NP object, in order to be distinguished from the clitic =*i*, which is not required before an overtly expressed

Table 10.83: Ci=a versus C=i=a

		Clitic = <i>i</i>	stem-final [i]
Property 1	Vb <i>i</i> clitic object	✓	X
Property 2	Vb <i>i</i> NP object	X	(✓)
Property 3	Vb Adv <i>i</i>	✓	X
Property 4	Vb (<i>i</i>) CP object	✓	

object NP. The clitic =*i* “facilitates” the expression of the clitic object. Supporting evidence for this assumption comes from verbs like *kolai* ‘lie’, which keeps its final [i] in front of an NP object. Regarding property 4, I assume that the distribution of =*i* before a complement clause is used to eliminate ambiguity: the presence of =*i* marks the following phrase as a complement. That is to say, complement clauses pattern with clitics, not NP objects.

In the rest of this study, I assume that in the sequence -*Cia*, the [i] is the transitive clitic =*i*, and not part of the verb stem, if and only if the same verb is found elsewhere in the corpus without [i] before an NP object (and irrespective of its reconstructed form with a stem-final [i] or a clitic *i). I assume that the [i] is part of the verb stem and not the transitive clitic, if and only if this verb is always found in the corpus with a final [i] before an NP object. The final [i] in forms such as *kolai* ‘lie’ in (938) above is thus analyzed as a stem-final vowel because there are no example in the corpus of **kola NP*.

11 Serial verb constructions

In this chapter, I provide a list of defining properties of serial verb construction (SVC) in section 11.1. In section 11.2, I present some criteria to distinguish SVCs from coordinate and complement structures. In section 11.3, I discuss the two types of SVC found in Ma'ëa, that is, core and nuclear serial constructions, and some of their functions. Section 11.4 briefly touches on serial constructions containing three verbs.

11.1 Definition.

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a combination of two or more verbs, exhibiting some properties similar to compounding, coordination, and subordination. As Payne (1997:307) argues, serialization represents the highest degree of grammatical integration between two verbs, on a continuum where coordination is at the other end of the scale, with the lowest degree of integration. SVC differs from coordination and subordination in that they are monoclausal. SVCs are used to express various facets of a complex event, but they act together as a single predicate. Some defining properties of SVCs are summarized below.

11.1.1 Semantic properties.

- Like compounds, SVCs often have a meaning different from the meaning of the verbs taken independently, so that SVCs may form lexical idioms (Aikhenvald 2006:2, 11, Lynch et al. 2002:46, Payne 1997:310).
- Not all verbs can be linked to form an SVC. It may be the case that languages restrict their SVCs to events that are frequently associated culturally (Aikhenvald 2006:10-11).
- SVCs may add aspectual, temporal, or modal dimensions to a sentence.
- SVCs can function as a provider of orientation, whether a physical movement (up and down), or a metaphorical movement (such as to mark a recipient or a benefactive) (Payne 1997:311). SVCs may be used to encode a cause-effect relation or a purpose relation. Notably, if an SVC denotes a temporal sequence of actions or a cause-effect relation, then the order of components of the SVC will iconically represent that relation (e.g., V1 therefore V2, V1 in order to V2, V1 and then V2, etc.) (Aikhenvald 2006:16, 21).

11.1.2 Phonological properties.

- The intonation pattern of an SVC is identical or similar to the intonation of a monoverbal clause. No pauses or intonation break may occur between the elements of an SVC (Aikhenvald 2006:7).

11.1.3 Syntactic properties. There are at least seven syntactic properties, listed below.

- The verbs must share the same tense/aspect/mood marking.
- Only one negator will appear in an SVC, with scope over the entire SVC.
- None of the serialized verbs is subordinate to the other. No marker of coordination or subordination is found to link the verbs. However, the verbs involved in an SVC may not be equal in terms of their class membership. While a symmetrical SVC consists of verbs from semantically and grammatically unrestricted classes, asymmetrical SVCs are characterized by taking a verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class (such as posture or motion verbs) (Aikhenvald 2006:34). Asymmetrical SVCs are, according to Lynch et al. (2002:48), the most widespread in Oceanic languages.
- At least one argument is shared by the verbs in the SVC (but see ambient serialization below). The most commonly shared argument is the subject (Aikhenvald 2006:14).
- There are two types of SVCs. The first type called *nuclear layer serialization* can be schematized as follows: NP1 V1 V2 NP2 (Foley and Olson 1985). This construction contains two contiguous verbs. Subject agreement and/or TAM marking only occur on V1, the first verb of the series. Object and/or transitive marking occur on or after V2, the second verb in the series.
- The second construction NP1 V1 NP2 V2 (NP3) is known as *core layer serialization* (Foley and Olson 1985). NP2 is the object of V1 and the subject of V2. In this construction, both verbs take subject and/or TAM markings, but the subject agreement marking on the verbs needs not be identical. According to Crowley (1987:39), the second noun phrase NP2 may trigger agreement on the second verb, a case of switch-subject serialization, as shown below in Paamese.

- (946) Paamese (Adapted from Crowley 2002:60)
 Iire rehe-sooni vakilii **hee**-haa.
 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-throw canoe 3SG-go
 ‘We will throw the canoe away.’ (Lit: We will throw the canoe it goes.)

The first and second NP may combine to trigger agreement on the second verb, a case of inclusory serialization, as exemplified below.

- (947) Paamese (Adapted from Crowley 1987:48)
 Inau na-guri Morasii **malu**-vaa eni kliniki.
 1SG 1SG-take Morasi 1PL.DL.EXCL-go LOC clinic
 ‘I took Morasi with me to the clinic.’ (Lit: I take Morasi we go to the clinic.)

Last, ambient serialization (also known as event-argument SVC, Aikhenvald 2006:18) is defined by a default agreement on the second verb, representing the event denoted by the first verb (Crowley 1987:40). In Paamese, this agreement is third person singular, as shown below.

- (948) Paamese (Adapted from Crowley 1987:54)
 Kaiko ko-seluusi **Ø**-suvali eehono kaile.
 2SG 2SG-speak 3SG-resemble child PL
 ‘You speak like a child.’ (Lit: You speak, it (your speaking) resembles a child.)

Crowley’s definition of core SVC may at times contradict other definitions, such as Noonan’s (2007) or Payne’s (1997:308). According to Noonan’s (2007:88-9) definition, a SVC is characterized by having only one grammatical subject. Noonan proposes the following example from Akan (spoken in Ghana) to illustrate his point.

- (949) Akan (Adapted from Noonan 2007:88)
 Mede aburow migu msum.
 take-1SG corn flow-1SG in.water
 ‘I poured corn in the water/ I caused the corn to flow in the water.’

The semantic subject of *migu* ‘flow’ is *aburow* ‘corn’, but the verb *migu* ‘flow’ is marked with first person agreement, the grammatical subject of the SVC. There is no independent subject marking on the second verb.

In this chapter, however, I follow Crowley’s approach to SVCs.

- The last syntactic property of an SVC is that each member of the SVC must be a verb, which must be able to form a sentence on its own (that is, one of the members is not an auxiliary verb or an adverb) (Aikhenvald 2006:1, Lynch et al. 2002:48).

Consider the following triplet.

(950) ref 06041.010
Mo-**pul momos**=i=a.
3SG-paint well=TR=3SG
‘He painted him well.’

(951) ref 06041.018
Nno ko-**pulu**=ao.
2SG 2SG-paint=1SG
‘You paint me.’

(952) *Ko-**momos**=i=ao
2SG-well=TR=1SG

In the first example, the verb *pul(u)* ‘paint’, a transitive verb as attested in example (951), is followed by a lexical item which is marked with the transitive suffix and a clitic object. Although this could on the surface be considered a case of nuclear serialization, it is not, given that the lexeme *momos* is not a verb. As shown in the last example in this triplet, *momos* ‘well’ cannot form a sentence on its own. The above example (950) is therefore not an SVC.

The following sentence, on the other hand, should be considered an SVC, as both components of the SVC are lexical verbs, as shown in (954) and (955).

- (953) Elicitation, 2007, EVK and PVM.
 Mo-**sav latu** na liɕai.
 3SG-step slip LOC mud
 ‘He stepped in the mud and slipped.’
- (954) Elicitation, 2007, EVK and PVM.
 Mo-**latu** na liɕai.
 3SG-slip LOC mud
 ‘He slipped in the mud.’
- (955) Elicitation, 2007, EVK and PVM.
 Mo-**sav** liɕai.
 3SG-step mud
 ‘He stepped in the mud.’

11.2 SVC versus coordination and complementation.

11.2.1 Coordination versus SVC. The main diagnostic test recognized as valid cross-linguistically to differentiate between SVCs and coordination is wh-extraction. Coordinate structures obey Ross’s (1986) coordinate structure constraint: an element inside a coordinate construction cannot be wh-extracted, as shown in the following example.

- (956) *Whom did you talk to ___ and Mary?

SVCs on the other hand allow wh-extraction. The following examples are from Ewe, spoken in Ghana (Agbedor 1994:124-125).

- (957) Kofi no **tsi** ku.
 Kofi drink water die
 ‘Kofi died by drinking the water.’
- (958) **Nuka** Kofi no ku?
 what Kofi drink die
 ‘What did Kofi drink and die?’

The other difference between coordinate structures and SVCs is that the former can contain an overt marking of coordination, but the latter may not. In the light of this statement, consider the following sentence with four verbs. The first three verbs are juxtaposed, while the fourth one is separated by *ro* ‘then, and’.

- (959) ref 06033.012
 Ka-vle ka-sa ka-las mate **ro**, ka-la’=i=a.
 1SG.IR-climb 1SG.IR-go.up 1SG.IR-fasten snake then 1SG.IR-take=TR=3SG
 ‘I will climb up, fasten the snake, and bring it.’

The sound file reveals that there is a pause after *ro*, indicating the beginning of a new sentence. On the other hand, there is no pause between the first three verbs. One of the defining features of SVCs is that their intonation resembles that of monoclausal sentences. No pause should be noticeable between the serialized verbs. Coordinate structures in Ma’vea thus differ from SVCs in that (i) they contain the morpheme *ro* ‘then, and’; and (ii) the verbs are separated by a pause.

11.2.2 Complement clauses versus SVC.

11.2.2.1 Complementizer *ma*. The following sentences look on the surface like a core SVC, with the following structure (NP1) V1 NP2 V2.

- (960) ref 06020.025
 Mo-**rong** tamlo ait mo-varvara.
 3SG-hear man one 3SG-speak
 ‘He heard someone talk.’
- (961) ref 06020.054
 Mo-**on** pere-n vuæ vaise aite mo-l-sala.
 3SG-look branch-CONS tree small one 3SG-IMPF-float
 ‘He saw a small branch was floating.’

If the above sentence were a (symmetrical switch-subject) core SVC, NP2 would serve as object of V1 and subject of V2. Although there is no prosodic evidence that the above sentences are bi-clausal, there is supporting evidence that these examples contain a complement clause.

One of the differences between complement clauses and SVCs is that the former can contain an overt marking of complementation, but the latter may not. The perception verbs *onea* ‘look, see’ and *rongoa* ‘hear’ take sentential complements, introduced by the complementizer *ma*.

(962) ref 07065.082
 Mo-**rong (ma)** apaleve mo-lo-*ř*an^řano mo-lo-*ř*a.
 3SG-feel COMP devil 3SG-IMPf-walk 3SG-IMPf-go
 ‘He heard that the devil had gone.’

(963) ref 06043.047
 Mo-**on (ma)** *ř*arao ro mo-valavao.
 3SG-look COMP eel here 3SG-big.one
 ‘She saw that the eel here was big.’

The fact that the complementizer *ma* is optional may mislead one to conclude that examples (962) and (963) are SVCs. However, *ma* is possible in these sentences, suggesting that they are not mono-clausal, thus these are not SVCs but complement clauses.

11.2.2.2 Complementizer -v. Another potentially ambiguous case involves the use of *-v* after utterance predicates, as in the following example.

(964) ref 06020.047
 Mo-**vara ita** **mo-v:** ‘Ko-ontavse sa?’
 3SG-tell octopus 3SG-say 2SG-know what
 ‘He told Octopus: ‘You know what?’’

This sentence is ambiguous in three ways: (i) *-v* can be analyzed as a verb-like complementizer heading a complement clause, (ii) *-v* can be forming a serial construction with *vara* ‘tell’ as V1, and last, (iii) *-v* can introduce an independent clause.

11.2.2.2.1 Evidence against a serial construction. Despite the structure of (964), the sequence *agr-vara NP agr-v* cannot be interpreted as an ambient serialization (that is, a serial construction where *-v* is V2 and refers to the event of speaking in V1, as *He told Octopus it goes...*). The V2 of an ambient serialization is marked with the default third person singular agreement marker to refer to the event in V1. As seen in (965) below, *-v* agrees with the subject of V1.

(965) ref 07046.015
Ra-vara=i=ao **ra-v**: ‘Nno...’
 3PL-tell=TR=1SG 3PL-say 2SG
 ‘They told me: ‘You...’

The only possible serial interpretation for (965) is that of a same subject serial construction (see definition below). There is no clear syntactic evidence against a same-subject serial analysis of (965).

There is possibly a semantic distinction. Serial constructions refer to several aspects of a single event (see Aikhenvald 2006). One of the verbs in the series is used to provide some information about an aspect of the event denoted by the other verb. For example, as we shall see below, all cases of serial construction in Ma’vea either add a grammatical dimension to the sentence (indicating aspectual notions or causation for example) or the serialized verbs form an idiom. But the structure in (965) does not fit in this schema. Adding *-v* does not add any particular grammatical dimension to the event of telling. Thus, if *-v* in (965) is (or historically was) part of a serial construction, its function is/was not to describe the event of telling itself, but rather to add information about the thing being told, the complement of the verb *varaia* ‘tell’.

11.2.2.2.2 Evidence for a complement clause. The verb *varaia* ‘tell’ assigns two or three semantic roles. In its dyadic function, the verb is marked for the agent teller, and the theme, as shown in (966).

- (966) ref 06045.185
 Ro **da**-vara=i=**a** **ro** mo-v i-rikordem.
 then 1PL.INCL-tell=TR=3SG then 3SG-say 3SG.IR-record
 ‘We say it then she said she would record.’

The fact that the coordination marker *ro* ‘then’ appears before the complementizer is evidence that the clause introduced by *mo-v* ‘3SG-say’ is an independent clause, not a complement (see below).

In its triadic function, the verb *varaia* ‘tell’ is marked for the agent teller, the recipient being told, and the theme, in that linear order.

- (967) ref 06022.018
Mo-vara=i=**ra** **nna**.
 3SG-tell=TR=3PL 3SG
 ‘He told it to them.’

I assume that when the *varaia* ‘tell’ is followed by a clause, its thematic assignment is the same. It is either dyadic and the clause represents the theme, as in (968) and (969) below; or it is triadic, and the clause headed by *-v* following the recipient marks the beginning of the theme, as in (970).

- (968) ref 06042.122
 Mo-**vara=i** ra-sua ra-si...
 3SG-tell=TR 3PL-paddle 3PL-go.down
 ‘He said they paddled down...’

- (969) ref 06015.209
 Tata **mo-vara=i mo-v**: ‘Ko-rong voso ko-v ra-dom ravti palo-m?’
 mom 3SG-tell=TR 3SG-say 2SG-hear hold 2SG-say 3PL-cut break leg-2SG.POSS
 ‘Mom said: ‘Did you realize that they cut your leg?’’

- (970) ref 06020.047
 Mo-**vara ita** **mo-v**: ‘Ko-ontavse sa?’
 3SG-tell octopus 3SG-say 2SG-know what
 ‘He told Octopus: ‘You know what?’’

On distributional grounds, the clause introduced by *-v* is thus a complement clause, where *-v* functions as a complementizer, and introduces the theme.

11.2.2.2.3 Bi-sentential construction. There are some examples in the texts where the clause introduced by *-v* is not a complement clause, but an independent clause. As we saw above, (971) is a case in point.

(971) ref 06045.185
 Ro **da-vara=i=a** **ro** mo-v i-rikordem.
 then 1PL.INCL-tell=TR=3SG then 3SG-say 3SG.IR-record
 ‘We say it then she said she would record.’

Ro ‘then’ appears before the complementizer. If a sentence such as (972) below were bi-sentential, we would predict that a coordination marker may appear between the two clauses, just before *-v*.

(972) Constructed example
Ra-vara=i=ao **ro** **ra-v**: ‘Nno...’
 3PL-tell=TR=1SG then 3PL-say 2SG
 ‘?They told me then he said: ‘You...’

In (971), the verb *varaia* ‘tell’ is marked with the agent and the theme. In (972) on the other hand, the verb takes the recipient as a clitic. If *ro* ‘then’ were to appear before the complementizer to start a new sentence in (972), the verb *varaia* ‘tell’ would fail to assign its theme theta-role.

Bearing in mind the thematic assignement of *varaia* ‘tell’, consider the following sentence.

(973) ref 07075.025
 Mo-vara=i=a **nna** **mo-v**: ‘Nno...’
 3SG-tell=TR=3SG 3SG 3SG-say 2SG
 ‘He told it to him, he said: ‘You...’

In this sentence, (i) the agent ‘teller’ is represented by the agreement marker *mo-* on the verb *vara* ‘tell’ (ii) the clitic *=a* encodes the recipient, (iii) the NP/pronoun *nna* is theme, and (iv) a clause introduced by *mov* also seems to represent the theme of *varaia* ‘tell’. However, the verb *varaia* does not assign four semantic roles. The fact that both the NP *nna* and the clause refer to the same theme suggests that *-v* cannot mark a complement clause. Instead, the verb *-v* ‘say’ starts a new sentence that is juxtaposed.

11.3 SVCs in Ma’vea: Forms and functions.

In the following sections, I present SVCs in Ma’vea. I will first describe core serialization from a syntactic and a semantic perspective, noting that there are four types of core serial constructions: same subject, cumulative, switch-subject, and ambient. Next, I present nuclear serialization. Both core and nuclear serialization have symmetric (no restriction on the verbs) and asymmetric (one of the verbs is restricted to certain semantic categories) patterns. Some of the major functions of SVCs in Ma’vea are: direction, sequentiality, aspect (durative, completive), comparison, and reflexivity. The following table summarizes the findings.

The table shows that (i) asymmetric constructions are more common, (ii) different types of SVC may have the same function. For example, asymmetrical same subject core serialization and asymmetrical nuclear serialization both can indicate directionality. I am not, at this point, in a position to determine the exact semantic difference between the two.

Table 11.84: Serial verb constructions: Form and function

Layer	Verb	Type of SVC	Position of restricted verb	Function
Core	Asymmetric	Same subject	V1 movement	sequentiality
			V1 <i>tan</i> 'begin'	inception
			V2 movement	direction
		Ambient	V2 movement	duration
			V2 <i>evuia</i> 'finish'	completion
			V2 intransitive	manner
			V2 <i>seua</i> 'beat'	comparison
	Cumulative	V1 or V2 movement	accompaniment	
Switch subject	V1 transitive	cause-effect		
Symmetric	Ambient	N/A	cause-effect	
Nuclear	Asymmetric	N/A	V1 or V2 movement	direction
			V2 <i>rongoa</i> 'sense'	testing
			Neg.+ V2 <i>lavia</i> 'take'	'not able to'
			Neg.+ V2 <i>rongoa</i> 'sense'	'never'
			V1 <i>tur</i> 'stay'	duration
			V2 <i>ase</i> 'self'	reflexive
			V2 <i>ravti</i> 'break'	manner
	Symmetric		N/A	cause-effect

11.3.1 Core serialization. Core serialization has the following structure: NP1 V1 NP2 V2 (NP3). Both verbs take subject agreement and tense/mood/aspect marking. Agreement marking on the second verb V2 may be triggered by the first noun NP1 (same subject serialization), the second noun NP2 (switch-subject serialization), or the event denoted in the first verb (ambient SVC). The verbs in a core serialization may be of the same unrestricted class (symmetrical serialization) or one verb may be restricted to the class of intransitive verbs of posture or movement (asymmetrical serialization). Examples of core serialization follow.

11.3.1.1 Asymmetrical same subject serialization. In this type of SVC, one verb (whether V1 or V2) comes from a restricted semantic class. Both verb share the same subject agreement marking, that of V1. Same subject asymmetrical SVCs have the following functions: they indicate sequentiality, direction, and inception.

11.3.1.1.1 Sequentiality. In the following example, only the last two verbs are part of the SVC. They share the same mood marking (irrealis), whereas the first verb *-v* ‘say, want’ is marked with realis. This SVC functions partly as a (future) tense marker, and partly as an indication of direction. These two notions taken together indicate a sequence of actions or events (Lynch et al. 2002:47).

(974) ref 06015.019
 Na-v ka-**ǃa** ka-suvu.
 1SG-say 1SG.IR-go 1SG.IR-dive
 ‘I wanted to go diving./ I said I was going to dive.’ (Lit: I said I will go I will dive.)

The verb *go* is found cross-linguistically to grammaticalize into a future marker (Bybee et al. 1994:267). In that sense, the SVC indicates an immediate future. It can also be argued that the verb *ǃa* ‘go’ retains its lexical meaning, and thus that the SVC also indicates directionality. According to Bybee et al. (1994:268), “the source meaning for movement future is that the agent is on a path moving towards a goal.” The SVC then denotes a motion towards a place where the action of the second verb (here *suvu* ‘dive’) will take place. The action from the second verb will be performed after the speaker has physically gone to a particular location and/or the action will be performed after some time. In that sense, the SVC also implies a sequence of events (see Hyslop 2001:292 for similar examples in Lolovoli, and Jauncey 1997:376 for examples in Tamambo).

Other motion verbs indicating sequentiality when used as V1 include *si* ‘go down’ and *ma* ‘come’.

(975) ref 06015.032
 Ki-tol-**si** ki-olo.
 1PL.EXCL-PCL-go.down 1PL.EXCL-surf
 ‘We went down surfing.’

(976) ref 06015.089
 Mo-**ńa** mo-rpaia na madi-ku.
 3SG-come 3SG-bang LOC calf-1SG.POSS
 ‘It came banging on my calf.’

The verb *ńa* ‘come’ is used to indicate movement towards the speaker. In these examples, the motion verb indicates the direction where the action of the second verb takes place. Here again the notion of sequentiality is latent.

11.3.1.1.2 Inception. The predicate *tan* marks the beginning of an action instigated by a volitional subject. This verb is always used as V1 in a SVC.

(977) ref 06036.064
 Mo-lo-taur ńiri-n malmalu, mo-**tan** mo-sadi=a patu-n
 3SG-IMPF-hold shell-CONS clam 3SG-begin 3SG-plant=3SG head-CONS
 veas.
 wild.man
 ‘He was holding a clam shell and he began to plant it in the wild man’s head.’

(978) ref 06005a.023
 Ro, mo-**tan** mo-lań vua-n vuae.
 then 3SG-begin 3SG-take fruit-CONS tree
 ‘Then he began to take the tree’s fruit.’

11.3.1.1.3 Direction. The verb *si* ‘go down’ refers to a movement from inland towards the sea (as in the following example); a movement down towards the ground; a movement southwards (towards the islands of Ais or Tutuba) or northwards; or a movement inside a confined area. When it is used as V2 in an SVC, *si* ‘go down’ indicates directionality, and not sequentiality (as opposed to (975) above).

- (979) ref 06015.231
 Ki-tol ki-ńe-l-tol-tapula ki-si Mańea.
 1PL.EXCL-PCL 1PL.EXCL-IT-IMPF-PCL-return 2PL-go.down Mańea
 ‘We all were returning to Mańea.’

The same is true of *sa* ‘go up’ and *sivo* ‘go (down)’. Used as V2, they indicate direction.

- (980) ref 06020.002
 Me ro da-r-sua da-r-sa na ńanua vaisea aite.
 FUT then 1PL.INCL-DL-paddle 1PL.INCL-DL-go.up LOC island small one
 ‘We two will paddle to a small island.’

- (981) ref 06016.032
 Mo-tapul mo-sivo.
 3SG-return 3SG-go
 ‘He came back.’

Another means to indicate direction is to use the lexical verb *seua* ‘beat, go beyond.’ This verb is used to form comparative constructions (see 11.3.1.2.5 below), but it can also indicate direction.

- (982) ref 07031.023
 Ki-ńa ki-seu Serseri.
 1PL.EXCL-come 1PL.EXCL-beat Serseri
 ‘We came beyond Serseri.’

11.3.1.2 Asymmetrical ambient serialization. This type of SVC contains two intransitive verbs or a transitive and an intransitive verb. One of the verbs comes from a restricted semantic class, whether a verb of movement or of completion. The V2 is always marked with a default third person singular subject prefix, representing the event encoded in the other verb. Asymmetrical ambient serialization functions as an aspect marker (to indicate continuation and completion) and indicates manner.

11.3.1.2.1 Durative aspect. The verb of movement *ńa* ‘go’ is used as V2 to indicate the continuous duration of the preceding verb. A similar use of the verb ‘to go’ is found in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:379).

(983) ref 06015.042
 Ki-olo mo-lo-**ǎa**.
 1PL.EXCL-surf 3SG-IMPF-go
 ‘We surfed for a while.’

(984) ref 06020.022
 Mo-tang mo-tang mo-tang mo-lo-**ǎa**.
 3SG-cry 3SG-cry 3SG-cry 3SG-IMPF-go
 ‘He cried and cried and cried for a while.’

As the following example shows, this durative aspect is expressed even when V2 is not marked with the imperfective.

(985) ref 06004.006
 Ro mo-sua mo-**ǎa**.
 then 3SG-paddle 3SG-go
 ‘Then he paddled for a while.’

11.3.1.2.2 ‘Until’. When the transitive verb *tikel* ‘reach’ follows an ambient serial construction with V2 *ǎa* ‘go’ indicating duration, and is also marked with the default subject agreement prefix, it indicates the notion “until”, the point at which the event of V1 will cease to be durative.

(986) ref 07082.050
 Ra-v ra-mo-l-to i-ǎa **i-tikel** pong ma mo-tau=a.
 3PL-say 3PL-COND-IMPF-stay 3SG.IR-go 3SG.IR-reach night COMP 3SG-put=3SG
 ‘They said they would be staying until the day that he put (~chose) (it).’

There are thus two ambient serial constructions in this example, one formed by V1 *to* ‘stay’ and V2 *ǎa* ‘go’, where V2 indicates the duration of V1, and another ambient serialization formed by the complex V1 V2 and V3 *tikel* ‘reach’, where V3 indicates the end of the duration of V1.

11.3.1.2.3 Completive aspect. As discussed previously (see chapter 9, section 9.3.2.3), the verb *evuia* ‘finish, complete’ is used to indicate completion. This verb is always found in V2 position in an SVC to indicate completion of the V1.

- (987) ref 06020.013
 Vulu-na ra-ńasa mo-**ev**.
 hair-3SG.POSS 3PL-dry 3SG-finish
 ‘His hair was completely dried.’

11.3.1.2.4 Manner. In this SVC, the second verb comes from the restricted class of intransitive stative verbs. It describes the way in which the first verb is performed (in (988)) or experienced (in (989)).

- (988) ref 06033.019
 Da-r-sa i-**rro**.
 1PL.INCL-DL-go.up 3SG.IR-fast
 ‘We go up quickly.’

- (989) ref 06029.029
 Ra-rong mo-**du**.
 3PL-feel 3SG-good
 ‘They felt good.’

In this following example, the SVC indicates manner, but it also creates an idiom.

- (990) ref 07067.046
 Ra-tau mo-**vose=ira**.
 3PL-put 3SG-enough=3PL
 ‘They share them.’

11.3.1.2.5 Comparison. Comparative constructions in Ma’vea (and in Tamambo, Jauncey 1997:381) are expressed by serial constructions, with the verb *seua* ‘beat, go beyond’ in Ma’vea, and the verb *liu* ‘exceed, win’ in Tamambo. In both languages, the verb expressing the comparison always appears as V2. In the following Ma’vea example, V1 is intransitive.

(991) ref 07085.177
 Vele-na mo-valavao mo-**seu** nira tuana.
 tail-3SG.POSS 3SG-big.one 3SG-beat 3PL plenty
 ‘His tail is bigger than theirs.’

(992) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
 Nao viriu pula-ku dumana mo-**seu**=ira.
 1SG dog CLF-1SG.POSS plenty 3SG-beat=3PL
 ‘I have more dogs than they have.’

Note that comparisons in Ma’vea are similar to Bislama. The following example is from Crowley (2004:134).

(993) Bislama
 Mi longfella bitim yu.
 1SG tall beat 2SG
 ‘I am taller than you.’

Jauncey notes (1997:381) that V1 in a comparative SVC is necessarily an intransitive verb or an adjective. The few comparatives found in the data suggest that this generalization holds in Ma’vea too.

11.3.1.3 Asymmetrical cumulative-subject serialization. The defining characteristic of cumulative subject serialization is that the subject agreement marking on the second verb includes the subject of the first verb plus another referent (Aikhenvald 2006:18). This type of SVC is reported in Paamese (Crowley 1987:48) and Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:385). In Ma’vea, these SVCs express accompaniment.

In the first example below, the agreement marking on the second verb includes the subject and object of the first verb.

- (994) ref 06045.127
 Me ko-la m̄arau-m **ki-r-va**?
 FUT 2SG-take wife-2SG.POSS 2PL-DL-go
 ‘Will you take your wife and you two go?’

In this next example, the agreement marking on the second verb includes the subject of the first verb and the speaker.

- (995) ref 06016.044
 Ale ko-m̄a **da-r-sakel** pere-n vuae.
 then 2SG-come 1PL.INCL-DL-sit branch-CONS tree
 ‘Ok, come we sit on the branch.’

11.3.1.4 Asymmetrical switch-subject serialization. In this type of SVC, V1 is a transitive verb. The second verb agrees with the object of V1. This SVC was found to indicate cause-effect. The second verb describes the effect or result that the first verb has on its object. According to Aikhenvald (2006:16), the order of the verbs is iconic. The causation verb precedes the verb of result, in order to replicate the order of actions of the verbs. This is true in Ma’vea, as shown below.

- (996) ref 06043.070
 Ko-tiu=a i-an.
 2SG-sharpen=3SG 3SG.IR-eat
 ‘Sharpen it sharp.’ (Lit: Sharpen it (so) it will eat.)

The sharpening will result in the knife being sharp. As we will see below, cause-effect can also be expressed with nuclear serialization.

11.3.1.5 Symmetrical ambient serialization. This type of SVC contains two verbs that are not from a restricted class. The second verb is marked with a default third person singular, representing the event encoded in the other verb.

The function of this type of SVC is similar to the function of asymmetrical switch-subject serial constructions, described above. The first verb presents the cause, and the

second verb indicates the effect of the first verb. The following example is taken from a story where a rat is nibbling on his boat, which happens to be a papaya. His friend, the dove, also on board the boat, tells the rat to stop gnawing the papaya. The example below is the rat's reply.

- (997) ref 06020.010
 Me ro ka-sopo-atiti i-avtai taʋal.
 FUT then 1SG.IR-NEG-bite 3SG.IR-appear side
 'I will not bite through the other side.'(Lit: I will not bite, (so that) it (the biting)
 appears on the other side.)

The second verb *avtai* 'appear' indicates the result (to be avoided) of the biting through the papaya, which would make the papaya-boat sink.

11.3.1.6 Potentially ambiguous cases. The following two examples both have the same function: they indicate direction. However, their characterization as asymmetrical switch-subject serialization or asymmetrical ambient serialization is difficult to determine. In both examples, the verb of motion appears as V2, after the object of V1. The subject marking on V2 is in both case third person singular.

- (998) ref 06033.015
 Nna mo-raʋe mata mo-si atano.
 3SG 3SG-pull snake 3SG-go.down ground
 'He pulled the snake down to the ground.'

In example (998), NP2 *mata* 'snake', the object of V1, is singular. This construction could thus be considered a case of switch-subject serialization, where V2 agrees in features with the NP2. However, it could also be construed as a case of ambient serialization, where the agreement on V2 denotes the event of V1. Under a switch-subject interpretation, the snake is going to the ground; while under the ambient interpretation, the event of pulling goes in the direction of or towards the ground.

- (999) ref 06019.012
 Mo-raŕe re raŕ~raŕe-n ŕatal **mo-si** alao na tasi.
 3SG-pull PL RED~log-CONS banana 3SG-go.down sea.shore LOC sea
 ‘He pulled the banana’s logs down to the sea.’

In example (999), the object of V1 is plural. It thus seems that in this example V2 agrees with the event of V1, a case of ambient serialization: the event of pulling the logs goes down in the direction of the sea side. However, this example is potentially ambiguous, and could be construed as a switch-subject serial construction, due to the fact that non-human plural subjects do not always license third person plural agreement, as shown below.

In the following example, the object *ineler neler* ‘these things’ is plural, but the agreement marker on the second verb is singular, despite the fact that the interpretation is that of a switch-subject serialization, and not of ambient serialization: it is the things *ineler neler* that stayed put where they were left, not the event of leaving things.

- (1000) ref 07037.097-8
 Ki-r-kuro ineler neler **mo-l-tur** pemel.
 1PL.EXCL-DL-leave these here 3SG-IMP-stand.up like.this
 ‘We left all these things there to stay like that.’

In other words, if example (999) is a case of switch-subject serialization, it should license the plural agreement marking on V2, but because plural agreement marking is optional with non-human reference, this example is ambiguous with the ambient serialization interpretation. As for (998), there is no evidence at this point to help resolve the ambiguity.

11.3.2 Nuclear serialization. Nuclear serialization is characterized by the following structure: NP1 V1 V2 (NP2). Unlike core serialization, the two verbs are adjacent. The complex V1 and V2 is treated as a single verb: only the first verb in the series receives subject agreement marking. In many Oceanic languages, the second verb in the series carries the suffixed markers (Lynch et al. 2002:46). In Maŕea, a marker of transitivity or an object, if present, will occur after the second verb of the series.

Nuclear serialization is either symmetrical (with verbs from unrestricted classes) or asymmetrical (where one verb comes from a restricted semantic or grammatical class). Nuclear serialization is used to indicate cause-effect, direction, location, reflexivity, and modality. Examples of nuclear serialization follow.

11.3.2.1 Asymmetrical nuclear serialization. Nuclear serial constructions are asymmetrical if at least one verb is restricted to the class of intransitive verbs of posture or movement.

11.3.2.1.1 Direction. There are two intransitive verbs which form a nuclear SVC indicating direction: *si(vo)* ‘go down’ and *kil* ‘look’.

- *Si(vo)* ‘go down’.

The verbs of motion *si* ‘go down’ or *sivo* ‘go (down)’ occur as V2.

(1001) ref 06020.023

Mo-tio si atano na ono.
 3SG-jump go.down ground LOC sand
 ‘He jumped down on the ground, on the sand.’

(1002) ref 06020.046

Mo-tio sivo ro, **mo-tio si** puru-n ita.
 3SG-jump go then 3SG-jump go.down back-CONS octopus
 ‘He jumped down, he jumped down from the octopus’s back.’

- *Kil* ‘look towards’.

The verb *kil* ‘look towards’ is a verb of perception, used to indicate a movement of the eye. This verb is always used in combination with a motion verb, such as *va* ‘go’ in (1003) or *sa* ‘go up’ in (1004). It never occurs in the corpus on its own, as shown in (1005).

- (1003) ref 06015.074
 Na-sopo-**kil**~**kil** **ǃa** asao.
 1SG-NEG-RED~look go far
 ‘I didn’t look far.’
- (1004) ref 06006.017
 Mo-**kil** **sa** aul pere-n vuae.
 3SG-look go.up above branch-CONS tree
 ‘He looked up above at the branches.’
- (1005) *Mo-**kil** aul pere-ne vuae.
 3SG-look above branch-CONS tree

When used as V2, the complex “*kil* + motion verb” suggests a direction, but there is no physical movement in that particular direction.

- (1006) ref 06020.027
 Mo-pos **kil** **sa** aulu.
 3SG-turn look go.up above
 ‘He turned to look up above.’
- (1007) ref 06019.009
 Mo-ǃis **kil** **ǃa** na ǃanua ma...
 3SG-point look go LOC island COMP
 ‘He pointed towards the island where...’
- (1008) ref 06016.047
 Ka-val **kil** **ǃa** na vo~vono konatu.
 1SG.IR-go look go LOC RED~bush there
 ‘I will go towards the bush there.’

11.3.2.1.2 Testing. The verb of perception *rongoa* ‘feel, hear’ can be used as V2 in an SVC to indicate that the subject is trying to perform the action of the first verb (as in example (1009) below) or that the subject is tasting something. In both cases the subject is involved in testing (either his/her capacities are tested, or his/her sensations). This type of SVC is referred to as conative in Hyslop (2001:289).

(1009) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Mo-v i-ros rongo m'atiu.
 3SG-say 3SG.IR-grate feel coconut.
 'She wants to try grating coconut.'

(1010) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Mo-**m'e** rongo moli.
 3SG-lick feel orange
 'She tasted the orange.'

11.3.2.1.3 'Unable'. To express the meaning 'unable', it is always the case that the clause is negated and that V2 is the verb *la'via* 'take'. There is no restriction on the first verb. In the first example, V1 is intransitive, while in the second example, V1 is transitive.

(1011) ref 06015.124
 Nao na-**sopo**-tur la'v.
 1SG 1SG-NEG-stand.up take
 'I couldn't stand up.'

(1012) ref 06015.185
 Na na-on dav me ro ka-**sopo**-ve la'v=i=a.
 but 1SG-look seem FUT then 1SG.IR-NEG-make take=TR=3SG
 'But I looked and it seems that I won't be able to make it.'

As we can see, the transitive marker and object appears suffixed to the second verb of the construction in (1012). If a non-pronominal form is used as object, it, too, follows V2, as shown below.

(1013) ref 06036.050
 Nno me ko-**sopo**-an la'v tae-n viriu.
 2SG FUT 2SG-NEG-eat take excrement-CONS dog
 'You wont be able to eat dog's excrement.'

A similar structure is found in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:286-7). The verb *lai* 'take' in Lolovoli is used in an SVC to indicate the inability of the subject to perform the action

denoted by the other verb. The main difference is that in Lolovoli, *lai* can be used without a negator to indicate ability; while in Ma'veja, negation is mandatory and *lav'* cannot mean 'able'.

11.3.2.1.4 'Never'. In this type of SVC, (i) either the clause is negated with the sentential negator *sopo-* or the sentence contains the inherent negative auxiliary *leng* 'cannot' and a lexical verb; and (ii) V2 is always the verb *rongoa* 'feel, hear'.

(1014) ref 06007.057
 V'ava'ina le, na-**leng** on **rongo**=a.
 female DET 1SG-can't look feel=3SG
 'This woman, I have never seen her.'

(1015) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 Na-**sopo**-in **rongo** kiroko amma.
 1SG-NEG-drink feel alcohol before
 'I have never tried alcohol before.'

11.3.2.1.5 Durative aspect. The posture verb *tur(u)* 'stand up' is used as V1 to indicate a duration.

(1016) ref 06015.100
 Ratol ma ra-l-**tur** saovi-ao aulu...
 3PL.PCL COMP 3PL-IMPF-stand.up wait-1SG above
 'Those who are waiting for me on top...'

In Lolovoli, a posture verb in V1 indicates simultaneity: the subject performs the action denoted by V2 while in the position of V1 (Hyslop 2001:294). In Tamambo, Jauncey argues (1997:377, 380) that posture verbs in SVCs retain their lexical meaning. The action of the non-posture verb is performed in the position described by the posture verb.

This is not necessarily the case in Ma'veja. In the story from which the above example is taken, there is no explicit mention that the protagonists (referred to as *ratol*) are all

standing. On the contrary, they are described as cooking laplap and making a fire, activities which require one to be sitting or squatting. Therefore, the posture verb *tur(u)* ‘stand’ used as V1 in the SVC does not retain its lexical meaning. It is used in the SVC to indicate duration of the verb that it precedes.

11.3.2.1.6 Reflexive. Reflexive constructions in Ma’vea are signaled by the predicate *ase* ‘REFL’, used as V1 in a nuclear serial construction. The second verb V2 takes an object suffix or is followed by an independent pronoun, co-referential with the subject. The second verb indicates the type of action the actor is performing to him/herself. All examples of reflexive constructions were elicited.

(1017) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Mo-**ase** losu=a.
3SG-REFL kill=3SG
‘He killed himself.’

(1018) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.

Na-**ase** dom(o)=ao.
1SG-REFL sorry=1SG
‘I am sorry for myself.’

(1019) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Ka’nim ki-**ase** tara=i ka’nim?
2PL 2PL-REFL cut=TR 2PL
‘Did you cut yourselves?’

11.3.2.1.7 Manner. In this type of SVC, V2 is always the verb *ravti* ‘break’. This SVC describes the manner in which the NP2 broke. In (1020), the biting caused the calf to break off. In example (1021), the cutting causes the breaking off of the leg.

(1020) ref 06015.094

Mo-at **ravti** madi-ku.
3SG-bite break calf-1SG.POSS
‘It bit my calf off.’

- (1021) ref 06015.190
 Me ki-dom **ravti** palo-na.
 FUT 1PL.EXCL-cut break leg-3SG.POSS
 ‘We will cut his leg off.’

There are about twenty examples in the corpus involving *ravti* as V2. Along with *atia* ‘bite’ and *domea* ‘cut’ as V1, we find *taraia* ‘chop’, *puea* ‘slice’, and *sile* ‘prick’.

11.3.2.2 Symmetrical nuclear serialization. In this type of SVC, there is no restriction on the type of verb involved. This SVC was found to indicate cause-effect. The second verb describes the effect or result that the first verb has on the object. In the following example, V1 is transitive and V2 intransitive, but the transitive marker and the clitic object appear on V2.

- (1022) ref 06025.031
 Ra-r-**los** **ñate**=i=a.
 3PL-DL-hit dead=TR=3SG
 ‘They beat him to death.’

11.4 Three-verb serialization.

It is possible to find core serialization involving three verbs. All examples in the data of three-verb core serialization indicate direction. One of the three verbs is always a verb of movement. Examples of three-verb core SVC are given in (1023) to (1025).

- (1023) ref 07069.018
 Ra-r-on ma mo-**karu** mo-**sa** mo-**oso**.
 3PL-DL-look COMP 3SG-swim 3SG-go.up 3SG-ashore
 ‘They saw that it swam up to the shore.’

- (1024) ref 06020.036
 Ko-**ña** ko-**vule** ko-**sakele** puru-ku.
 2SG-come 2SG-climb 2SG-sit back-1SG.POSS
 ‘Come climb and sit on my back.’

(1025) ref 06020.037

Ro, ari^ʔ mo-**tio** mo-**sa** mo-**sakele** puru-na.
then cat 3SG-jump 3SG-go.up 3SG-sit back-3SG.POSS
'Then the rat jump up to sit on his back.'

There is only one example in the data of a nuclear three-verb serialization. However, the first verb is the auxiliary *leng* 'cannot'.

(1026) ref 06007.057

Ťa^ʔvina le, na-**leng on rongo**=a.
female DET 1SG-can't look feel=3SG
'This woman, I have never seen her.'

11.5 Summary.

In this chapter, we have seen that core and nuclear serialization differ in form. The verbs in core SVCs both take some agreement marking, whereas only the first verb of a nuclear SVC takes the subject agreement prefix. We have seen as well that core and nuclear SVCs may both have the same function. To indicate direction, duration, manner, and cause-effect, either a core or a nuclear SVC can be used. More research is needed to understand the differences between core and nuclear serialization that perform the same function.

12 Simple sentences

This chapter is devoted to the study of simple sentences, that is, independent clauses that contain a single predicate, be it a verb, an adjective, or a noun. In section 12.1, I present simple sentences containing a single verb. In section 12.2, non-verbal predicate clauses are described, and in section 12.3 their functions are discussed.

12.1 Verbal clauses.

Minimally, an entire sentence may consist of just a single verbal complex.

- (1027) ref 07078.009
Ra-r-anan.
3PL-DL-eat
'They ate.'

A verb phrase made up of a transitive verb is minimally composed of the subject agreement suffix, the verb, and an object clitic or an object NP, as shown below with the verb *atia* 'bite'.

- (1028) ref 06031.014
Mo-**at** **sun** na singo-na, mo-**at=i=a** ro, mo-tete.
3SG-bite hat LOC mouth-3SG.POSS 3SG-bite=TR=3SG then 3SG-fly
'He bit the hat with his beak, he bit it and then flew off.'

In some rare cases seen in imperative sentences, the verb occurs on its own, that is without an agreement marker.

- (1029) ref 07054d.017
Tur asao puse rarua!
stand.up far away 3PLtwo
'Go away from these two!'

However, more commonly, even in imperative sentences, the subject agreement is mandatory.

- (1030) ref 07054d.001-002
 Fransiska! **Ko-lav** paoʻ no-n Auntie Eileen!
 Fransiska 2SG-take grater CLF-3SG.POSS Auntie Eileen
 ‘Francisca! Take Auntie Eileen’s grater!’

The subject itself, whether an NP or a pronoun, is overtly expressed at the beginning of a discourse in order to introduce a new participant, such as *nna* ‘he’ below.

- (1031) ref 07085.070-072
 Me ka-ńe-l-var sur ńmel aite taʻalu-na. **Nna** mo-sa
 FUT 1SG.IR-IT-IMPF-speak about more one side-3SG.POSS 3SG 3SG-go.up
 mo-sev tuan pili-na raruorua.
 3SG-hang with hand-3SG.POSS 2together
 ‘I will talk again about another one on its side. He hangs up with both his hands.’

Once the referent of the participant is established, it is rarely included again in a sentence as a full NP subject, if only for emphasis (as in (1032)), to differentiate him/her from another participant, in (1033), or to reintroduce a participant in the discourse.

- (1032) ref 06016.038
 ńMatan ńilae **nna** mo-tur sea.
 because plover 3SG 3SG-stand.up more
 ‘Because Plover, him, he stood firm.’
- (1033) ref 06015.057-058
 Ra-sa, **nao** na-l-to pa.
 3PL-go.up 1SG 1SG-IMPF-stay still
 ‘They went up, me, I still stayed.’

Other morphosyntactic categories realized in the verbal complex (such as aspect and mood) are discussed in chapter 9.

12.2 Non-verbal predicate clauses.

Non-verbal predicate clauses all have in common that their predicate is not cross-referenced with subject markers, nor are they marked for tense, mood, or aspect. There are five types

of non-verbal predicate clauses: nominal predicate clauses, cardinality predicate, adjectival predicate, prepositional predicate, and adverbial predicate clauses. Each type is described in turn below.

12.2.1 Nominal predicates. These clauses are formed by the juxtaposition of two noun phrases. The first noun phrase stands as the subject and the second noun phrase is the predicate.

Several types of noun can be used predicatively. In the following examples, the nominal predicate clause is a proper name in (1034) and (1035), and a common noun in (1036) to (1037).

(1034) ref 06034.001

Nao, ese-ku **Peter.**
 1SG name-1SG.POSS Peter
 ‘Me, my name is Peter.’

(1035) ref 06034.005-006

Kaĩnam, ʋanua sa-ĩnam, ese-na **Maʋea.** Ureure-n
 1PL.EXCL island CLF.LOC-1PL.EXCL name-3SG.POSS Maʋea islet-CONS
Utalap̃e.
 Santo
 ‘We, our island, its name (is) Maʋea. (It is an) islet of Santo.’

(1036) ref 06031.002

Ululdunia aro **ululdunia-n kou rar vomae.**
 story here story-CONS fowl 3PL.DL dove
 ‘This story here (is) the story of Fowl and Dove.’

(1037) ref 06034.017

Sasa-n ma ra-l-la manea ai, **kavura na.**
 work-3SG.POSS COMP 3PL-IMPF-take money AI copra only
 ‘The work they are getting money from (it) (is) only copra.’

In the following example, the noun *poa* ‘pig’ is used predicatively. The subject of this non-verbal predicate clause is the classifier (see also section 7.5).

- (1038) ref 07065.038
 Mo-v: ‘a-ku **poa.**’
 3SG-say CLF.EAT-1SG.POSS pig
 ‘He said: ‘My (thing) to eat (is a) pig.’ ’

Demonstrative pronouns such as *noro* ‘this here’, or *nele* ‘this’ can also be used predicatively.

- (1039) ref 07022.104
 Aso, nna **noro**, atano.
 mushroom 3SG here.now ground
 ‘The mushroom, it is here, on the ground.’

- (1040) ref 07075.028-029
 Nao **nel**, kakato voko le.
 1SG this heron white DET
 ‘I (am) this, the white heron.’

- (1041) ref 06015.230
 Male aro **nele**.
 that.one here this
 ‘That is it.’ (Lit: That one here (is) this.)

This last example is one of several expressions used at the end of a discourse, similar to Bislama *hemia no more*, meaning ‘that is it, I am done talking’.

The following example is ambiguous, depending on the analysis of the suffix *-n* as a construct suffix or the third person singular. Under analysis 1, the suffix *-n* is the third person singular, and the demonstrative *maro* ‘this one’ is used predicatively. Under analysis 2, *-n* is a construct suffix and the predicate is *sasakira-n maro* ‘this one’s shoot’.

(1042) ref 07022.111: Analysis 1
 Maro, sasakira-n **maro**.
 this.one shoot-3SG.POSS this.one
 ‘This one, its shoot (is) this one.’

(1043) ref 07022.111: Analysis 2
 Maro, **sasakira-n maro**.
 this.one shoot-CONS this.one
 ‘This one (is) this one’s shoot.’

12.2.2 Cardinality predicates. These clauses are formed by the juxtaposition of a noun and a numeral. The numeral is obligatorily preceded by the ligature *i*, except when the number is *aite* ‘one’.⁴⁴

(1044) ref 06006.001
M̃as aite, ese-na malao.
 bird.fish one name-3SG.POSS megapode
 ‘(There is) one bird, his name (is) Megapode.’

(1045) ref 07084.017-019
Sel i rua, aite atau, mamaite amma, na forehead, na vo-patu-n
 sail LIG two one behind another first LOC forehead LOC FEM-head-CONS
 aka.
 canoe
 ‘(There are) two sails, one (is) behind, the other one (is) in front, in the forehead,
 in the front of the canoe.’

There are two possible analyses for these cardinality predicates, as shown below:

(1046) (i) $\begin{matrix} [_{subj} \text{ NP}] & [_{pred} \text{ LIG NUM}] \\ [sel] & [i \text{ rua}] \end{matrix}$

⁴⁴It is possible that *aite* is a portmanteau morpheme, composed of *a*, a possible reflex of the causative POc *paka, *i* the ligature, and *te* from *tea* the cardinal number ‘one’. If this analysis is correct, it could explain why the ligature is never used with *aite*, as it is already incorporated in the portmanteau form.

- (1047) (ii) $\begin{matrix} [_{subj} \emptyset] & [_{pred} \text{NP LIG NUM}] \\ [\emptyset] & [\text{sel i rua}] \end{matrix}$

In example (1046), the noun *sel* ‘sail’ functions as the subject and the numeral is the predicate. Example (1047) on the other hand is subjectless. The noun *sel* ‘sail’ with the numeral functions as the predicate. Example (1048) below, where the cardinality predicate is inside a relative clause, supports analysis (ii).

- (1048) ref 06033.031

Ro taña-rarua mo-v: ‘Navari [**ma i rua**] ra-sopo-r-ña.’
 then father-3PL.DL 3SG-say children COMP LIG two 3PL-NEG-DL-come
 ‘Then their father said: ‘The children that (are) two didn’t come back.’’

12.2.3 Adjectival predicates. These clauses are formed by the juxtaposition of a noun and an adjectival predicate. There are only five adjectives that can serve as predicates in Ma’vea: *dumana* ‘plenty’, *vataolo* ‘different’, *vaitina* ‘big(pl)’, *valavoa* ‘big(sg)’, and *vaisesea* ‘small(pl)’. Other property denoting constructions are expressed by verbal constructions, with stative verbs taking subject agreement markers, as in (1049).

- (1049) ref 07022.062

Āmata-n **mo-ango.**
 eye-3SG.POSS 3SG-yellow
 ‘His eyes are yellow.’

- (1050) Constructed example

*Āmata-n **ango.**
 eye-3SG.POSS yellow
 (Intended reading: ‘His eyes are yellow.’)

12.2.3.1 Dumana ‘plenty’. The adjective *dumana* ‘plenty’ is used in the corpus predicatively (as in (1051) and (1052)).

(1051) ref 06016.002
 Amma, amma, mmasi, mmasi **dumana**.
 before before bird.fish bird.fish plenty
 ‘Before, a long time ago, birds, birds were plenty.’

(1052) ref 06018.002
 Amma, Ma’vea, veas **dumana**.
 before Ma’vea wild.man plenty
 ‘Before, on Ma’vea, wild men were plenty.’

This adjective can also be a noun modifier (as in (1053)).

(1053) ref 06021.034
 Mo-l-suruv ai **pong dumana**.
 3sg-impf-sleep one day plenty
 ‘He slept on it plenty of days.’

This adjective was not found in the corpus being used as stative verb, that is with a subject marker.

12.2.3.2 Adjectival predicates with initial *va-*. Four adjectival predicates have in common that they all start with the morpheme *va-*, a potential cognate of the POc causative marker *pa[ka]. One of these predicate is *vataolo* ‘different’.

(1054) ref 07082.150-151
 Na-ontavse=i=a na-v nortovono, taro **vataolo**.
 1SG-know=TR=3SG 1SG-say now time different
 ‘I know that today, the time (is) different.’

The other three adjectives are semantically related: they all indicate size. *Valavoa* ‘big’ and *vaisesea* ‘small’ contrast in size. *Valavoa* and *vaitina* both mean ‘big’, but they contrast in number. *Vaitina* is always associated with plural reference. Although *vaisesea* ‘small’ has a plural counterpart, namely *varvari* ‘small’, the latter is used in the corpus as a modifier, and it was not found in the data used as a predicate.

(1055) ref 06018.013
 Nno, laso-m **valavoa**, ma nao **vaisesea**.
 2SG penis-2SG.POSS big COMP 1SG small.SG
 ‘You, your penis is big, (the one) that (is) mine (is) small.’

(1056) ref 06043.041
 ʻMarao ro, puro **vaisesea**.
 eel here shell small.SG
 ‘This eel here, (its) shell (is) small.’

(1057) ref 06043.041
 ʻPiri-n malmalu ro **valavoa**.
 shell-3SG.POSS clam here big.SG
 ‘This clam shell here (is) big.’

(1058) ref 07083.008
 Palo-na **vaitina**.
 leg-3SG.POSS big.PL
 ‘His legs (are) big.’

(1059) ref 07085.050
 Ale vopa-n kalsu-na **vaitina**.
 then hole-CONS nose-3SG.POSS big.PL
 ‘Then his nostrils (are) big.’

The other common property of these adjectival predicates is that they can also be used as stative verbs, in which case they are marked with subject agreement markers. I am not aware of a difference in meaning between the two constructions. Note also that the same speaker is using the lexeme *vaitina* ‘big PL’ in both constructions: as a predicate in (1059) and as a stative verb in (1061).

(1060) ref 07085.106
 Nna **mo-vaisesea** na velena mo-ʻparav.
 3SG 3SG-small.SG but tail-3SG.POSS 3SG-long
 ‘He is small, but his tail is long.’

- (1061) ref 07085.149
 Mata-na i rua **ra-r-vaitina**.
 eye-3SG.POSS LIG two 3PL-DL-big.PL
 ‘His two eyes are big.’ Or ‘He has two eyes, they are big.’
- (1062) ref 06043.044
 Mo-po-vaise **mo-valavao**.
 3SG-NEG-small 3SG-big.SG
 ‘It is not small, it is big.’
- (1063) ref 07085.166
 Var~ varango-n **ra-vataolo**.
 RED~ finger-3SG.POSS 3PL-different
 ‘His fingers are different.’

12.2.4 Prepositional predicates. In this type of non-verbal predicate clauses, the predicate is a prepositional phrase, introduced by the locative marker *na*, whether *na* indicate a location in time, as in (1064), or a spatial location, in (1065) to (1067).

- (1064) ref 06022.028
 Story ro avona-n **na** nor.
 story here end-3SG.POSS LOC here.now
 ‘This story, its end (is) here.’
- (1065) ref 07022.108
 Maro, sasakira-n **na** nor.
 this grow-3SG.POSS LOC here.now
 ‘This one, its growth is here.’
- (1066) ref 07054d.005
 Paoŵ no-n Eileen **na** mallu-n inele.
 grater CLF-3SG.POSS Eileen LOC under-CONS that
 ‘Eileen’s grater (is) under that thing.’

(1067) ref 07085.043-044

Varango-na i tol **na** taʃalu-n palo-na aite, ale varango-na
finger-3SG.POSS LIG three LOC side-CONS leg-3SG.POSS one, then finger-3SG.POSS
i tol **na** taʃalu-n palo-na aite.
LIG three LOC side-CONS leg-3SG.POSS one
'Three fingers (are) on one side of his leg, then, three fingers (are) on one side of his
leg.'

In the following example, there is no subject over which the prepositional phrase is predicated.

(1068) ref 07083.051

Ok **na** nele na.
ok LOC this only
'Ok, this is it.'

Spatial location can also be indicated by verbal constructions, with the verb *to* 'sit, stay'. Location in time was not found in the corpus used with a stative verb.

(1069) ref 06030.017

Mo-to na mallu-n pua.
3SG-stay LOC under-CONS bamboo
'He stayed under the bamboo.'

12.2.5 Adverbial predicates. These clauses are formed by the juxtaposition of a noun and an adverb. Only spatial adverbs occur in the corpus as predicates. They include the spatial and time deictics *aro* 'proximal, here', *aine* 'medial, there', *nor(o)* 'here, now', and *kon(a)ro* 'here'.

(1070) ref 06016.063

Ro, avona-n uludunia **aro**.
then end-CONS story here.this
'Then the end of the story is here.' Or 'Then, this is the end of the story.'

(1071) ref 06015.211

Nna ne **aine**.

3SG FOC there

‘It is there.’

(1072) ref 07052.031-032

Atoli-na **nor**, aʋati-na **konro**.

third-3SG.POSS here.now fourth-3SG.POSS here

‘The third one (is) here, the fourth one (is) here.’

There is also an example in the data where an adverbial clause (a purpose clause) introduced by *mʉatan* is used in lieu of a predicate.

(1073) ref 07068.139

Male **mʉatan** me ra-lsu mate=i=o.

that.one COMP FUT 3PL-hit dead=TR=2SG

‘That one (was) for the purpose that they would kill you.’

12.3 Functions of non-verbal predicates.

Payne)1997:114-128) lists five main functions associated with non-verbal predicates: (i) equative, in which case the referent of the subject and the predicate are identical; (ii) attributive, that is, the predicate attributes a property to the subject, and includes the subject in a class specified by the predicate nominal; (iii) locational, where the predicate informs on the location of the subject; (iv) existential, where the predicate asserts the existence of the subject; and (v) possessive, where the predicate indicates the possessee. Each function is described below.

12.3.1 Equative. In equative clauses, the predicate and the subject refer to the same entity. So far, only NP predicates (personal names, common nouns, and demonstrative pronouns) were found to form equative sentences.

- (1074) ref 06036.005
 Mo-v ura ro **ura pula-na.**
 3SG-say prawn here prawn CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘She said that the prawn here (was) her prawn.’
- (1075) ref 06034.001
 Nao, ese-ku **Peter.**
 1SG name-1SG.POSS Peter
 ‘Me, my name is Peter.’
- (1076) ref 06031.002
 Ululdunia aro **ululdunia-n kou rar vomae.**
 story here story-CONS fowl 3PL.DL dove
 ‘This story here (is) the story of Fowl and Dove.’
- (1077) ref 06042.003
 Aese **sara-n ma re ta-ma’ē ra-sua.**
 Ais place-3SG.POSS COMP PL CLF.man-Ma’ēa 3PL-paddle
 ‘Ais (is) the place where the men from Ma’ēa paddle.’
- (1078) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 Ise **nele?**
 who this
 ‘Who is this?’

12.3.2 Attributive. In attributive clauses, the predicate attributes some information to the subject (such as: X is Y). Examples include the use of an adjectival predicate in (1079).

- (1079) ref 07083.008
 Palo-na **vaitina.**
 leg-3SG.POSS big
 ‘His legs are big.’

12.3.3 Locational. A prepositional predicate as in (1080) or an adverbial predicate (in (1081)) is used to indicate the location of the subject.

(1080) ref 07054d.005

Paoŕ no-n Eileen **na** mallu-n inele.
grater CLF-3SG.POSS Eileen LOC under-CONS that.thing
'Eileen's grater (is) under that thing.'

(1081) ref 06042.033

Tamlo vaise ma na-on mo-l-ŕan~ŕano na ono nna **konle**.
man small COMP 1SG-look 3SG-IMPF-walk LOC sand 3SG there
'The small boy that I saw walking in the sand, there he is.'

12.3.4 Existential. An existential predicate asserts the existence of its subject. These clauses also often have a presentative function, where they introduce participants into the discourse (Payne 1997:123).

Cardinality predicates are prime examples of existential clauses in Maŕea. The predicate ranges over a set (the entity in subject position) whose size is determined by the numeral (see Milsark 1974, cited in Enç 1991:12).

The following example is the first line of a story. The narrator uses *aite* 'one' to present the character in the story.

(1082) ref 06006.001

Ŕas **aite**, ese-na malao.
bird.fish one name-3SG.POSS megapode
'(There is) one bird, his name (is) Megapode.'

Other non-verbal predicate clauses functioning as existential are adjectival clauses, as shown below.

(1083) ref 06018.002

Amma, Maŕea, veas **dumana**.
before Maŕea wild.man plenty
'Before, on Maŕea, wild men were plenty.' Or 'There were plenty of wild men.'

12.3.5 Possession. Non-verbal predicate clauses can function to encode possession. There are few examples in the data where an NP predicate is used to denote the possessee, and the subject denotes the possessor.

(1084) ref 06034.003

Nao **vatasi-ku** **i** **ʋat**, tasi-ku **i** tol.
 1SG sister-1SG.POSS LIG four brother-1SG.POSS LIG three
 ‘I have four sisters, and three brothers.’ (Lit: me, my sisters (there are) four.)

(1085) ref 07030.012

Aka le **aʋani-na** **i** **rua**.
 canoe the sail-3SG.POSS LIG two
 ‘This canoe has two sails.’ (Lit: this canoe, its sails (there are) two.)

Last, an NP is used predicatively when it follows a possessive classifier (see also section 7.5.3).

(1086) ref 07065.047

Mo-taravun sa mo-vara=i: ‘A-ku **poa**.’
 3SG-rise go.up 3SG-tell=TR CLF.EAT-1SG.POSS pig
 ‘He got up and said: ‘My (thing) to eat (is a) pig.’”

It is most often the case that possession is expressed verbally, with the verb *tau* ‘put’.

(1087) ref 07085.047-049

Mo-tau poro-n **i** rua. mʻata-na **i** rua, on **i** rua.
 3SG-put ear-3SG.POSS LIG two eye-3SG.POSS LIG two horn LIG two
 ‘He has two ears, two eyes, two horns.’

Negative existential and equative clauses are discussed in chapter 13.

13 Negation and Questions

In this chapter, I first describe negation in section 13.1: sentential negation, negation of verbless clauses (equative, locational, and existential sentences), inherently negative lexemes, the expression of *no*, how negated serial constructions are used to express *never* and *to be unable to*, and finally negation of quantifiers. I then turn my attention to questions in section 13.2: polar questions, content questions, and interrogative predicates.

13.1 Negation.

13.1.1 Sentential negation. Sentential negation in Ma'vea is expressed morphologically with the bound prefix *sopo-*. Its position in the verbal complex is discussed in chapter 9. Suffice it here to say that it occurs right after the subject agreement prefix, as shown below.

(1088) ref 06042.043-045

Ro tamlo vaise mo-lo-mávan, mo-**sopo**-one=a, mo-**sopo**-rongo=a.
then man small 3SG-IMPF-play 3SG-NEG-look=3SG 3SG-NEG-hear=3SG
'Then the little boy was playing, he didn't see him, he didn't hear him.'

Sentential negation is sometimes reduced to *po-* in conversations.

(1089) ref 06034.025

Ro na-**sopo**-sasa, na-**po**-ve te inao.
then 1SG-NEG-work 1SG-NEG-make some thing
'Then I don't work, I don't do anything.'

There is only one instance in the data where bare negation is used (that is, without a subject agreement marker).

(1090) ref 07034.019

Sopo te ta-ma'vea aite ma i-ve sala ro.
NEG some CLF.from-Ma'vea one COMP 3SG.IR-make road here
'There is not one man Ma'vea who could make (follow) this road.'

Negation interacts with aspect markers in interesting ways. When negation occurs in a sentence with the imperfective aspect *lo-*, they form the aspectual meaning ‘not yet’. This combination is used to refer to an event that is likely to happen in the future, but has not yet taken place. A sentence containing the negative morpheme and the imperfective aspect is often ended with the aspectual marker *pa* ‘still, yet’, as shown below.

- (1091) ref 07069.094
 Na *ń*matan nno ko-**sopo-l**-on daiu **pa**?
 but because 2SG 2SG-NEG-IMPF-look crab still
 ‘But, because, you haven’t seen a coconut crab yet?’

When negation combines with the iterative aspect marker *ńe*, the resulting meaning is similar to the English ‘not anymore, no more’.

- (1092) ref 06029.029
 Mo-tur, mo-**sopo-ńe**-l-suruv, mo-tur.
 3SG-stand.up 3SG-NEG-IT-IMPF-sleep 3SG-stand.up
 ‘She stands up, she does not sleep anymore, she stands up.’

There are no examples in the naturalistic data of the inceptive aspectual morpheme *pete* combined with negation. When elicited, these two morphemes do not seem to give rise to a special aspectual meaning.

- (1093) Elicitation , 2007, EVK.
 Mo-**sopo-pete**-taravun, mo-taravun ina mar amma mo-ev.
 3SG-NEG-INCPT-rise 3SG-rise thing MAR before 3SG-finish
 ‘He did not just get up, he got up a long time ago already.’

13.1.2 Negation of non-verbal predicates. In this section, I present data on negative equative clauses, negative locational clauses, and negative existential clauses.

13.1.2.1 Negation of equative clauses. Equative clauses (described in chapter 12), are formed by the juxtaposition of two NPs. In order to negate this type of clause, the

negative morpheme *sopo* is used with the subject agreement marker for third person singular *mo-*. The constituent to be negated appear after the negation, as shown below with *nno* ‘2SG’. The negative complex *mosopo* is thus interpreted as ‘it is/was not’.

- (1094) ref 06016.055
 Ko-v **mo-sopo nno**.
 2SG-say 3SG-NEG 2SG
 ‘You said (it) wasn’t you.’

In the following example, the negated constituent is the demonstrative pronoun *male*.

- (1095) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Pua ma na-vol=i=a konle, **mo-sopo male**.
 knife COMP 1SG-buy=TR=3SG here 3SG-NEG that.one
 ‘The knife that I bought (is) here, (it) is not that one.’

In the examples below, the negated constituent is a noun (in (1096)), and place name

(1097).

- (1096) ref 06020.027
 Mo-v vomae na mo-dere mʔatan **mo-sopo vomae**, vomae nna mo-tete moʔa.
 3SG-say dove but 3SG-no COMP 3SG-NEG dove dove 3SG 3SG-fly 3SG-go
 ‘He though it was Dove, but no, because (it) wasn’t Dove, Dove, she had flown
 away.’

- (1097) ref 06028.011
Mo-sopo Tevo.
 3SG-NEG Tevo
 ‘(It) was not Tevo.’

13.1.2.2 Negative locational predicate. Locational predicates are negated in the same fashion as equative sentences. The negative complex *mosopo* precedes the locational PP introduced by *na*.

- (1098) ref 07084.024
Mo-sopo na ono.
 3SG-NEG LOC sand
 ‘(It) is not on the sand.’

13.1.2.3 Negative existential predicate. When the negative complex *mosopo* is directly followed by *te(a)* ‘some’, it is interpreted as a negative existential predicate. The following minimal pair exemplifies the difference in meaning between the negative verbal complex *mosopo*, and the negative existential predicate *mosopo te*.

(1099) ref 06005.011
Mo-sopo aka du.
 3SG-NEG canoe good
 ‘It is not a canoe.’

(1100) ref 06014.034
 Mo-kil~kil ʋa **mo-sopo te** aka du.
 3SG-RED~look go 3SG-NEG some canoe good
 ‘He looked around, there were no canoes.’

In example (1100), the existence of a canoe is negated: no canoe exists in the vicinity of the story’s character. In example (1099) on the other hand, the character is looking at an object which is not a canoe.

Other examples of the negative existential predicate follow.

(1101) ref 06007.001-003
 Amma, **mo-sopo te** hospital.
 before 3SG-NEG some hospital
 ‘Before, there was no hospital.’

(1102) ref 07039.098-099
Mo-sopo te sinai, sinai mo-evu.
 3SG-NEG some yam yam 3SG-finish
 ‘There are no yams, yams are finished.’

(1103) ref 06042.101
Mo-sopo te ina isat.
 3SG-NEG some thing bad
 ‘Nothing is wrong.’ (Lit: There is no bad thing.)

13.1.3 Lexical negation. Three lexical items in Ma'vea are inherently negative: the auxiliary *leng* 'cannot', the negative predicate *er(e)* 'lack', and *dere* 'no'. They are discussed in that order below.

13.1.3.1 *Leng* 'cannot'. The negative counterpart of the auxiliary *adi* 'can' is the negative auxiliary *leng* 'cannot'. *Leng* indicates that the experiencer subject does not have the ability to do something.

(1104) ref 06031.026-027
 Kou mo-v i-sa aul, mo-**leng** tete.
 fowl 3SG-say 3SG.IR-go.up above 3SG-can't fly
 'Fowl wanted to go up above, but he cannot fly.'

In the above example, the chicken (*Fowl*) cannot fly because chickens do not have this ability.

13.1.3.2 *Er(e)* 'lack'. The inherently negative predicate *er(e)* 'lack' has two functions in Ma'vea. It can be used as a negative existential predicate (as in example (1105) to (1107)) or it can indicate lack of possession, as in (1108). According to Payne (1997:126), this dual function is not uncommon in the languages of the world.

(1105) ref 07075.009-011
 M̄matan amma ro kakato voko mo-dere, mo-**ere**, kakato voko mo-sopo tea.
 COMP before then heron white 3SG-no 3SG-lack heron white 3SG-NEG one
 'Because before, there were no white heron, there lack white herons, there was not one white heron.'

(1106) ref 06043.001
 Amma na taro ma m̄matiu mo-**ere** na v̄anua vaise aite ra-v 'Viti'.
 before LOC time COMP coconut 3SG-not.have LOC island small one 3PL-say Fiji
 'Before, at the time when there were no coconuts on a small island they call Fiji.'

(1107) ref 06042.003
 na taro ma Aese mo-**er** tamloi-na
 LOC time COMP Ais 3SG-not.have man-3SG.POSS
 ‘at the time when there were no men on Ais Island’ (Lit: Ais Island did not
 have/lacked its man)

(1108) ref 06043.013
 Nna mo-**er** tasi-na.
 3SG 3SG-lack brother-3SG.POSS
 ‘He doesn’t have a brother.’ (Lit: He lacks his brother.)

Note that when *er(e)* indicates non-existence (as in (1106)), the subject can be the theme (the entity that does not exist) or the location (as in (1107), whereas when *er(e)* indicates lack of possession (in (1108)), the subject is the owner, experiencing the lack.

Most examples of *er(e)* in the corpus indicate the lack of possession or non-possession of kin (as in (1108) above), body parts (in (1109)), objects or animals (in (1110) and (1111) respectively).

(1109) ref 06020.049
 Ko-**er** vulu-m, ko-pilo.
 2SG-lack hair-2SG.POSS 2SG-bald
 ‘You don’t have (your) hair, you are bald.’

(1110) ref 07043.025
 Rarua ra-r-**er** rai.
 3PL.DL 3PL-DL-lack leaf
 ‘They two didn’t have (medicinal) leaves.’

(1111) Elicitation, 2005, PVM.
 Nao na-**er** te viriu.
 1SG 1SG-lack some dog
 ‘I don’t have a(ny) dog.’

‘To lack’ or ‘to not have’ can also be expressed by negating the possessive predicate *doro* (discussed in chapter 7). This combination was found once in the (elicited) data.

(1112) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Na-sopo-**doro** te manea mo-pal nno.
1SG-NEG-own some money 3SG-like 2SG
'I don't have as much money as you.'

The semantic difference between a negated *doro* and *er(e)* is revealed in that example. Whereas *er(e)* implies total absence (its negative component takes scope over the whole sentence), negation used with *doro* does not indicate total absence of the entity. Negation in (1112) above seems to have scope over the embedded clause only, so that a more literal translation of (1112) is "I have money, not as much as you."

13.1.3.3 Dere 'no'. The lexeme *dere* 'no' is used to negate an entire proposition or to answer to a question in the negative, as shown below.⁴⁵

(1113) ref 07068.005-008

Na 2004, a sori **mo-dere**, na-lopolipo, 2005.
LOC 2004 ah sorry 3SG-no 1SG-lie 2005
'In 2004, ah sorry, no, I lied, 2005.'

(1114) ref 06016.020-021

Ro mo-us ĩpao mo-v: 'Ĵpao, ko-adi sile nao dam le?' Ro ĩpao mo-v:
then 3SG-ask bird 3SG-say bird 2SG-can give 1SG yam DET then bird 3SG-say
'**Mo-dere**, me ro ka-sopo-sile=o nna.'
3SG-no FUT then 1SG.IR-NEG-give=2SG 3SG
'Then he asked Swamphen: 'Swamphen, can you give me this yam?' Then Swamphen
said: 'No, I won't give it to you.'

Dere is always marked with the third person singular subject agreement prefix: *mo-* in realis context and *i-* in irrealis sentences, as below.

⁴⁵It is interesting to note that in Ma'ŕea (as in Bislama), it is habitual to answer any question with *modere* (or *i no gat* in Bislama). Thus, if someone asks: *Kol'ŕe sa?* "What are you doing?", the answer would often start with *modere*, as in *Modere, nal'ŕe loko* "No/nothing, I am making laplap."

(1115) ref 07068.143

I-mo-dere ra-lsu-ao.
3SG.IR-COND-no 3PL-hit-1SG
'If not they would have killed me.'

Dere can also combine with the imperfective aspect *l(o)-*. This combination results in the aspectual meaning 'not yet', similar to the combination of the negative morpheme *sopo-* and the imperfective *l(o)-* (as shown in(1091) above).

(1116) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Va-tasi-ku i tol ra-lai mo-evu, na nao **mo-l-dere**.
fem-sibling-1SG.POSS LIG three 3PL-marry 3SG-finish but 1SG 3SG-IMPF-not
'My three sisters are already married, but me, not yet.'

The above example also shows that the subject marker *mo-* attached to *dere* does not agree with the subject *nao* '1SG'.

One cannot but notice the formal similarity between the negative existential predicate *er(e)* (described in the previous section), and *dere* 'no'. There is, however, no synchronic evidence of any morphological relations between the two.

13.1.4 Negation and serial verb constructions. To express the meaning equivalent to English *never* and *not be able to*, serial constructions are used (more is said on serial constructions in chapter 11).

13.1.4.1 Never. To talk about an event that never happened in the past, and that is experienced for the first time, a nuclear serial construction is used. The first verb of the serial construction is negated. The second verb is always *rongo* 'feel, hear'.

(1117) ref 06043.114

Mo-**sopo-on rongo** te tovu-i m̃atiu.
3SG-NEG-look feel some growth-CONS coconut
'He had never seen a sprouting coconut before.'

- (1118) Elicitation 2007, EVK.
 Na-**sopo**-in **rongo** te ae amma.
 1SG-NEG-drink feel some kava before
 ‘I never tasted kava before.’

There is one example in the corpus where the negative morpheme *sopo*- is replaced by the negative auxiliary *leng* ‘cannot’.

- (1119) ref 06007.057
 V̌aʋina le, na-**leng** on **rongo**=a.
 female DET 1SG-can’t look feel=3SG
 ‘This woman, I have never seen her.’

In the speech of a young consultant, the Bislama word *neva* ‘never’ replaced the serial construction.

- (1120) ref 07062.049
 Na m̌auri-ku nao **neva** ka-on te ina polmor.
 LOC life-1SG.POSS 1SG never 1SG.IR-look some thing like.this
 ‘In my life, I had never seen something like this.’

13.1.4.2 ‘Unable’. Unlike *leng* ‘cannot’ which describes an intrinsic lack of ability, ‘not be able to’ describes a temporary condition. In order to express the meaning ‘not be able to do something’, a nuclear serial construction is used. Negation precedes the verb that the experiencer subject will not be able to perform. This verb is then followed by the verb *laʋia* ‘take’.

- (1121) ref 06015.124
 Nao na-**sopo**-tur **laʋ**.
 1SG 1SG-NEG-stand.up take
 ‘I wasn’t able to stand up.’

Note that the negative auxiliary *leng* was also found in the data in place of the negative *sopo*, to express a temporary lack of ability.

- (1122) ref 06015.187
 Mo-**leng** ťe **la**ť=i=a.
 3SG-can't make take=TR=3SG
 'He couldn't/ wasn't able to do it.'

13.1.5 Negation and quantifiers. According to Payne (1985:233-234), in languages expressing standard negation morphologically (like Maťea), the verb always carries the negation. As a result, a sentence containing a quantifier and negation can be ambiguous. There are several examples in the corpus with a quantifier and negation. In all cases, negation takes (wide) scope over the quantifier, whether the quantifier is in object position in (1123) or subject position (in (1124) and (1125)).

- (1123) ref 07070.057
 na-**po-ťe**-l-on **taite**.
 1SG-NEG-IT-IMPF-see one
 'I have not seen one (~it) anymore.'

- (1124) ref 07070.026
 Na me ro **taite** ťalu-ida me i-**sopo-ťata**.
 but FUT then one with-1PL.INCL FUT 3SG.IR-NEG-dead
 'But not one of us would die.' (And not: *One of us would not die.)

- (1125) ref 06020.034
Te ra-**sopo**-one=ao, ra-sopo-on apu no-ku.
 some 3PL-NEG-see=1SG 3PL-NEG-see fire CLF-1SG.POSS
 'Then no-one saw me, they didn't see my fire.' (And not: *Someone didn't see me.)

These quantifiers all have in common that they are derived from the numeral one. *Taite* is possibly the combination of *te* 'some' and *aite* 'one'. *Te* 'some' in turn is possibly derived from the cardinal number *tea* 'one'. The numeral *aite* 'one' acts as the indefinite article in Maťea, while a noun phrase such as *te NP* indicates that the NP is non-referential (see section 6.4). It is possible that these quantifiers always take narrow scope because they are

non-specific: according to Enç (1991:22), non-specific NPs cannot take scope over modal operators.

13.2 Questions.

In the following sections, I will provide examples to illustrate question formation in Ma'ëa. First, I look at yes-no questions, and show that they are differentiated from declarative sentences by their rising intonation. Another type of yes-no question with a negative tag is also discussed here. Second, content questions (or wh-questions) are presented. In Ma'ëa, the question word remains in-situ, that is, it is positioned in the slot of the element it questions. However, we will see that some question words can also appear at the beginning of a question. We will look at mono-clausal content questions, embedded questions, and long distance extraction. Finally, I describe interrogative predicates.

13.2.1 Yes-No questions.

13.2.1.1 Intonation. There is no syntactic device to differentiate a yes-no question from a declarative sentence. The only difference between the two is the intonation pattern. Whereas yes-no questions have a rising intonation, declarative sentences have a falling intonation. Spectrograms illustrating the intonation patterns of yes-no questions in comparison to declarative sentences can be found in chapter 2.

An example of a yes-no question is provided below. As can be seen in that example, nothing in the syntax differentiates a declarative sentence and a yes-no question.

- (1126) ref 06045.003
A, Tomy mo-sopo-l-sivo?
ah Tomy 3SG-NEG-IMPF-go
'Ah, has Tomy not yet gone?'

13.2.1.2 Tag question. Another type of yes-no question involves the use of a negative tag at the end of the question. This tag has the form *te modere*, which literally translates in English as ‘or not’. A similar tag is found in Araki (François 2002:170).

(1127) ref 07054c.004
 Mar nortovon apu-n kavura mo-l-an **te mo-dere?**
 this now fire-CONS copra 3SG-IMPF-burn or 3SG-no
 ‘Now is the copra’s fire burning or not?’

The intonation contour of tag questions is presented in the form of a Praat graph in chapter 2, section 2.4. The intonation is rising on *te* and falling on *modere*.

13.2.2 Mono-clausal content questions. Question words form a closed class. The exhaustive list is presented below.

ise	‘who’
sa	‘what’
se	‘which’
aḻe	‘where’
ingese	‘when’
iḻisa	‘how much, how many’
ḻatan	‘why’
ḻatai sa/ḻatan sa	‘for what reason’
sur sa	‘about what, for what’
sava	‘what kinship relation’

Each wh-word is examined below.

13.2.2.1 Ise ‘who’. The wh-word *ise* ‘who’ was found in the data in subject position or as the object of a preposition, as in (1128) and (1129), respectively. Although *ise* ‘who’ was not found in object position, I believe it can occupy this position too.

(1128) ref 06045.122
Ise i-l-to atisi?
 who 3SG.IR-IMPF-stay over.there
 ‘Who lives over there?’

- (1129) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Ko-l-suruvu tuan **ise**?
 2SG-IMPF-sleep with who
 ‘Whom do you live with?’

Ise may have a plural reference, as shown below, where the third person plural agreement marker *ra-* co-references the wh-word.

- (1130) ref 06042.011
 Mo-v: **Ise** noro **ra**-l-kotkot aro?
 3SG-say who now 3PL-IMPF-wander here
 ‘He said: ‘Who is (~are) wandering here?’”

The wh-word *ise* can also stand as the subject of an equative clause. In this next example, the deictic *noro* ‘now, here’ acts as a predicate, with *ise* ‘who’ as its subject.

- (1131) ref 06045.001
Ise noro?
 who this.now
 ‘Who is here?/Who’s this?’

Ise can be used predicatively, as can be seen in the following two examples.

- (1132) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
 No-n **ise**?
 CLF-CONS who
 ‘Whom does (it) belong to?’

- (1133) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
 Ese-m **ise**?
 name-2SG.POSS who
 ‘What is your name?’

Similar to Bislama, the wh-word *ise* ‘who’ is used to ask one’s name, as opposed to *what* in English.

The wh-word *ise* ‘who’ can be used with a reduced form *se* to ask a question on a noun phrase coordinated by inclusory coordination (see section 14.1.1). This type of coordination is defined by Haspelmath (2007:33) as the unification of two sets where some members of the second set are already present in the first set: {A, B, C} and {B} yields {A, B, C}. In the following example, the first conjunct *kamru(a)* ‘2PL.DL’ represents the whole set (see also section 14.1.1.3). The second conjunct (*i*)*se* ‘who’ is juxtaposed.

- (1134) ref 06042.047
Kamru se ki-r-lo-to aro?
 2PL.DL who 2PL-DL-IMPF-stay here
 ‘You and who live here?’

13.2.2.2 *Sa* ‘what’. The wh-word *sa* is found in object position, that is the object of a transitive verb or the object of a preposition, as shown below.

- (1135) ref 06036.042
 So nno ko-l-ře **sa**?
 friend 2SG 2SG-IMPF-make what
 ‘Friend, what are you doing?’

- (1136) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Me ka-dome=a tuan **sa**?
 FUT 1SG.IR-cut=3SG with what
 ‘What will I cut it with?’

The wh-word *sa* can be fronted from an object position to the beginning of a question. In that case, it is surrounded by two focus markers, and the object position is filled with a resumptive pronoun.

- (1137) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
Ne sa ne mo-l-sau=a na tanga?
 FOC sa FOC 3SG-IMPF-lift=3SG LOC basket
 ‘What did you lift (it) (from) inside the bag?’

This sentence is actually a cleft-construction, and should translate as *What is it that you lifted (it) from the bag?* More is said about focus and cleft construction in 14.6.

When in subject position, *sa* is always preceded by the focus marker *ne*.

(1138) ref 07022.079

On no-na te na **ne sa** noro?
horn CLF-3SG.POSS or but FOC what now
'His horn, or what is this?'

(1139) ref 06024.026

Ne sa mo-ře tařalu-n ařa-m?
FOC what 3SG-make side-CONS wing-2SG.POSS
'What happened to the side of your wing?'

(1140) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.

Ne sa mo-ře vuae le mo-soř? Mo-mi, ro mo-kam ravti
FOC what 3SG-make tree DET 3SG-fall? 3SG-earthquake, then 3SG-break cut
vuae.
tree
'What made the tree fall? There was an earthquake then it broke the tree.'

The following example is notable for two reasons: (i) *ne sa* 'what' occurs as the complement of the locative preposition *na*, and in this context, it means *when*, (ii) the PP *na ne sa* is the subject of the deictic *nele* used predicatively.

(1141) ref 06045.008

Na **ne sa** nele?
LOC FOC what this
'When was it?'

This is the only example in the corpus of this peculiar use of *sa*. It raises an interesting question with regard to the position of the focus marker in the prepositional phrase that I cannot answer at this stage.

The wh-word *sa* can also be used in rhetorical questions.

(1142) ref 06020.047

Mo-vara ita mo-v: 'Ko-ontavse **sa**?'
3SG-talk octopus 3SG-say 2SG-know what
'He told Octopus: 'You know what?''

The context of utterance is the sole indication that the above example is rhetorical and not a true content question.

The wh-word *sa* was found in an echo question, that is, a question that does not ask for new information, but asks one's interlocutor to repeat his statement.

(1143) ref 07054.012

Mo-v i-ǎe **sa**?
3SG-say 3SG.IR-make what
'What did she say she'd do?'

Not surprisingly, the wh-word is in-situ. The rising intonation helps clarify that the question is an echo question.

Last, the wh-word *sa* 'what' is commonly used in the phrase *-v ne sa* 'how, in what way'. This phrase is composed of the complementizer *-v* (which agrees in person with the subject of the sentence), and the focus marker *ne*.

(1144) ref 07031.051

Na-sopo-ontavse=i=a me da-r-ǎa **da-v** **ne sa**.
1SG-NEG-know=TR=3SG FUT 1PL.INCL-DL-go 1PL.INCL-say FOC what
'I don't know how we will go.'

(1145) ref 07048.071

Ki-sopo-ontavse ki-v me ki-ǎe=i **ki-v** **ne**
1PL.EXCL-NEG-know 1PL.EXCL-say FUT 1PL.EXCL-make=TR 1PL.EXCL-say FOC
sa.
what
'We didn't know what to do.' (Lit: We didn't know we would make (it) how.)

(1146) ref 06044.002

Na-v ka-var Aure, amma, tamloi-n ra-ev mo-vala **mo-v**
1SG-say 1SG.IR-speak Aore before man-3SG.POSS 3PL-finish 3SG-pass 3SG-say
ne sa.
FOC what

‘I want to talk about Aore Island, before, how it came about that its men are all gone.’ (Lit: Its men are finished, it passed (=went by) how.)

13.2.2.3 *Se* ‘which’. In the following two examples, we see that *se* ‘which’ appears in the subject position of a deictic predicate and in the subject position of an intransitive verb.

(1147) ref 06042.018

Se navari noro ro?
which children now here
‘Which children are here?’

(1148) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Se tamlo mo-avanao?
which man 3SG-steal
‘Which man stole?’

In the following three examples, the wh-word *se* ‘which’ modifies the NP object.

(1149) ref 06005.006

Mo-sopo-ontavse me i-sile=a **se** rai.
3SG-NEG-know FUT 3SG.IR-give=3SG which leaf
‘He doesn’t know which (medicinal) leaf he will give her.’

(1150) ref 07048.006

Na-sopo-ontavse=i na **se** siao, na-perpero.
1SG-NEG-know=TR LOC which year 1SG-forget
‘I don’t know (at) which year, I forgot.’

(1151) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Me ko-ña na **se** taro?
FUT 2SG-come LOC which time
‘At what time will you come?’

Below are examples of the form *se marai* ‘which one’. This interrogative pronoun is used when there is more than one entity to pick from. The exact meaning of *marai* is not known to me. It is solely found in the phrase *se marai* ‘which one’.

(1152) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Kou mongsangavul. I tol **se marai** le pula-ń
 fowl ten LIG three which MARAI DET CLF-2SG.POSS
 ‘(There are) ten fowls. Which three ones are yours?’

13.2.2.4 *Aǵe* ‘where’. The wh-word *aǵe* ‘where’ is found in-situ.

(1153) ref 06042.060

Taińa-m mo-l-to **aǵe?**
 father-2SG.POSS 3SG-IMP stay where
 ‘Where is your father?’

The wh-word *aǵe* can be focused in-situ by the addition of the deictic *nel(e)*, as in (1154) below, where *aǵe* is used predicatively. This focusing technique is similar to Bislama *wea ia* literally ‘where this’.

(1154) ref 06042.084

Mo-v: ‘Rarua **aǵe nele?**’
 3SG-say 3PL.DL where this
 ‘He said: ‘Where are they?’’

13.2.2.5 *Ingese* ‘when’. The wh-word *ingese* ‘when’ is similar to *aǵe* ‘where’ in that it does not appear to be fronted.

(1155) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.

(***ingese ne**) me ko-tapula **ingese?**
 when FOC FUT 2SG-return when
 ‘When will you come back?’

Ingese ‘when’ is found in-situ in the corpus, as shown in the following two examples.

(1156) ref 06045.013
 Na inao no-n Marcel me ra-*ve* **ingese**?
 but thing CLF-CONS Marcel FUT 3PL-make when
 ‘But Marcel’s thing, when will they make (it)?’

(1157) ref 06045.159-160
 Me i-*ňa* **ingese**, napar nel te ino^ʔ?
 FUT 3SG.IR-come when today this or tomorrow
 ‘When will he come, today or tomorrow?’

13.2.2.6 *Iʋisa* ‘how much, how many’. The wh-word *iʋisa* ‘how much, how many’ is found in the corpus in object position only, possibly due to the limited size of the corpus. When *iʋisa* is used with a noun, it is placed after the noun (shown in (1158)). If the noun is dislocated, as in (1159), then the wh-word remains in-situ.

(1158) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Ko-adi vatu (e^ʔe) **iʋisa** na pong aite?
 2SG-can weave (mat) how many LOC day one
 ‘How many (mats) can you weave in one day?’

(1159) ref 07085.120
 Var~varango-na, mo-tau **iʋisa**?
 RED~finger-3SG.POSS 3SG-put how.much
 ‘His fingers, how many does he have?’

The wh-word *iʋisa* ‘how many’ can be used predicatively.

(1160) ref 07052.004
 Siao-m **iʋisa**?
 year-2SG.POSS how.much
 ‘How old are you? (Literally: How many of your years?)’

13.2.2.7 *Ńatan* ‘why’. The wh-word *Ńatan* ‘why’ is found in the corpus to occur at the end of a sentence, like other adverbials (namely *ingese* ‘when’ and *a^ʔe* ‘where’).

- (1161) ref 06020.032
 Ko-l-tang **m̄atan?**
 2SG-IMPF-cry because
 ‘Why are you crying?’

The word *m̄atan* can also be used as a complementizer (meaning ‘because, so that, for’) to introduce reason or purpose adverbial clauses (see section 14.2). The morpheme *from* in Bislama also serves these two functions.

13.2.2.8 *M̄atai sa/m̄atan sa* ‘for what reason’. Related to *m̄atan* ‘why’, the forms *m̄atai sa* and *m̄atan sa* ‘for what reason’ were elicited. As can be seen below, these wh-words can appear at the end or at the beginning of a question. When fronted to the beginning of a question, they are focused with *ne(le)* ‘this’, thereby creating a cleft construction (see 14.6). The focus marker appears after the wh-word, as opposed to the focus marker *ne* which precedes *sa* ‘what’.

- (1162) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
Matai sa nel ko-lsu viriu?
 because what FOC 2SG-hit dog
 ‘For what reason did you kill the dog?’

- (1163) Elicitation, 2007, PVM.
 Ko-lsu viriu **m̄atan sa?**
 2SG-hit dog because what
 ‘For what reason did you kill the dog?’

- (1164) Elicitation, 2007, PVM.
M̄atan sa ne ko-lsu viriu?
 because what FOC 2SG-hit dog
 ‘For what reason did you kill the dog?’

The forms *m̄atai* and *m̄atan* are possibly bimorphemic, composed of *m̄ata-* and the construct suffix *-n* or *-i* used in possessive constructions (see chapter 7). The construct suffix *-i* is rarely used anymore, only by a few elder speakers. Similarly, the choice between

m̄atai and *m̄atan* seems to be age-based. Only my eldest consultant used *m̄atai*. Other generational differences include the preference for older speakers to have these wh-words in-situ, while younger speakers tend to use these wh-phrases fronted.

13.2.2.9 *Sur sa* ‘about what, for what’. The only data I have on this wh-word was elicited.

(1165) Elicitation, 2007, ANL.
 Ko-m̄a ro **sur sa**?
 2SG-come here about what
 ‘For what reason did you come here?’

(1166) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
Sur sa nel ko-lsu viriu?
 about what FOC 2SG-hit dog
 ‘For what reason did you kill the dog?’

(1167) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Ko-lsu viriu le **sur sa**?
 2SG-hit dog DET about what
 ‘For what reason did you kill the dog?’

As can be seen from the above examples, *sur sa* and *m̄atan sa* have the same distribution and partly overlapping meaning. The preposition *sur* is often used in narratives after the verb *var(a)* ‘talk’ to introduce the topic of the story.

(1168) ref 06018.001
 Me ro ka-var **sur** veas i rua.
 FUT then 1SG.IR-speak about wild.man LIG two
 ‘I will talk about two wild men.’

When used as a wh-word, *sur sa* may retain its meaning similar to ‘about’.

(1169) Elicitation, 2007, ANL.
 Supa le mo-l-var **sur sa**?
 chief DET 3SG-IMP-speak about what
 ‘What did the chief talk about?’

Prepositions are discussed in chapter 8.

13.2.2.10 *Sava* ‘what, whose’. *Sava* is used to ask about the relation one entertains with a directly possessed noun. There are no examples in the corpus where *sava* is used with an indirectly possessed noun. This interrogative takes a possessive suffix. I have glossed it as ‘whose’ for lack of a better term.

Three examples were found in the corpus: two where *sava* is used to ask about kinship relation two persons entertain (in (1170) and (1171)), and one where it is used to ask about body parts (in (1172)).

(1170) ref 06045.187-188

Pupu **sava-na?** Tupu-na te ne tina-na?
 grandpa whose-3SG.POSS? grandparent-3SG.POSS or but mother-3SG.POSS
 ‘Whose grandpa? (Was he) His grandparent’s or his mother’s?’

(1171) ref 06045.107-108

Mo-toŵ Charles mo-v **sava-na?** Sapuri-na?
 3SG-call Charles 3SG-say whose-3SG.POSS uncle-3SG.POSS
 ‘He calls Charles which kin? His maternal uncle?’

(1172) ref 06029.009

Ko-rong **sava-m** mo-mas?
 2SG-feel whose-2SG.POSS 3SG-sore
 ‘What (body part of yours) do you feel is sore?’

The interrogative *sava* may be related to the interrogative predicate *isavai* (see below).

13.2.3 Embedded questions. Embedded questions are used as complement to certain predicates that allow an interrogative complement, such as the predicate ‘know’ in *I know what he did*. In the corpus, embedded questions appear in the complement position of the knowledge predicate *ontavse* ‘know’, and the utterance predicates *us* ‘ask’ and *vara* ‘tell’. Only four wh-words are presented here.

The wh-word *ise* is used in-situ in indirect questions, as below.

- (1173) ref 06045.114
 Na-sopo-ontavse **ise** mo-mark=i=a.
 1SG-NEG-know who 3SG-mark=TR=3SG
 ‘I don’t know who measured it.’

The wh-word *sa* can appear in-situ (as in (1174)) or focused as in (1175) and (1176).

- (1174) ref 06044.051
 Na-sopo-ontavse ra-ngas **sa**.
 1SG-NEG-know 3PL-quarrel what
 ‘I don’t know what they quarrel (about).’

- (1175) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 Nani mo-ńmata. Na-sopo-rong vose=i=a ka-v **ne sa**
 goat 3SG-dead 1SG-NEG-feel grab=TR=3SG 1SG.IRR-say FOC what
 mo-ńe=i=a.
 3SG-make=TR=3SG
 ‘The goat is dead. I don’t know what happened to it (Lit: what made it).’

- (1176) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Mary mo-us=ira **ne sa ma** ra-ńe=i=a Antañapo.
 Mary 3SG-ask=3PL FOC what COMP 3PL-make=TR=3SG Malo
 ‘Mary asked them what they did (it) on Malo Island.’

The wh-word *sa* ‘what’ questions the subject in (1175). It is focused with *ne*, which appears after the complementizer *-v* ‘say’. In (1176), *sa* ‘what’ originates from the object position. It is extracted from within the embedded clause and occurs before the complementizer *ma*. In this example, *ne sa* appears in a cleft-construction, as indicated by the presence of the complementizer *ma* and the resumptive pronoun on the verb in the interrogative complement. Cleft constructions are described in 14.6.

The wh-word *ańe* ‘where’ appears in-situ, followed by the deictic *nel(e)* ‘this’.

(1177) ref 06045.142

Na-sopo-ontavse ka-v Ratua **aŕe nel(e)**.
1SG-NEG-know 1SG.IR-say Ratua where this
'I don't know where Ratua is.'

The wh-word *ŕatan sa* 'for what reason' also appears in-situ in embedded questions.

(1178) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.

Mo-sopo-var John mo-lsu natu-na **ŕatan sa**.
3SG-NEG-tell John 3SG-kill child-3SG.POSS because what
'He didn't tell John why he hit his child.'

Based on the data, we can conclude that the tendency for a wh-word in embedded questions is to remain in-situ. Fronted wh-words (such as *sa* 'what') require additional mechanisms such as clefting.

13.2.4 Long distance extraction. In this section, I briefly present elicited data on long distance wh-questions. In English, this is defined as the extraction of a wh-phrase from within a complement clause, as in: *What do you think he did <what>?* We saw in the previous sections that Maŕea is an in-situ language. "Short" extractions (as in *What did he buy <what>?*) are focus (cleft) constructions, as shown above in (1139) repeated below (in (1179)).

(1179) ref 06024.026

Ne sa mo-ŕe taŕalu-n aŕa-m?
FOC what 3SG-make side-CONS wing-2SG.POSS
'What happened to the side of your wing?'

Long distance wh-questions are also in-situ as shown below with *aŕe* 'where' and *se marai* 'which one'. Other wh-phrases found in-situ in complex sentences include *ise* 'who' and *sa* 'what'.

- (1180) Elicitation, 2006, EVK.
 Ko-duse=i ko-v John mo-l-song **aǽe?**
 2SG-think=TR 2SG-say John 3SG-IMP-hide where
 ‘Where do you think John is hiding?’

- (1181) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Ko-dusei ko-v **se marai** mo-du?
 2SG-think 2SG-say which MARAI 3SG-good
 ‘Which one do you think is good?’

I believe, however, that there are generational differences. Where “older” consultants prefer to use a *wh*-phrase in-situ, my youngest consultant would use a long distance extraction with focus. All long distance questions presented below were elicited from him. The tentative generalization that we can formulate based on the data on long distance extraction is that the *wh*-words *ise* ‘who’, *sa* ‘what’, *m̄atan sa* ‘for what reason’, and *aǽe* ‘where’ can all be long distance extracted if they are also focused. This is exemplified below.

The *wh*-word *ise* ‘who’ originates in the object of the verb *vosaia* ‘slap’ in the following example. When long distance extracted, it is focused. Its position in the complement clause introduced by the complementizer *-v* is filled with a resumptive clitic, thus suggesting that the construction is a cleft sentence.

- (1182) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.
Ise ne ko-duse ko-v me John i-vosa=i=**a**?
 who FOC 2SG-think 2SG-say FUT John 3SG.IR-slap=TR=3SG
 ‘Who do you think John will slap (him/her)?’ Or ‘Who is it that you think that
 John will slap (him/her)?’

The *wh*-word *sa* ‘what’ needs two focus markers to be long distance extracted from an object position.

(1183) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.

Ne sa ne ko-vara=i ko-v mo-to?
FOC what FOC 2SG-tell=TR 2SG-say 3SG-lose
'What did you say you lost?'⁴⁶

When the wh-word *se* 'which' originates from a subject position inside the complement clause, it is focused with *ne* when long-distance extracted.

(1184) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.

Se vāvina ne ko-vara=i ko-v mo-avanao kou?
which girl FOC 2SG-tell=TR 2SG-say 3SG-steal fowl
'Which girl did you say stole the fowl?'

In the following example, the wh-word *mātan sa* 'for what reason' appears at the beginning of the question, followed by the focus marker. The question, however, is ambiguous and *mātan sa* could question either the matrix or the embedded verb.

(1185) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.

Mātan sa ne ko-duse=i ko-v nna mo-ngara suri=a?
because what FOC 2SG-think=TR 2SG-say 3SG 3SG-cry for=3SG
'For what reason do you think she is crying for it?'

Last, the wh-word *aŕe* 'where' is also focused when fronted. Its position in the embedded clause is cross-referenced with the resumptive pronoun *ai*.

(1186) Elicitation, 2006, PVM.

Aŕe ne ko-duse=i ko-v John mo-l-song ai?
where FOC 2SG-think=TR 2SG-say John 3SG-IMPf-hide AI
'Where do you think John is hiding (there)?'

⁴⁶Note that in this particular example, the third person singular resumptive pronoun *a* used to cross-reference the focused wh-phrase on the verb *vara* 'tell' is missing, but the transitive marker is present. See 10.3.4.

13.2.5 Interrogative predicates. There are three predicates in Ma'ŕea that are interrogative in nature: *iseveia* ‘do what’, *isavai* ‘how’, and *pal sa* ‘how’, composed of *pal* ‘like, similar’ and the wh-word *sa* ‘what’. Although interrogative predicates are unusual typologically, they are “common” in Oceanic languages and are found at least in Araki (François 2002:171), and Paamese (Lynch et al. 2002:52). These predicates are described below.

13.2.5.1 *Iseve* and *seve* ‘do what’. The interrogative predicate *iseve* ‘do what’ was found once in the corpus, reported in (1187). The other example, (1188), was elicited.

(1187) ref 06037.059
 Ko-**iseve** patu-ku noro?
 2SG-do.what head-1SG.POSS now
 ‘What are you doing to my head?’

(1188) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Me ro ka-**iseve** dam ro? Me ka-ŕe loko na te
 FUT then 1SG.IR-do.what yam here? FUT 1SG.IR-make laplap but or
 ka-tunu=a?
 1SG.IR-roast=3SG
 ‘What will I do with the yam? Shall I make laplap or roast it?’

Related to *iseve* is the form *seve*. While *iseve* is used as a main predicate, *seve* is used after the verb *ŕeia* ‘make’ in the corpus, in a nuclear serial construction.⁴⁷

(1189) ref 06037.058
 So, ko-l-ŕe **seve** patu-ku?
 friend 2SG-IMPF-make do.what head-1SG.POSS
 ‘Friend, what are you doing to my head?’

(1190) ref 06030.028
 Me da-r-ŕe **seve**=i=a?
 FUT 1PL.INCL-DL-make do.what=TR=3SG
 ‘What will we do?’

⁴⁷According to John Lynch (p.c., March 28, 2008), the morpheme *-i* of *iseve* could be a fossilized agreement morpheme. It is possible that *(i)seve* is the fossilized and grammaticalized compound *sa* ‘what’ and *ŕe* ‘make’. The order of these constituent could denote the object incorporation of *sa* ‘what’.

13.2.5.2 *Isavai* ‘how (state), how come’. There are two examples in the corpus with the interrogative predicate *isavai* and one elicited. The meaning of this interrogative predicate is ‘how’, similar to Bislama *olsem wanem*, which means ‘How are you?’ or simply ‘how’.

(1191) ref 06045.169
 Kaʻnim ki-**isavai**=a ki-leng vara?
 2PL 2PL-how=3SG 2PL-can’t talk
 ‘How come you cannot talk?’

(1192) ref 06020.031
 Mo-v: ‘Ko-**isavai**’?
 3SG-say 2SG-how
 ‘He said: ‘How are you?’’

(1193) Elicitation, 2007, ANL.
 Pete le mo-**isavai**? Mo-isat los.
 taro DET 3SG-how? 3SG-bad very
 ‘How is the taro? Very bad.’

13.2.5.3 *Pal sa* ‘like what, how’. The interrogative predicate *pal sa* also means ‘how’ or Bislama *olsem wanem*. It functions as a manner wh-adverbial.

(1194) ref 06005.005
 Ko-sao mo-**pal sa**?
 2SG-sick 3SG-like what
 ‘How sick are you?’

(1195) ref 06031.026
 Kou mo-v i-sa aul, nna mo-sopo-ontavse=i me i-sa
 fowl 3SG-say 3SG.IR-go.up above 3SG 3SG-NEG-know=TR FUT 3SG.IR-go.up
 i-**pal sa**.
 3SG.IR-like what
 ‘Fowl said she’d go up, him, he didn’t know how he would go up.’

This last example of *pal sa* is reminiscent of the interrogative phrase *-v ne sa* presented above, and repeated here.

(1196) ref 06015.172

Ro ra-traem ra-one-ra ra-v me ra-ǎe=i **ra-v ne sa.**
then 3PL-try 3PL-look-3PL 3PL-say FUT 3PL-make=TR 3PL-say FOC what
'Then they tried to look at them, they wondered how they would do it.'

This interrogative phrase also functions as a manner adverbial.

13.2.6 Summary. The properties of wh-phrases are summarized in the following table.

Empty cells in the table indicate lack of data.

Table 13.85: Some properties of wh-phrases

	ise 'who'	sa 'what'	se NP 'which'	aþe 'where'	ingese 'when'	NP iřisa 'how many'	řatan 'why'	řata[i,n] sa 'what for'	sur sa 'about what'
predicate	✓			✓		✓			
in-situ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
fronted simple question		✓			*			✓	✓
in-situ focused				✓					
in-situ embedded question	✓	✓		✓				✓	
fronted embedded question		✓							
in-situ long distance	✓	✓	✓	✓					
fronted long distance	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	

14 Complex sentences

This chapter is devoted to the study of how clauses can be linked together. In section 14.1, I describe coordination of noun phrases, verb phrases, and of independent clauses. The second part discusses subordination. Subordinate clauses are clauses dependent on a main clause. Their dependency is marked by a complementizer which links the subordinate clause to the main clause. There are two major kinds of subordinate clauses: complement clauses, which are arguments of a complement-taking predicate (CPT), and adjunct clauses, which are not arguments (such as relatives, adverbials, and conditionals). In section 14.2, I describe complement clauses and CPTs. I also describe the mood restrictions on subordinate clauses. Other sections are devoted to adjunct clauses: section 14.3 illustrates relative clauses, section 14.4 adverbial phrases and clauses, and section 14.5 is devoted to conditional clauses. Last, I discuss topic and contrastive focus constructions in 14.6.

14.1 Coordination.

In this section, I analyze several means used to express the coordination of two nouns, two clauses, or two verb phrases. Section 14.1.1 discusses noun coordination. Section 14.1.2 describes verb and clause coordination. The reader is referred to Moyses-Faurie and Lynch (2004) for a review of coordination strategies in Oceanic languages.

14.1.1 Noun and noun phrase coordination. Several means are found in Ma'ŕea to coordinate nouns: juxtaposition; coordination with the conjunctive coordinators *rar* and *ratol*, and the comitative *tuan*; inclusory coordination; and disjunction. They are discussed in turn below.

14.1.1.1 Juxtaposition. It is possible for several noun phrases to be coordinated by simple juxtaposition. As witnessed in the following example, a pronoun and five nouns

occur one after the other without the presence of a coordinator.

(1197) ref 07032.001-008

Na taro aite, **nao, Lowet, Roger, Song, Myriam, Vira**, ki-’va Aese.
LOC time one 1SG Lowet Roger Song Myriam Vira 1PL.EXCL-go Ais
‘One day, me, Lowet, Roger, Song, Myriam, Vira, we went to Ais Island.’

However, when exactly two nouns are coordinated, the presence of a coordinator is mandatory, as shown in section 14.1.1.2.1 below.

Several examples in the corpus contain a noun immediately followed by *ratol* ‘3PL.PCL’. This sequence indicates coordination of the noun with a group of people.

(1198) ref 06015.035

Tata ratol ra-l-’ve loko.
mom 3PL.PCL 3PL-IMPF-make laplap
‘Mom and them were making laplap.’

(1199) ref 07062.064

Na ima sa-n **tamlese ratol**.
LOC house CLF.LOC-CONS old 3PL.PCL
‘At the house of the old man and them.’

14.1.1.2 Coordination.

14.1.1.2.1 *Rar* ‘binary coordination’. When exactly two nouns are coordinated, the conjunction *rar* is used between the nouns.

(1200) ref 07032.031

Na-to’ Vira **rar** Myriam.
1SG-call Vira 3PL.DL Myriam
‘I called Vira and Myriam.’

The conjunction *rar* is the grammaticalized version of the third person plural agreement marker *ra-* followed by the dual marker *-r*

14.1.1.2.2 *Ratol* ‘ternary coordination’. When three nouns are coordinated, the independent pronoun *ratol* ‘3PL.PCL’ is used between the second and the third conjunct, while the first and second conjuncts are linked with *rar*. Conjunctive markers derived from pronouns are also found in Polynesian languages, such as Maori and Samoan (Hasplemath 2007:35).

(1201) ref 06025.003
 Weŕe **rar** vomae, **ratol** m̄arau rarua.
 pigeon 3PL.DL dove 3PL.PCL wife 3PL.TWO
 ‘Pacific imperial pigeon and Dove, and their two wives.’

Binary and ternary coordinators are often replaced with the comitative *tuan* ‘with, and’ as presented below.

14.1.1.2.3 *Tuan* ‘comitative’. The morpheme *tuan* ‘with’ indicates accompaniment, as clearly exemplified in the following sentence with an intransitive verb (see also chapter 8).

(1202) ref 06020.037
 Mo-karu **tuan** nna.
 3SG-swim with 3SG
 ‘He swam with him.’

The comitative *tuan* also often functions as a conjunctive coordinator when it occurs between two nouns (a natural process according to Hasplemath 2007:29, 32). *Tuan* in this case may be interpreted as ‘and’.

(1203) ref 07033.009-010
 String no-na **tuan** voso, ra-sala.
 string CLF-3SG.POSS with paddle 3PL-float
 ‘His string and paddle, they floated.’

It is often difficult to distinguish the comitative use of *tuan* (as in (1204) below) and its function as a coordinator.

(1204) ref 07069.087

Ko-an nna **tuan** simboro vatal.
2SG-eat 3SG with simboro banana
'You eat it with simboro banana.'⁴⁸

In the following example, both 'with' and 'and' are possible interpretations. Note that even with the 'with' interpretation, the phrase *tuan navari* is not associated with the agent buyer (as could be the case in English). It remains the theme.

(1205) ref 07081.082

Ki-ña ki-vol Eileen **tuan** navari.
1PL.EXCL-come 1PL.EXCL-buy Eileen with children
'We came and bought Eileen and/with the children.'

According to Haspelmath (2007:29), *with* and *and* have different entailments: *Joan and Marvin ate* entails that they both ate, while in *Joan ate with Marvin* it is possible that *Marvin* did not eat. If this is the case, then sentence (1205) above is a case of coordination. Both *Eileen* and *the children* were bought.

I believe that *tuan* is slowly replacing other conjunctive coordinators. This is probably due to the influence of Bislama, where the comitative *wetem* 'with' is used a coordinator too. Consider the following sentences.

(1206) ref 06033.004

A'via **tuan**, a'via **rar** mata.
malay.apple with Malay.apple 3PL.DL snake
'Malay apple with, Malay apple and Snake.'

(1207) ref 06020.001

Ok, me kavar sur ari'v ngirngir **tuan**, ari'v ngirngir **rar** vomae.
Ok FUT 1SG.IR-speak about cat gnaw with cat gnaw 3PL.DL dove
'OK, I will talk about Rat with, Rat and Dove.'

⁴⁸Simboro is a local dish of grated starch (banana or yam), wrapped in small cabbage leaves, and boiled.

In these examples, the narrators use *tuan* ‘and, with’ and immediately correct themselves using the coordinator *rar*. I believe these slips of the tongue reveal that *tuan* and *rar* compete for the same function. Likewise in the following example, the comitative *tuan* replaces the conjunctive coordinator *ratol*.

(1208) ref 06033.006

Taña-n Voko **rar** Vepea **tuan** tina-ira.
 father-CONS white 3PL.DL Vepea with mother-3PL
 ‘Voko and Vepea’s father, and their mother.’

It is possible that *tuan* ‘with’ the grammaticalized form of the verb *tuen* ‘help’. That verbs can grammaticalize into coordinator is shown in van Klinken (2000).

14.1.1.3 Inlusory coordination. This type of coordination is widely attested in the Austronesian language family (Bril 2004 and Lichtenberk 2000). Inlusory coordination is defined by Haspelmath (2007:33) as the unification of two sets where some members of the second set are already present in the first set, as in: {A, B, C} and {B} yields {A, B, C}.

Consider the following example. The first conjunct (representing the whole set) is *kañnar(ua)*, the first person plural exclusive dual independent pronoun. The second conjunct (here the personal name *Vovaro*) is juxtaposed.

(1209) ref 07031.016

Kañnar **Vovaro** ki-r-vala aulu.
 1PL.EXCL.DL Vovaro 1PL.EXCL-DL-pass above
 ‘Vovaro and I, we passed above.’ (Lit: We two Vovaro)

Other independent pronouns can be used in inlusory coordination, as can be seen below.

(1210) ref 07069.011

Kañnatol tamlese ratol ki-to konatu.
 1PL.PCL old 3PL.PCL 1PL.EXCL-stay there
 ‘Me, the old man and them, we stayed there.’

(1211) ref 07037.011
Kamru se ki-r-sua ki-r-ña Ma'ëa?
 2PL.DL who 2PL-DL-paddle 2PL-DL-come Ma'ëa
 'You (two) and who paddled to Ma'ëa?'

(1212) ref 06042.054
kamtol se
 2PL.PCL who
 'you (all) and who'

In example (1210), the pronoun *kamñatol* 'first plural exclusive paucal' is the first conjunct of the coordination. The second conjunct is composed of *tamlese* 'old man' and *ratol* '3PL.PCL'. In example (1211) and (1212), the pronouns *kamru(a)* 'second plural dual' *kamtol* 'second plural paucal' are followed by the question word (*i*)*se* 'who'.

The third person plural paucal *ratol* is also used in inclusory coordination.

(1213) ref 06006.016
Ratol na-natu-na ra-l-suruv.
 3PL.PCL PL-child-3SG.POSS 3PL-IMPf-sleep
 'He and his children were sleeping.'

Last, the following elicited sentence indicates that inclusory coordination is also found with direct possession.

(1214) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
 Na-sile **nunue-ñar** **tañanatu-ku** lape=a.
 1SG-give picture-1PL.EXCL.DL.POSS husband-1SG.POSS DAT=3SG
 'I gave a picture of me and my husband to him.' (Lit: our picture my husband)

14.1.1.4 Disjunctive coordination. The morphemes *te (na)* 'or' are used to introduce two NPs as alternative choices.

- (1215) ref 06042.013
 Nir Ma'veja **te na** Utala'pe ra-m'a.
 3PL Ma'veja or but Santo 3PL-come
 'Those of Ma'veja or Santo came.'
- (1216) ref 06042.054-055
 Kamtol se **te na** kamru se...
 2PL.PCL who or but 2PL.DL who
 'You all and who, or you two and who...'
- (1217) ref 06043.068-069
 Me ko-la te pua lavo'a aite **te na** m'atavono aite.
 FUT 2SG-take some knife big one or but axe one
 'You will take a big knife or an axe.'

In a few examples in the corpus, the morpheme *te* 'or' is used on its own, without *na*.

- (1218) ref 06045.193
 Tina-n tupu-na **te** ta'na-n tupu-na?
 mother-CONS grd.parent-3SG.POSS or father-CONS grd.parent-3SG.POSS
 'His grandparent's mother or his grandparent's father?'
- (1219) ref 06045.205
 La'mana **te** v'av'ina?
 boy or girl
 'Boy or girl?'

The same morphemes *te na* are used as a disjunctive coordinator between clauses, as we shall see below.

14.1.2 Verbs and clauses. In the following sections, we will look at the various means to link verbs and clauses, namely: (i) juxtaposition; (ii) conjunctive coordination with *ro* 'and, then, thus', and the Bislama loan word *ale* 'ok, then'; (iii) adversative coordination with *na* 'but'; and (iv) disjunctive coordination with *te na* 'or', and *te modere* 'or not'. Last, head-tail linkage is described.

14.1.2.1 Juxtaposition. According to Haspelmath (2007:7), the simplest way to coordinate two clauses (and the most widespread coordination strategy in the world’s languages is juxtaposition, that is, the occurrence of two clauses or two verb phrases, following one another, without an overt coordinator, as in the following examples.

(1220) ref 06015.232-234
 Ki-tikel Ma’vea, na-l-to, na-l-sa na hospital.
 1PL.EXCL-reach Ma’vea 1SG-IMPF-stay 1SG-IMPF-go.up LOC hospital
 ‘We reached Ma’vea, I was staying (there), I was going to the hospital.’

The clauses *kitikel Ma’vea*, *nalto*, and *nalsa na hospital* are juxtaposed.

According to Haspelmath (2007:7), intonation is the only means to indicate that the clauses are coordinated in such cases. In Ma’vea, intonation plays its part in distinguishing juxtaposition from serial construction (see chapter 11). Serial constructions do not have pauses between the verbs. Coordination, on the other hand, is characterized by pauses between each juxtaposed clauses, and each clauses ends with a rising intonation, until the sentence is finished. The last part of the sentence has a falling intonation.

The other difference between serial constructions and juxtaposition is that the juxtaposed verb phrases do not represent the same event (as serial constructions do). The coordinated verbs or clauses represent different events. Juxtaposition also entails sequentiality of these events. The first event (described in the first verb phrase or clause) occurs before the second event, etc. As we shall see below, conjunctive coordination can also (but need not) entail sequentiality.

14.1.2.2 Conjunctive coordination. There are two conjunctions in Ma’vea: *ro* ‘then’, and *ale* ‘then’ (borrowed from Bislama). They indicate a succession of events, except for *ro* ‘then’ which can also indicate simultaneity, or a causal relationship.

14.1.2.2.1 *Ro* ‘and, then, and then, thus’. The conjunction *ro* is used to coordinate two clauses , or two verb phrases, as shown below.

(1221) ref 06023.014

Mo-sa mo-sakai ai **ro**, mo-otol mo-si na lolo.
3SG-go.up 3SG-sit AI then 3SG-lay.eggs 3SG-go.down LOC inside
'She went up, sat on it, then she laid eggs inside.'

(1222) ref 06004.005

Ko-sua, ko-mo-ʻva **ro**, ko-on vu-i vuae aite.
2SG-paddle 2SG-COND-go then 2SG-look stem-CONS tree one
'If you paddle for a while, then you will see a tree trunk.'

An interesting feature of the conjunction *ro* is its placement at the end of the first conjunct and before a pause (whereas in the same context in English, the pause tends to be before 'and'). In the following example, the double slash // represents a pause somewhat longer than the single slash /.

(1223) ref 06027.005

Mo-si mo-sile ravti vodo-na **ro**// tavua// mo-rong mo-isat/
3SG-go.down 3SG-prick break shell-3SG.POSS then conch 3SG-feel 3SG-bad
mʻatan vodo-n mo-ravutu **ro**// mo-sivo **ro**// mo-si **ro** // ...
because shell-3SG.POSS 3SG-broken then 3SG-go then 3SG-go.down then
'He went down to prick her shell, then Conch felt bad because her shell was broken,
then she went down...'

Note that *ro* can also start a new sentence and need not be part of a conjunct.

(1224) ref 06027.006

Ro tavua mo-sa mo-on siso.
then conch 3SG-go.up 3SG-see snail
'Then Conch went up and saw Sea snail.'

In the above examples, the presence of *ro* suggests that the events are sequential. Sequentiality is clearly indicated in case *ro* follows the verb *ev(ui)* 'finish'. We noted in the chapter 9, that the verb *ev(ui)* 'finish' is used to indicate completion of an action, as in (1225) below.

(1225) ref 06015.212

Doctor mo-dom ravt=i=a **mo-ev**.
doctor 3SG-cut break=TR=3SG 3SG-finish
'The doctor cut off it already.'

When the verb *ev(ui)* followed by *ro* is used between clauses (as in (1226)) or at the beginning of a clause, shown in (1227), it marks the temporal succession of events in a series. The first event is finished or completed before the second event starts. The event following the phrase *ev(u) ro* is occurring after the event of the previous clause. A similar conjunction is found in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:423-424), and Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:428).

(1226) ref 06016.035

Ra-r-ke apu, **mo-ev** **ro** ra-r-la dam ma rarua.
3PL-DL-light fire 3SG-finish then 3PL-DL-take yam COMP 3PL.DL
'They lit a fire, and then, they took their yams.'

(1227) ref 06033.028-029

Mata mo-don rarua. **Mo-ev** **ro** mo-l-suruv.
snake 3SG-swallow 3PL.DL 3SG-finish then 3SG-IMPf-sleep
'Snake ate them both. And then he was sleeping.'

Temporal succession in Tamambo is also introduced by a free morpheme *ro* (Jauncey 1997:421). In Ma'nea, however, sequentiality is not always entailed, as illustrated below.

(1228) ref 06004.001

Madoudua aite, mo-sao **ro** mo-l-suruv.
old.woman one 3SG-sick then 3SG-IMPf-sleep
'(There was) an old woman, she was sick, then she was sleeping.'

(1229) ref 06020.044

Mo-l-ńana **ro** ita mo-us=i=a.
3SG-IMPf-laugh then octopus 3SG-ask=TR=3SG
'He was laughing, then Octopus asked him (why).'

In the previous examples, the events described in the first clauses *mosao* ‘is sick’ and *molñana* ‘is laughing’ are not necessarily sequential to the second events *molsuruv* ‘is sleeping’ and *mousia* ‘asked him’, respectively. The events can be construed as simultaneous, and/or causal.

There is a single example in the corpus where the future marker *me* functions as an interrogative coordinator.

- (1230) ref 06045.041
 Vovaro mo-v: ‘Na ko-v mo-tiana, **me**?’
 Vovaro 3SG-say but 2SG-say 3SG-pregnant FUT
 ‘Vovaro said: ‘But you said she is pregnant, then?’’

In order to keep the interlocutor involved in the conversation, the speaker ends her sentence with the future marker and a rising intonation to prompt her interlocutor to continue.

14.1.2.2.2 *Ale* ‘ok, then’. The conjunction *ale* is a borrowing from Bislama. It means in Ma’vea exactly what it means in Bislama, that is, ‘ok’ and ‘then’. It seems that *ale* is more likely to mean ‘then’ between clauses and indicate sequentiality, and more likely to mean ‘ok’ when it starts a new clause, as the following examples show.

- (1231) ref 07066.048
 Mo-l-ve Molres pomoro **ale** ra-tan ra-taur=i=a.
 3SG-IMPf-swear Molres like.this then 3PL-begin 3PL-hold=TR=3SG
 ‘He was swearing at Molres like that, then, they got hold of him.’

- (1232) ref 06016.034
 Ro ĩao mo-v: ‘**Ale** mo-du.’
 then swamphen 3SG-say then 3SG-good
 ‘Then Swamphen said: ‘Ok, it’s ok.’’

The conjunction *ale* is often preceded or followed by its Ma’vea near equivalent *ro* ‘and, then’ presented above.

(1233) ref 06024.017

Ale, ro, vomae mo-rat ařa-na **ro ale,** ariř mo-řva mo-song
then then dove 3SG-lift wing-3SG.POSS then then cat 3SG-go 3SG-hide
mallu-n.
under-3SG.POSS

‘Ok, then, Dove lifted her wing, then, Rat went to hide under (it).’

(1234) ref 06016.014

Ra-r-vuso **i-ev** **ro ale,** ra-r-řva ra-r-vuso ma
3PL-DL-clear.garden 3SG.IR-finish then then 3PL-DL-go 3PL-DL-clear.garden COMP
řilae.
plover

‘They cleared the garden, it would be done, then, they would go to clear Plover’s garden.’

14.1.2.3 Adversative coordination. An adversative coordinator is a morpheme linking two clauses that indicates that the event in the second clause happens contrary to expectations set in the first clause (see for example Haspelmath 2007:28). In Mařea, the morpheme *na* glossed as ‘but’ fulfills this function.

(1235) ref 07085.166

Palo-n mo-pal palo-n tamlo **na** var~varango-n ra-vataolo.
leg-3SG.POSS 3SG-like leg-CONS man but RED~finger-3SG.POSS 3PL-different
‘His leg is like a man’s leg, but his fingers are different.’

(1236) ref 07085.106

Nna mo-vaيسةea **na** vele-na mo-řparav.
3SG 3SG-small but tail-3SG.POSS 3SG-long
‘Him, he is small, but his tail is long.’

(1237) ref 06020.027

Mo-v vomae **na** mo-dere.
3SG-say dove but 3SG-no
‘He said it was Dove but no.’

The coordination *na* ‘but’ can also be used to link to constituents of different nature. Below, *na* links a clause to a pronoun.

(1238) ref 06020.014

Ka-l-tapul ka-sivo na ʻvanua sa darua, **na** nno?
1SG.IR-IMPf-return 1SG.IR-go LOC island CLF.LOC 1PL.INCL.DL but 2SG
‘I am going back to our island, but you?’

14.1.2.4 Disjunctive coordination. There are two types of disjunction in Maʻvea. One, called standard disjunction, offers an alternative between two choices, schematized as X or Y. The disjunctive coordinator in this case is *te na* ‘or’. The other type of disjunction (which I call negative disjunction), also offers an alternative choice, but the second alternative is the negation of the first one (X or not X). The coordinator is *te modere* ‘or not’ (see also Haspelmath (2007:27) for further definitions).

14.1.2.4.1 *Te na* ‘or’. The disjunctive coordinator *te na* is literally glossed as ‘or but’. It is used to link two clauses (as in (1239)) or two constituent of different nature, as in (1240).

(1239) ref 06045.098-099

Ko-rong i-mo-lumo **te na** ko-mo-pel sasa no-m...
2SG-feel 3SG.IR-COND-tired or but 2SG-COND-finish work CLF-2SG.POSS
‘If you feel tired or if you have finished your work...’

(1240) ref 06045.066

Pete inana **te na** ra-l-davo=i=a?
taro food or but 3PL-IMPf-plant=TR=3SG
‘Taro to eat or to plant?’

There is an interesting example in the corpus where the disjunctive coordinator is used sentence finally. In that story, a man is observing a child from a distance. He is expecting to see the child’s parents. He is waiting, as he utters the following sentence.

(1241) ref 06042.036

I-v taña-na, te ra-si **te na...**
3SG.IR-say father-3SG.POSS some 3PL-go.down or but
'He thought his father, someone would come down or...'

The alternative clause is not given by the speaker to let the interlocutor fill in his own possible explanation. A similar use of disjunction is found in Lolovoli's questions (Hyslop 2001:438), and in South Efate (Thieberger 2004:295).

14.1.2.4.2 *Te modere* 'or not'. The negative disjunctive *te modere* offers as alternative the negated version of the first clause. As can be seen in the following examples, the first clause is not repeated after the negative disjunctive coordinator.

(1242) ref 05001.019

Ko-one=a **te mo-dere?**
2SG-look=3SG or 3SG-no
'Did you see it or not?'

(1243) ref 07054c.004

Nortovon apu-n kavura mo-l-an **te mo-dere?**
now fire-CONS copra 3SG-IMPF-burn or 3SG-no
'Now, the copra's fire is burning or not?'

14.1.3 Tail-head linkage. Tail-head linkage is a stylistic technique used in discourse to indicate temporal succession of independent clauses. The event expressed in the first clause is partially or completely repeated at the beginning of the next clause. Examples of tail-head linkage are provided in the following excerpt. The head is underlined, the tail is in italics.

In this text, the narrator is explaining how to make laplap, a pudding made of grated yam, wrapped in leaves.

(1244) ref 07026.007

Ko-tara=i=a *i-mo-ev* *ro* *ko-nner* *rau-na*.
2SG-grate=TR=3SG 3SG.IR-COND-finish then 2SG-remove leaves-3SG.POSS
'You grate it, when it is done then you remove the leaves' midribs.'

(1245) ref 07026.008

Ko-nner *rau-na* *i-mo-ev* *ro* *ko-tiu* *rau-na*.
2SG-remove leaves-3SG.POSS 3SG.IR-COND-finish then 2SG-spread leaves-3SG.POSS
'You remove the leaves' midribs, when it is done then, you spread its leaves.'

(1246) ref 07026.009-010

Ko-tiu *rau-na* *i-mo-ev* *ro* *ale, ko-la* *loko*
2SG-spread leaves-3SG.POSS 3SG.IR-COND-finish then then 2SG-take laplap
ko-savle=i=a *i-si* *na rai*.
2SG-pour=TR=3SG 3SG.IR-go.down LOC leaf
'You spread its leaves when it is done then, you take the laplap, you pour it on the leaf.'

(1247) ref 07026.012-013

Ko-sarai *mo-ev* *ro,* *ko-lput=i=a*.
2SG-level 3SG-finish then 2SG-cover.up=TR=3SG
'You level (it), when it is done then, you wrap it up.'

(1248) ref 07026.014

Ko-lput=i=a *i-mo-ev* *ro* *ko-las=i=a*.
2SG-cover.up=TR=3SG 3SG.IR-COND-finish then 2SG-fasten=TR=3SG
'You wrap it up, when it is done then, you tie it.'

Below is a short excerpt of a narrative elicited with a picture book.

(1249) ref 06013.006-009

Mo-on *sun aite* *na sala.* *mo-on* *sun ro,* *mo-vle=i=a* *na sala.*
3SG-see hat one LOC road 3SG-look hat then 3SG-pick.up=TR=3SG LOC road
Mo-l-kot~kot. *Mo-l-kot~kot* *mo-lo-va...*
3SG-IMPF-RED~wander 3SG-IMPF-RED~wander 3SG-IMPF-go
'He saw a hat on the road. He saw a hat, then he picked it up from the road. He was wandering. He was wandering for a while...'

Tail-head linkage is a stylistic device common to all (planned) narratives. It was not found in the conversations I recorded.

Tail-head linkage is found in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:427), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:426), or South Efate (Thieberger 2004:324), as well as in many other Oceanic, Austronesian, and Papuan languages (De Vries 2005:365).

14.2 Complement clauses.

In this section, I first briefly describe two Ma'vea complementizers *ma* and *-v*. I then present CTPs in Ma'vea, based on Noonan's (2007:121-145) semantic classification, and I discuss the type of complementizer these predicates subcategorize for. In the last part of this section, I comment on mood restrictions found in complement clauses.

14.2.1 Complementizers. There are two complementizers in Ma'vea: *ma* and *-v*.

14.2.1.1 Complementizer *ma*. An example of *ma* as head of a complement clause follows.

(1250) ref 06027.024
Mo-l-sale ro mo-rong **ma** sio mo-ńel-la~la vete.
3SG-IMPF-listen then 3SG-hear COMP kingfisher 3SG-IT-IMPF-RED~take song
'He was listening, then he heard that Kingfisher was singing again.'

Note that the complementizer *ma* is optional with complement clauses.

(1251) ref 06018.008
Mo-**rong** tamlo i rua ra-r-lovarvara.
3SG-hear man LIG two 3PL-DL-IMPF-speak
'He heard (that) two men were talking.'

As we shall see throughout this chapter, *ma* is a versatile complementizer, which can introduce complement clauses, relatives, and adverbial clauses.

14.2.1.2 Complementizer -v. It is a well known crosslinguistic fact that a verb of saying can be used as complementizer, as in Uzbek (Noonan 2007:58), Bantu languages (Kawasha 2007:182), or creole languages (Frajzinger 1984). In Maŕea, the complementizer *-v* is a reduced form of the verb *vara* ‘talk’. A similar verb-like agreeing complementizer is found in Araki (François 2002:184-189) and Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:456-458).

The verb-like complementizer *-v* requires a subject agreement marker, matching in person the features of the subject in the matrix clause. However, the complementizer is never cross-referenced by the dual *-r* or the paucal *-tol* number markings even when the subject of the matrix clause is marked for these features. This is shown in (1252) below for the dual. The complementizer shows plural agreement *ra-v* ‘3PL-say’ and not **ra-r-v* ‘3PL-DL-say’.

(1252) ref 06024.013-014

Ra-r-vara=i ra-v: ‘Kaŕmatol. . .
3PL-DL-tell=TR 3PL-say 1PL.PCL
‘They said: ‘We. . .’

(1253) ref 06015.097

Nao na-sopo-duse=i **ka-v** ǃaio mo-at=i=ao.
1SG 1SG-NEG-think=TR 1SG.IR-say shark 3SG-bite=TR=1SG
‘I didn’t realize that a shark had bitten me.’

(1254) ref 07046.015

Ra-vara=i=ao ra-v: ‘Nno. . .’
3PL-tell=TR=1SG 3PL-say 2SG
‘They told me: ‘You. . .’

Examples (1252) and (1254) could be interpreted as a serial verb construction (as in *They told me (they) said . . .*) or a bi-sentential structure (as in *They told me. They said . . .*). In chapter 11, I argue that *-v* has been reanalyzed as a complementizer, and that it does not form a serial construction with *vara* ‘tell’, nor does it head an independent clause.

Example (1253) clearly is not a serial construction. The verb *dusei* and *-v* are not marked with the same mood, which is one of the defining features of serial constructions (see chapter 11).

In the rest of this chapter, I consider *-v* to be a complementizer introducing a clause complement to the main predicate.

14.2.2 Complement-taking predicates. In the following list, complement-taking predicates (CPTs) in Ma'ea are arranged by semantic types based on Noonan's (2007) classification. Also included here are Bislama loan words, underlined.

- **Utterance predicates:** *usia* 'ask', *varaia* 'tell, say', *-v* 'say', *la vete* 'sing', *to'via* 'call'
- **Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge:** *ontavseia* 'know, realize', *rong voso* 'know, realize'
- **Immediate perception predicate:** *rongoa* 'sense', *onea* 'see'
- **Predicates of achievement:** *traem* 'try'
- **Propositional attitude predicate:** *duseia* 'think, believe'
- **Evaluative predicate:** *du* 'good', *stret* 'straight, ok'
- **Desiderative predicate:** *rru* 'insist', *rongoa* 'feel like', *imte* 'wish', *-v* 'want'
- **Modal predicate:** *mas* 'must', *ontavseia* 'know, be able to'
- **Manipulative predicate:** *ulo* 'shout'
- **Phasal predicate:** *-v* 'start'

Table 14.86 shows CTPs and the complementizers they may take. From this table, we see that the verb *-v* 'say, want' never occurs with an overt complementizer (possibly due to the fact that this verb acts itself as a complementizer). The other lexeme occurring always and only without a complementizer is *imte* 'wish'. All other verbs which allow for a \emptyset complementizer also allow an overt complementizer. Therefore, for those verbs, I consider the absence of complementizer as the variant of a construction with a complementizer.

Table 14.86: CTPs and complementizers

Form	Meaning	Complementizer		
		∅	ma	-v
-v	say, start, want	√		
-imte	wish	√		
onea	see	√	√	
ontavseia	know, realize, be able to	√	√	√
rongoa	sense, feel like	√	√	√
duseia	think, believe	√	√	√
varaia	tell, say	√		√
to'via	call	√		√
la vete	sing			√
ulo	shout		√	
usia	ask		√	
rru	insist		√	
rongo voso	know, realize		√	
du	good	√	√	
stret	straight, ok		√	
mas	must	√	√	
traem	try	√		√

As table 14.86 shows, three verbs can take different complementizers, namely *ontavseia* ‘know, realize’, *rongoa* ‘sense’, and *duseia* ‘think, believe’. As we shall see below, changing the complementizer affects the meaning of the matrix predicate.

14.2.2.1 Utterance predicates. These predicates are defined as describing a transfer of information. The information expressed by the complement clause can be presented as direct speech or as indirect (reported) speech (Noonan 2007:121).

Utterance predicates in Ma'vea can be subgrouped into three classes, based on the type of complementizer they take:

- **Group 1:** *-v* ‘say’ is never followed by a complementizer.
- **Group 2:** *varaia* ‘tell, say’ uses either *-v* or ∅ as complementizer.

- **Group 3:** *usia* ‘ask’, *to’via* ‘call’, and *la vete* ‘sing’ obligatory take the complementizer *-v* to introduce their complement.

14.2.2.1.1 Group 1. Only one verb belongs in this group, namely the verb *-v* ‘say’.

This verb is used to introduce direct speech, as in (1255) below, or reported speech, as in (1256) and (1257).

(1255) ref 06006.018

Ro malao **mo-v**: ‘A!...’
 then megapode 3SG-say ah
 ‘Then Megapode said: ‘Ah!...’

(1256) ref 06036.005

Ro **mo-v** ura ro ura pula-na.
 then 3SG-say prawn here prawn CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘Then he said that the prawn here was his prawn.’

(1257) ref 07048.002

Sur pong aite, pupu **mo-v** ki-tol-sa na Utala’pe.
 about night one grandpa 3SG-say 1PL.EXCL-PCL-go.up LOC Santo
 ‘One day, grandpa said we would all go to Santo.’

In section 14.2.2.8 below, we will see that the verb *-v* is also a desiderative predicate. In that section, I will explain the conditions that determine when *-v* is an utterance predicate, and when it is a desiderative predicate.

14.2.2.1.2 Group 2. This group also has only one member, the verb *varaia* ‘tell, say’. This verb, however, has several variants or allomorphs, each associated with a different meaning. In table 14.87, the different variants (V1 to V3) of *varaia* ‘tell, say’ are reported, with the complementizer (*-v* or \emptyset) they use.

In the corpus, only V3 was found to introduce both direct and reported speech. The other two variants only introduce direct speech. Examples of each variant follow.

Table 14.87: Variant forms and meanings of *varaia* ‘tell, say’

	Verb form	Complementizer		Meaning
		-v	∅	
V1	(var~)var(a)(i) X	√		‘tell X that’
V2	varai Prep. X	√		‘say to X that’
V3	varai	√	√	‘say that’

- **Group 2: Variant 1.** In this variant, the form *vara(i) X* takes two complements: a recipient and the complement clause introduced by *-v*.

(1258) ref 06020.047

Mo-**vara ita** **mo-v:** ‘Ko-ontavse sa?
 3SG-tell octopus 3SG-say 2SG-know what
 ‘He told Octopus: ‘You know what?’

(1259) ref 06016.012

Ro, *ǰao* **mo-var ǰilae mo-v:** ‘Me ro da-r-ǰa...
 then swamphen 3SG-tell plover 3SG-say FUT then 1PL.INCL-DL-go
 ‘Then Swamphen told Plover: ‘We will go...’

(1260) ref 07046.015

Ra-vara=i=ao ra-v: ‘Nno ...’
 3PL-tell=TR=1SG 3PL-say 2SG
 ‘They told me: ‘You...’

(1261) ref 06043.117

ǰMatan marao **mo-var~vara nna mo-v:** ‘Me i-lo-ǰa...
 because sea.snake 3SG-RED~tell 3SG 3SG-say FUT 3SG.IR-IMPF-go
 ‘Because Eel told her: ‘After a while...’

- **Group 2: Variant 2.** In this variant, *varaia* takes two complements: a prepositional phrase headed by *lape* or *ǰalu* encoding the recipient and a complement clause. These prepositions are discussed in chapter 8. In a nutshell, *lape* assigns a dative/benefactive role to its clitic or a following NP. *ǰalu* takes a possessive suffix, to which it assigns a role of goal/recipient.

(1262) ref 06003.022

Weŕe ro mo-**vara=i** **ŕalu**-na mo-**v**: ‘Sun le mal sun no-ku.’
dove here 3SG-tell=TR to-3SG.POSS 3SG-say hat DET this hat CLF-1SG.POSS
‘Dove said to her: ‘This hat here, (it is) my hat.’’

(1263) ref 06004.005

Mo-**vara=i** **lape**=a mo-**v**: ‘Ko-sua...’
3SG-tell=TR DAT=3SG 3SG-say 2SG-paddle
‘He told him: ‘You paddle...’

Note that when the prepositions *lape* and *ŕalu* follow *varaia* ‘tell’, the verb is always marked with the transitive clitic =*i*. This is also the case when *varaia* takes a single clausal complement as shown below in (1264) to (1266). The prepositions *lape* and *ŕalu* can also introduce adjuncts, and the clausal complement could be analyzed as an independent clause. It is possible that the transitive maker =*i* is used to emphasize the fact that *varaia* is used transitively, and that *lape*, *ŕalu* and *-v* are complements. More research is required to support this claim. See also chapter 10 treating some issues on transitivity.

- **Group 2: Variant 3.** The form *varai* takes a single complement theme. The goal/recipient is not expressed. This variant is used both with and without a complementizer, whether the complement clause is in direct or indirect speech.

(1264) ref 06042.122

Mo-vara=i ra-sua ra-si...
3SG-tell=TR 3PL-paddle 3PL-go.down
‘He said they paddled down...’

(1265) ref 07065.047

Mo-vara=i: ‘A-ku poa.’
3SG-tell=TR CLF.eat-1SG.POSS pig
‘He said: ‘My (thing) to eat (is a) pig.’’

(1266) ref 06015.209

Tata mo-vara=i **mo-v**: ‘Ko-rong voso ko-v ra-dom ravti palo-m?’
mom 3SG-tell=TR 3SG-say 2SG-hear hold 2SG-say 3PL-cut break leg-2SG.POSS
‘Mom said: ‘Did you realize that they cut your leg?’’

14.2.2.1.3 Group 3. Verbs in this group all take the same complementizer *-v*, whether the complement clause is in direct or indirect speech.

- *Usia* ‘ask’. This verb was found in the data to be followed by direct and indirect speech. In both cases, the information reported (the theme) appears after the recipient.

(1267) ref 06016.020

Ro mo-**us** p̣ao **mo-v**: ‘P̣ao, ko-adi sile nao dam le?’
then 3SG-ask swamphen 3SG-say swamphen 2SG-can give 1SG yam DET
‘Then he asked Swamphen: ‘Swamphen, could you give me the yam?’’

(1268) ref 06024.030

Mo-ńe-l-**us**=i=ra **mo-v** ra-r-lang~langa aḗa.
3SG-IT-IMPF-ask=TR=3PL 3SG-say 3PL-DL-RED~open wing
‘He asked them again to spread open their wings.’

- *Toḗia* ‘call’. This verb can be followed by reported speech or direct speech, as exemplified below.

(1269) ref 06036.011

Mo-l-**toḗ** ura pula-na **mo-v** i-ńa.
3SG-IMPF-call prawn CLF-3SG.POSS 3SG-say 3SG.IR-come
‘She was calling her prawn to come.’

(1270) ref 07078.030

Mo-**toḗ** karae **mo-v**: ‘Ko-pos...’
3SG-call bat 3SG-say 2SG-turn
‘He told to Flying Fox: ‘Turn...’’

(1271) ref 07068.075
 Ale ra-**toŵ** **ra-v**: ‘Stop!’
 then 3PL-call 3PL-say stop
 ‘Then they said: ‘Stop!’’

- *La vete* ‘sing’. In the corpus, this verb is followed by direct speech only.

(1272) ref 06027.018
 Sio mo-**ńe-l-la** **vete mo-v**: ‘Siso, siso, nao ka-an
 king.fisher 3SG-IT-IMPF-take song 3SG-say snail snail 1SG 1SG.IR-eat
 tae-m. . .’
 excrement-2SG.POSS
 ‘Kingfisher sang again: ‘Sea snail, sea snail, I will eat your excrement. . .’

14.2.2.2 Manipulative predicate. Manipulative predicates describe “situations where the agent attempts to manipulate the affectee into performing some action” (Noonan 2007:136). Utterance predicates may be used as manipulative predicates when they “describe the illocutionary force of the original statement” (Noonan 2007:121). There is only one verb in the corpus that can be said to be a manipulative predicate, the verb *ulo* ‘shout’. This verb occurred only once in the data with a complement clause.

(1273) ref 07068.108
 Mo-**ulo** **mo-v** ka-stop.
 3SG-shout 3SG-say 1SG.IR-stop
 ‘He shouted that I should stop.’

The verb *ulo* ‘shout’ is an utterance predicate (meaning ‘shout, bark’), but when followed by an indirect speech complement it could be understood as manipulative.

14.2.2.3 Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge. Predicates of this types describe the way in which the experiencer subject acquired knowledge of a fact (Noonan 2007:129).

Two predicates fall in this category in Ma’vea: *rong voso* ‘know, realize’, and *ontauseia* ‘know, realize’.

- **Rong voso** ‘know, realize’. This predicate is a compound made of *rongoa* ‘feel, sense’ and *voso* ‘hold’. It is always followed by the complementizer *v* in the corpus.

(1274) ref 06015.209

Ko-**rong voso ko-v** ra-dom ravti palo-m?
 2SG-sense hold 2SG-say 3PL-cut break leg-2SG.POSS
 ‘Did you realize that they cut off your leg?’

(1275) ref 07068.031

Na-**rong voso=i na-v**: ‘Me ro te inaite i-hapen’.
 1SG-sense hold=TR 1SG-say FUT then some something 3SG.IR-happen
 ‘I realized: ‘Something will happen’.’

In example (1274), the verb *voso* ‘hold’ does not take a transitive clitic, but it does so in (1275). The only difference between the two sentences is that in (1275) the clause following *-v* is in direct speech, and is, therefore, ambiguous between a complement clause and an independent clause. Note that this ambiguity does not arise with (1274). Given the context of occurrence in the story, the interlocutor ‘you’ has just awakened from a surgical operation. He does not yet know that his leg was cut off, thus he cannot say that they cut off his leg. This sentence cannot mean **Did you realize you said they cut off your leg?*

- **Ontavseia** ‘know, realize’. This verb is a compound made up of *ontaia* ‘look after’, and *voso* ‘hold’. It can be used with the complementizer *-v*, as in (1276), or without a complementizer, as in (1278).

(1276) ref 06045.257

Da-sopo-**ontavse da-v** me ro da-tapula da-ña aro.
 1PL.INCL-NEG-know 1PL.INCL-say FUT then 1PL.INCL-return 1PL.INCL-come here
 ‘We don’t know (how) we will come back here.’

(1277) ref 06013.038

Mo-pete-**ontavse mo-v** na taroa le, taroa mo-kolai=a.
 3SG-INCPT-know 3SG-say but bird DET bird 3SG-lie=3SG
 ‘He just realized that that bird had lied to him.’

(1278) ref 06015.111
 Na-**ontavse** inaite mo-at=i=ao.
 1SG-know something 3SG-bite=TR=1SG
 ‘I knew something had bitten me.’

There is only one sentence in the corpus where *ontavseia* is followed by the complementizer *ma*.

(1279) ref 06012.379
 Na-sopo-**ontavse**=i=a **ma** me i-ǎa pemel.
 1SG-NEG-know=TR=3SG COMP FUT 3SG.IR-go like.this
 ‘I don’t know (it) that it will go like this.’

Both the complementizer *ma* and the clitic =*a* refer to the theme. It is possible that the clause introduced by *ma* is not a complement clause, but an independent clause used as afterthought. If so, then, the occurrence of *ma* remains to be understood.

14.2.2.4 Immediate perception predicate. This class of predicate describes “the sensory mode by which the subject perceives the event encoded in the complement” (Noonan 2007:142). In Ma’vea, there are two verbs fulfilling this function: *rongoa* ‘hear, feel, sense’ and *onea* ‘see’.

- ***Rongoa*** ‘hear, feel, sense’. This verb can be used with or without the complementizer *ma*.

(1280) ref 06036.019
 Ro mo-**rong ma** mo-lo-la vete.
 then 3SG-hear COMP 3SG-IMPf-take song
 ‘Then he heard that he was singing.’

(1281) ref 06030.024
 Tanuma aite mo-l-to ale, mo-**rong ma** ko-ǎa...
 devil one 3SG-IMPf-stay there 3SG-hear COMP 2SG-go
 ‘A devil was there, he heard that you went...’

(1282) ref 06020.025

Mo-**rong** tamlo ait mo-var~vara.
3SG-hear man one 3SG-RED~tell
'He heard a man talk.'

(1283) ref 07062.037

Ro na-**rong** na-ntao.
then 1SG-feel 1SG-afraid
'Then I was afraid.' (Lit: I sensed I was frightened.)

- **Onea** 'see'. Like *rongoa* 'hear, feel, sense', *onea* 'see' occurs in the corpus with and without the complementizer *ma*.

(1284) ref 06036.018

Ro mo-**on** **ma** vāvina mādoudua mo-vano.
then 3SG-look COMP female old.woman 3SG-walk
'Then he saw that the old woman left.'

(1285) ref 06006.017

Mo-**on** varua mo-l-suruv.
3SG-look cardinal 3SG-IMPF-sleep
'He saw that Cardinal was sleeping.'

14.2.2.5 Predicates of achievement. The only achievement predicate that is found in Maŕea is a loan word form Bislama, *traem* 'try'. This predicate is used with or without the complementizer *-v*.

(1286) ref 06015.122

Na-**traem** ka-taravun ka-tur.
1SG-try 1SG.IR-rise 1SG.IR-stand.up
'I tried to stand up.'

(1287) ref 06015.100

Na-**traem na-v** ka-valvalto ka-sa vālu-n ratol.
1SG-try 1SG-say 1SG.IR-quick 1SG.IR-go.up to-CONS 3PL.PCL
'I tried to go quickly to them.'

14.2.2.6 Propositional attitude predicates. These predicates express the attitude towards the truth of the proposition in the complement clause (Noonan 2007:124). In Ma'vea, the verb *duseia* ‘think, believe’ is a propositional attitude predicate. It is used with or without the complementizer *-v*, although examples without the complementizer are not numerous. Note also that the verb is always marked with the transitive clitic.

(1288) ref 06045.151
 Nao na-**duse=i** **na-v** mo-kuro=a.
 1SG 1SG-think=TR 1SG-say 3SG-leave=3SG
 ‘I thought that he left it.’

(1289) ref 07048.056
 Ki-**duse=i** ki-tio na aka du.
 1PL.EXCL-think=TR 1PL.EXCL-jump LOC canoe good
 ‘We thought of jumping in the good canoe.’

When negated, the verb *duseia* ‘think’ is best understood as ‘believe’.

(1290) ref 06015.097
 Nao na-**sopo-duse=i** **ka-v** ꞑaio mo-at=i=ao.
 1SG 1SG-NEG-think=TR 1SG.IR-say shark 3SG-bite=TR=1SG
 ‘Me, I didn’t believe that a shark had bit me.’

14.2.2.7 Evaluative predicates. These predicates express the attitude of the speaker on the event denoted by the complement clause.

There are two such predicates in Ma'vea: the loan word from Bislama *stret* ‘straight, ok’ and the Ma'vea word *du* ‘good’. The loan word occurred only once in the data and was followed by the complementizer *ma*. These two predicates take expletive subjects, represented by the third person singular agreement marker.

(1291) ref 06043.121

Mo-stret **ma** ra-si ra-an *ń*matiu.
3SG-stret COMP 3PL-go.down 3PL-eat coconut
'It is ok that they go eat coconuts.'

The Ma'vea predicate *du* 'good' was found with and without the complementizer *ma*.

(1292) ref 06041.032

Mo-du me nno ko-*ń*va na anan ne.
3SG-good FUT 2SG 2SG-go LOC eat this
'It is ok that you will go to the party.'

(1293) ref 06045.182

Mar mo-du **ma** ko-vara=i=a.
this 3SG-good COMP 2SG-tell=TR=3SG
'This is good that you tell it.'

Note that in (1293) above, the demonstrative pronoun *mar(o)* is the left-dislocated object of the verb *varaia* 'tell' in the complement clause.

In the following sentence, there is a pause after *modu* 'it is ok', suggesting that there are two independent sentences, while in the above example, no such pause is recognized in the sound file, suggesting that *modu* 'it is ok' takes a complement clause.

(1294) ref 06041.034

Ro mo-v: '**Mo-du**. Nao me ka-*ń*va...'
then 3SG-say 3SG-good 1SG FUT 1SG.IR-go
'Then he said: 'Ok. I will go...''

14.2.2.8 Desiderative predicates. These predicates express the desire (of the entity represented by the matrix subject) that the event in the complement clause be realized (Noonan 2007:132-133).

There are four predicates in Ma'vea which fulfill this function: *rru* 'insist', *rongoa* 'want, feel like', *imte* 'wish', and *-v* 'want'.

14.2.2.8.1 *Rru* ‘insist’. This predicate occurred only once in the data and with a complement clause headed by the complementizer *-v*.

- (1295) ref 06043.082
 ʔMarao mo-**rru** **mo-v** me i-mas pue ravti patu-na.
 eel 3SG-insist 3SG-say FUT 3SG.IR-must slice break head-3SG.POSS
 ‘Eel insisted that she had to cut off its head.’

14.2.2.8.2 *Rongoa* ‘want, feel like’. In the next examples, *rongoa* is used as a desiderative predicate.

- (1296) ref 06016.038
 ʔMatan ʔilae nna mo-tur sea, ʔilae mo-sopo-**rongo** **i-var** vetua.
 because plover 3SG 3SG-stand.up more plover 3SG-NEG-feel 3SG.IR-tell truth
 ‘Because Plover, he stood firm, Plover did not feel like telling the truth.’

- (1297) ref 06036.060
 Mo-**rongo** **i-suruvu**.
 3SG-feel 3SG.IR-sleep
 ‘He felt like sleeping.’

- (1298) Elicitation, 2007, EVK.
 Na-**rongo** (nna) **i-in** te ai.
 1SG-feel (3SG) 3SG.IR-drink some kava
 ‘I want him to drink some kava.’

We saw above that when the verb *rongoa* is used as a perception predicate, it is optionally followed by the complementizer *ma*. When *rongoa* is used as a desiderative predicate, it is optionally followed by the complementizer *-v*.

- (1299) ref 07076a.002
 Ko-**rongo** **ko-v** ko-mo-kuk te oele...
 2SG-feel 2SG-say 2SG-COND-cook some oil
 ‘If you feel that you want to cook some (coconut) oil...’

The fact that the complementizer is optional may lead to some ambiguity as to whether *rongoa* is used as desiderative or perception predicate. However, there is always enough information in the context to disambiguate their uses, as the following examples show.

(1300) ref 07076b.018-020

Ko-rong sama-na i-mo-ro-ro, ro mo-ev, mo-noa.
 2SG-hear waste-3SG.POSS 3SG.IR-COND-sound then 3SG-finish 3SG-cooked
 ‘If you hear the (coconut) flesh sound, then it is finished, it is cooked.’

(1301) ref 06045.097

Ko-rong ko-mo-ńe-l-ńa. . .
 2SG-feel 2SG-COND-IT-IMPF-come
 ‘If you feel like coming again. . .’

14.2.2.8.3 -v ‘want’. We saw in the previous section that the verb *-v* is an utterance predicate. It can also function as a desiderative predicate, as the verb *vo* ‘say’ in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:396), and *na(g)* ‘say’ in South Efate (Thieberger 2004:302).

(1302) ref 06032.002

Mo-v i-an te pepe-n manki aite.
 3SG-want 3SG.IR-eat some liver-CONS monkey one
 ‘He wanted to eat a monkey’s liver.’

(1303) ref 06016.024

Ro mo-on dam, dam ara ma mo-us=i=a ńvalu-n ńpao,
 then 3SG-look yam yam red COMP 3SG-ask=TR=3SG from-CONS swamphen
mo-v i-lań=i=a na ńpao mo-utu=i=a.
 3SG-want 3SG.IR-take TR=3SG but swamphen 3SG-forbid TR=3SG
 ‘He saw the yam, the red yam he asked from Swamphen, he wanted to take it, but Swamphen forbade him.’

In order for the verb *-v* to be interpreted as a desiderative predicate, two conditions must hold: (i) the complement clause must be marked with irrealis, (ii) the subject in the matrix and embedded clause must be identical.

Given that irrealis is encoded on only a subset of subject agreement markers, some sentences are ambiguous between *-v* as an utterance predicate, or a desiderative predicate. In the following example, both interpretations are possible.

- (1304) ref 07037.112
 Ro ra-r-tar ʋatal aite ro **ra-v** ra-si ra-r-tunu=a.
 then 3PL-DL-chop banana one then 3PL-say 3PL-go.down 3PL-DL-roast=3SG
 ‘Then they cut a banana, then they said they went down, they roasted it.’ Or ‘Then
 they cut a banana, then they wanted to go down to roast it’

However, the context sometimes suffices to disambiguate the meaning. In the following example, the subject of *-v* is [-human], thus *-v* cannot be construed as an utterance predicate.

- (1305) ref 07064.010
 Mo-pal varava **ra-v** ra-ʋa ra-peʋe pemel ro ra-at vuae.
 3SG-like pig 3PL-want 3PL-go 3PL-father like.this then 3PL-bite tree
 ‘Like, (when) pigs want to give birth like this, then they bite wood.’

14.2.2.8.4 *Imte* ‘wish’. There is only one example in the corpus where *imte/inte* take a subject agreement morpheme. When followed by a clause, it does not require a complementizer.

- (1306) ref 07041b.011
 Ko-**imte** var ko-story...
 2SG-wish tell 2SG-story
 ‘If you were to tell a story...’
- (1307) ref 06032.029
Imte ko-l-var momos=i=a mo-evu.
 wish 2SG-IMPF-tell good=TR=3SG 3SG-finish
 ‘I wish that/if only you had told it to me properly.’
- (1308) ref 06045.260
Imte i-l-ńaur.
 wish 3SG.IR-IMPF-alive
 ‘If only he were alive.’

14.2.2.9 Modal predicates. The auxiliaries *adi* ‘can’, *leng* ‘cannot’ and *ria* ‘must’ are not CTPs. They are followed by bare verb, as shown below for *leng*.

- (1309) ref 07082.055
 Āmatan turvāite ra-l-is pire talmalum ra-**leng** **is** pire
 because every.time 3PL-IMPF-pinch plant afternoon 3PL-can’t pinch plant
 tarlavua.
 morning
 ‘Because they always perform the ‘pire’ ceremony in the afternoon, they can’t perform the ‘pire’ ceremony in the morning.’

There are, however, two predicates that are modal CTPs. One is a loan word from Bislama, namely *mas* ‘must’. The other is *ontavseia* ‘know, have the ability’.

14.2.2.9.1 Mas ‘must’. This verb was found with or without the complementizer *ma*.

- (1310) ref 06003.025
 Me ko-**mas** ko-íne-l-sile sun le lape=ao.
 FUT 2SG-must 2SG-IT-IMPF-give hat DET DAT=1SG
 ‘You must give me back my hat.’

- (1311) ref 07065.015
 Mo-v me ro i-pong me i-**mas** **ma** i-laŵ i-**mas**
 3SG-say FUT then 3SG.IR-night FUT 3SG.IR-must COMP 3SG.IR-take 3SG.IR-must
ma i-taur varava ro.
 COMP 3SG.IR-hold pig here
 ‘He said, when it would be dark, he must take, he must hold the pig.’

14.2.2.9.2 Ontavseia ‘know, have the ability’. We saw in the previous section that *ontavseia* can be interpreted as a knowledge predicate. There are examples in the data where *ontavseia* is best understood as a modal predicate.

(1312) ref 06036.047

Nao **na-ontavse ka-an** tae-n viriu.
1SG 1SG-know 1SG.IR-eat excrement-CONS dog
'Me, I know how to eat dog's excrement.'

(1313) ref 06035.021-022

Nno **ko-sopo-ontavse ko-davoi**. Nno ko-sopo-*vakaria* nno ko-sopo-davoi tea.
2SG 2SG-NEG-know 2SG-plant 2SG 2SG-NEG-strong 2SG 2SG-NEG-plant some
'You don't have the ability to plant, you are not strong, you don't plant one.'

In order for *ontavseia* to be understood as a modal predicate, the following conditions need to be met: (i) the subjects in the matrix and complement clause must be identical, and (ii) the complement clause is marked as irrealis.

14.2.2.10 Phasal predicates. Phasal predicates refer to “the phase of an act: its inception, continuation, or termination” (Noonan 2007:139). In Ma^ʼvea, the verb *-v* ‘say’ which I will translate here as ‘start’ is commonly used as a phasal predicate indicating inception of an event or a state. This function is fulfilled when the subject of *-v* is [-animate]. Note that the verb *na(g)* ‘say’ in South Efate is also used to mark inchoative or incipient actions (Thieberger 2004:302).

(1314) ref 06037.019

Mo-v i-*malmalum*.
3SG-say 3SG.IR-evening
'It started to be evening.'

(1315) ref 07037.140

Ro soro **mo-v i-dum**.
then musket 3SG-say 3SG.IR-blast
'Then muskets started to fire.'

(1316) ref 07052.063

Dus~dusei-ku **mo-v** **i-lus.**

RED~idea-1SG.POSS 3SG-say 3SG.IR-lose

‘I have started to lose my thoughts. (Lit: My ideas start to lose).’

Note that *-v* ‘start’ is never found in the corpus with a complementizer. However, it cannot form a serial verb construction with the following verb because the two verbs do not share the same mood marking (see chapter *svc*). The complement clause is always irrealis.

When the subject is [+animate], this phasal use of the verb *-v* is often ambiguous with the use of *-v* as a desiderative predicate, given that both usage require the irrealis mood in the embedded clause.

(1317) ref 06027.003

Sio mo-si alao **mo-v** **i-alal** inana.

kingfisher 3SG-go.down sea.shore 3SG-say 3SG.IR-search food

‘Kingfisher went to the sea shore, he wanted/started to look for food.’

(1318) ref 07086.011

Mola nila i rua **mo-v** **i-nile=ra** na sasaoro.

3SG-take nail LIG two 3SG-say 3SG.IR-nail-3PL LOC wall

‘He took two nails, he started/wanted to nail them in the wall.’

The context often distinguishes the two uses, as illustrated below.

(1319) ref 06030.021

Mo-ńalńalum **mo-v** **i-ńe** **i-ńangan** ńasi pula-na

3SG-evening 3SG-say 3SG.IR-make 3SG.IR-feed bird.fish CLF-3SG.POSS

...mo-sopo-on ńasi pula-na.

... 3SG-NEG-look bird.fish CLF-3SG.POSS

‘It was evening, he wanted to make, to feed his bird ... he didn’t see his bird.’

As explained above, ‘want’ expresses a desire that the event in the complement clause be realized in the future (Noonan 2007:133). In the above example, the event ‘feed’ has not taken place, because the bird is missing, so the predicate is desiderative.

In the following example, the event ‘run’ has already taken place, given that one character tries to stop the other character from running. Thus, *mov* in (1320) is a phasal predicate.

(1320) ref 06042.049-051

Tamlo vaise mo-tapair ro **mo-v** i-valao. ro mo-v: ‘E! Ko-sopo-valao!’
man small 3SG-shake then 3SG-say 3SG.IR-run then 3SG-say eh! 2SG-NEG-run
‘The small boy jumped (with fear) and started to run. Then he said: ‘Hey! Don’t
run!’’

14.2.2.11 Summary. We have seen in this section that a verb may take on several meanings, depending on (i) the complementizer it takes, or (ii) the identity of the subjects in the matrix and embedded clause. Table 14.88 below summarizes the properties that help distinguish verbs with more than one interpretation.

Table 14.88: Verbs with more than one complementizer option

Verb	Semantic class	Comp	Properties
rongoa	desiderative 'feel like'	-v, \emptyset	
	perception 'sense'	ma, \emptyset	
ontavseia	knowledge 'know'	-v, \emptyset	Different subjects in both clauses; [-IR] in the comp. clause
	modal 'have the ability'	\emptyset	Same subject in both clauses; [+IR] in the comp. clause
-v	utterance 'say'	\emptyset	-v is the only verb in the sentence; different subjects in both clauses
	desiderative 'want'	\emptyset	Same [+animate] subject in both clauses; [+IR] in the comp. clause
	phasal 'start'	\emptyset	Same [-animate] subject in both clauses; [+IR] in the comp. clause
duseia	attitude 'believe'	-v	[+NEG] in matrix clause; [+IR] on the complementizer
	attitude 'think'	-v, \emptyset	[-NEG] in matrix clause

14.2.3 Mood marking in embedded clause. In a complex sentence (containing a main and a subordinate clause), the time reference of the event described in the embedded clause may be subordinate to the event in the main clause. According to Noonan (2007:102-104):

- A complement has a determined time reference (DTR), if its time reference is a necessary consequence of the meaning of the CTP. A complement having DTR typically refers to a future or potential world-state relative to the time reference of the CTP.
- In complements with independent time reference (ITR), the time reference is not logically bound by the time of the CTP.

The following list of CTPs is arranged according to Noonan's (2007:121-144) classification of dependency of time reference.

Predicates with DTR

- **Phasal predicate:** *-v* ‘start’
- **Predicates of achievement:** *traem* ‘try’
- **Desiderative predicate:** *rru* ‘insist’, *rongoa* ‘feel like’, *-v* ‘want’, *inte* ‘wish’
- **Modal predicate:** *mas* ‘must’, *ontavseia* ‘have the ability’
- **Negative propositional attitude predicate:** *duseia* ‘believe’
- **Manipulative predicate:** *ulo* ‘shout’
- **Immediate perception predicate:** *rongoa* ‘sense’, *onea* ‘see’

Predicates with ITR

- **Positive propositional attitude predicate:** *duseia* ‘think’
- **Utterance predicates:** *usia* ‘ask’, *varaia* ‘tell, say’, *-v* ‘say’, *la vete* ‘sing’, *to’via* ‘call’
- **Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge:** *ontavseia* ‘know, realize’, *rong voso* ‘know, realize’
- **Evaluative predicate:** *du* ‘good’, *stret* ‘straight, ok’

According to Noonan (2007:102-104), DTR complements tend to be expressed with irrealis and ITR with realis. This is also often the case in Ma’vea.

An interesting example is found with the propositional attitude verb *dusei* ‘think’. When the verb is not negated, it is a positive propositional attitude verb, which takes ITR complements. There is no marking of irrealis in the following sentence.

(1321) ref 06045.151

Nao na-**duse=i** **na-v** mo-kuro=a.
 1SG 1SG-think=TR 1SG-say 3SG-leave=3SG
 ‘I thought that he left it.’

On the other hand, when the verb is negated, it becomes a negative propositional attitude verb, with a DTR complement (see Noonan 2007:106). Interestingly in Ma’vea, the irrealis marking only appears on the complementizer.

(1322) ref 06015.097

Nao na-sopo-**duse=i ka-v** ǵaio mo-at=i=ao.
1SG 1SG-NEG-think=TR 1SG.IR-say shark 3SG-bite=TR=1SG
'Me, I couldn't believe that a shark had bit me.'

The fact that irrealis is marked on the complementizer only, and not on the embedded verb, emphasizes the speaker's epistemic attitude over what is factually true. Consider the following examples of the knowledge predicate *ontavseia* 'know'.

(1323) ref 06003.019

Mo-sopo-**ontavse mo-v** sun **mo-ńa** aǵe.
3SG-NEG-know 3SG-say hat 3SG-come where
'He didn't know where the hat came from.'

(1324) ref 06031.026

Kou mo-v i-sa aul, na **mo-sopo-ontavse=i** me **i-sa**
fowl 3SG-say 3SG.IR-go.up above but 3SG-NEG-know=TR FUT 3SG.IR-go.up
i-pal sa.
3SG.IR-like what
'Fowl wanted to go up, but she didn't know how she could go up.'

In example (1323), the matrix verb is negated. None of the verbs are marked with irrealis. Example (1324) contains negation in the matrix clause, and irrealis in the complement clause. The variation in mood in the embedded clause indicates that the time reference of the complement clause is not dependent on the matrix clause.

On the other hand when *ontavseia* is used as a modal predicate meaning 'have the ability' (as below), it is followed by the irrealis mood, because, as a modal predicate, it takes a DTR complement.

(1325) ref 06036.047

Nao **na-ontavse ka-an** tae-n viriu.
1SG 1SG-know 1SG.IR-eat excrement-CONS dog
'I know how to eat dog's excrement.'

14.3 Relative clauses.

A relative clause (henceforth RC) is a subordinate clause functioning as a noun modifier. RCs are used to restrict the set of referent of the NP they modify. When studying RCs, it is important to look at (i) the position of the head noun phrase (that the RC modifies) with respect to the RC, that is, whether the head noun is internal or external to the RC, and (ii) the lexeme (if any) which introduced the RC such as a relativizer (Comrie 1989:143, Keenan 1985:142, Payne 1997:325).⁴⁹ Below, an example of an RC in English is provided.

(1326) The man [(that) I saw ___] is bald.

In this example, the head is *man*. It is external to the RC and precedes the RC. The relative clause appears between square brackets [(that) I saw ___]. The relativizer is *that*. It is optional in this particular example. Note that RC may be headless: the head noun over which the RC ranges may not be overtly mentioned, as shown below.

(1327) I hate [where I live]. (Payne 1997:329)

Next, we need to distinguish the syntactic function of the head noun, and the function of the relativized position, that is, the position inside the RC coreferential with the head noun. According to Comrie's (1989:147) typological observations, the choice of a relativization strategy is cross-linguistically dependent on the position of the relativized noun in the RC, and not the function of the head noun in the matrix clause (see also Andrews 2007:206, O'Grady 2003:158, Payne 1997:325).

In example (1326) above, the head noun *the man* is the subject of the matrix clause, but the relativized position in the relative clause is in object position. Distinguishing the grammatical functions of the head noun and the relativized position is important because languages cross-linguistically may use different relativization strategies depending on the

⁴⁹The differences between a relative pronoun and a relativizer are given in Andrews 2007:218, and Payne 1997:333.

position relativized, or they may disallow relativization of a particular position, as noted in Keenan and Comrie (1977) and Comrie and Keenan (1979).

Keenan and Comrie (1977:66) propose the following Accessibility Hierarchy.

(1328) Subject (S) > Direct Object (O) > Indirect Object (IO) > Oblique (Obl) > Genitive (Gen) > Object of comparison (OC)

This implicational hierarchy reads as follows: “if a language can relativize any position on the hierarchy, then it can relativize all higher positions” (positions to the left) (Comrie and Keenan 1979:651). Thus, derived from this hierarchy, is the claim that all languages of the world allow the subject position to be relativized (Comrie and Keenan 1979:652) if they allow relativization at all (Comrie and Keenan 1979:653).

Another claim that Keenan and Comrie (1977) and Comrie and Keenan (1979) have found to be valid cross-linguistically is that “if a language can relativize any position on the hierarchy with a primary strategy, then it can relativize all higher positions with that strategy” (Comrie and Keenan 1979:651, 653).

There are two major strategies commonly used to identify the relativized position within the RC: the gap and the resumptive strategies. The choice of one strategy over another is determined in each language by the grammatical relation of the relativized noun inside the RC. In English as shown in (1326) above, a gap is left in the relativized position. In the “resumptive strategy”, a pronoun is used to mark the relativized position.⁵⁰ An example of resumption in Samoan is given below (adapted from Payne 1997:332). The pronoun *ai* ‘there’ is used for relativized positions other than agent or patient.

(1329) ‘O le mea sa nofo **ai** le fafine.
PRES DET place PST stay AI DET woman
‘The place where the woman stayed (there).’

⁵⁰See Andrews (2007:217-223) for other strategies.

In Ma'ëa, as we can see in table 14.89, all grammatical relations identified in Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy can be relativized.

Table 14.89: Grammatical relations and relativization strategies

	Grammatical relations ⁵¹					
	S	O	OC	DbO	IO / Obl	Gen
Strategy	Pronoun	Clitic -pronoun	Clitic	Clitic -pronoun	Proform <i>ai</i> / Clitic-pronoun/ Gap	Possessive clitic

There are four different subclasses within the resumptive strategy: a clitic, an independent pronoun, the proform *ai*, and a possessive clitic can be used as resumptive pronouns. The use of a resumption strategy over another is dependent on the verb class in the RC (object clitic versus pronoun) and the grammatical relation of the relativized NP in the RC (object versus oblique). With obliques, the gap strategy is found solely with RCs where the relativized noun (often omitted) refers to a time. These RCs function as time adverbials.

Hawkins (1999:253) notes that comparisons are not expressed with similar syntactic constructions across languages. As such, they do not represent a single structure type that can be compared across languages, thus do not belong in the universal hierarchy. In Ma'ëa, objects of comparison are treated like regular direct objects. They are presented in section 14.3.2.3.

In this section, I will first discuss head-external RCs in Ma'ëa in 14.3.1. I then review each grammatical relation and its relativization strategy in section 14.3.2. In section 14.3.3, I describe (apparently) headless RCs. Note that I will only talk about restrictive relative clauses here.⁵²

⁴⁰ *DbO* stands for double object constructions.

⁵² According to Comrie (1989:139), the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is typologically irrelevant.

14.3.1 Head-external relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses in Ma'vea can be defined as post-nominal head-external RCs (Keenan 1985:143). Below is an example of a relative clause where the relativized position is a subject.

- (1330) 06005.024
 ʔaʔina [ma mo-sao].
 female COMP 3SG-sick
 ‘The woman who is sick.’

The head noun, *ʔaʔina* ‘female, woman’, is external to the RC. The relativizer *ma* is invariant and obligatory, regardless of the grammatical relation of the relativized NP.

The head noun can be a bare noun (as above) or a noun phrase that contains a determiner. If there is a determiner with the head noun, the RC is positioned after the determiner (as in (1331)).

- (1331) ref 06005.010
 ʔaʔina le [ma mo-sao].
 female DET COMP 3SG-sick
 ‘That woman who is sick.’

The position of RCs in Ma'vea conforms to the implicational universal of Croft (2003:53), which argues that if a demonstrative follows an NP, then so does a relative clause.

The head noun can be a demonstrative pronoun like *maro* ‘this one’ as in the following example.

- (1332) ref 07085.007
 Na-var sur maro [ma ɲatua-ku].
 1SG-speak about this.one COMP right-1SG.POSS
 ‘I spoke about this one that (is on) my right.’

The head noun can be a wh-expression or a quantifier, as in the following examples. The focused wh-word *ne sa* ‘what’ and the quantifier *ineike* ‘everything’ are followed by the relativizer *ma*.

(1333) ref 07079.051-052

Ne sa [**ma** ra-tarao=a], mo-sile=ra nna.

FOC what COMP 3PL-want=3SG 3SG-give=3PL 3SG

‘What it is that they want (it)/whatever they want (it) he gives it to them.’

(1334) ref 07080.080

Ineike [**ma** ki-tau=a].

everything COMP 1PL.EXCL-put=3SG

‘Everything that we put (them).’

An RC can also modify a personal pronoun, such as *nira* ‘they’ below.

(1335) ref 06022.010

Ro tamlo ra-sava ra-l-val dal **nira** [**ma** ra-l-dirdirong].

then man 3PL-dance 3PL-IMPF-go around 3PL COMP 3PL-IMPF-drum

‘Then the men danced. They were going around those who beat the drums.’

The head noun may be omitted. An example is provided below, where the omitted head noun is understood to be ‘the one’.

(1336) ref 07085.099

I-mo-ev ro ale me ka-var **sur** [**ma** mo-sev].

3SG.IR-COND-finish then then FUT 1SG.IR-speak about COMP 3SG-hang

‘When it is finished, then I will talk about (the one) that hangs.’

These types of RCs are examined in section (14.3.3).

14.3.2 Grammatical relations and relativization strategies.

14.3.2.1 Subject relative. Ma’vea is a pro-drop language. A subject personal pronoun is not required, as the obligatory subject agreement on the verb is rich enough to help recover the referent subject. When the relativized noun is in subject position in the RC, it is co-referenced with the subject agreement marker in the RC, as shown in (1338) and (1337). This subject agreement marker thus provides enough to co-reference the relativized noun in the RC.

(1337) Elicitation 2006, PVM.

Var~**varango-n palo-na** [ma ra-pur~puro] ra-mas.
RED~finger-CONS leg-3SG.POSS COMP 3PL-RED~swell 3PL-sore
'His toes that are swollen are sore.'

(1338) 06025.014

Kańarua ki-r-řa ki-r-aso **tamlo** [ma
1PL.EXCL.DL 1PL.EXCL-DL-go 1PL.EXCL-DL-search man COMP
mo-l-kev].
3SG-IMPF-whistle
'We two are going to search for the person who is singing.'

Although most subject RCs have an apparent gap in the relativized position, there is one example in the corpus where the relativized position in the RC is filled with a subject personal pronoun.

(1339) ref 07085.128

Ok ka-var sur last one [ma nna mo-to na mńarao-ku].
ok 1SG.IR-speak about last one COMP 3SG 3SG-stay LOC left-1SG.POSS
'OK, I will talk about the last one that (he) stays on my left.'

Therefore, this example suggests that subject relatives need not use the gap strategy, and generally uses the pronoun strategy. The pronoun is either overt, as in (1339), or covert as in (1338). In generative terms, the gap found in (1337) and (1338) is in fact filled by little *pro*, and not by a (wh-) trace.⁵³

14.3.2.2 Direct object relatives. When the relativized noun is the object of the verb in the RC, the relativized position is marked with an object clitic, matching in person and number the relativized noun phrase.

In example (1340) below, the relativized noun is an object in the matrix clause and in the RC.

⁵³For a review of the type of empty categories posited in generative syntax, see Huang 1984 and Otsuka 2001.

- (1340) ref 06016.036
 Mo-sopo-on **dam ara** [**ma** nna mo-rivu=**a**].
 3SG-NEG-see yam red COMP 3SG 3SG-plant=3SG
 ‘He didn’t see the red yam he had planted (it).’

In example (1341) and (1342) below, the relativized nouns are the subject of the main clause and the object inside the RC.

- (1341) Elicitation, 2006, ANL.
Navari [**ma** da-lufti=**ra**] ra-l-apanasa.
 children COMP 2PL.INCL-chase=3PL 3PL-IMPF-noisy
 ‘The children that we chased (them) away are being noisy.’

- (1342) ref 06015.222-223
Sara [**ma** dokta mo-dome=**a**] mo-pal, mo-ńasa toto.
 place COMP doctor 3SG-cut=3SG 3SG-like 3SG-dry fast
 ‘The place that the doctor cut (it), like, it dried fast.’

An independent personal pronoun may be used instead of a resumptive clitic when the relativized noun is a direct object in the RC. The choice of a clitic or a pronoun to serve as a resumptive marker is dependent on the verb class. There are three types of transitive verbs in Ma’vea: one class that allows object clitics, one class that does not allow object cliticization and requires full pronouns as the object, and one class (ditransitive verbs) that allows both clitics and pronominals as objects (see chapter 3 for more details). The verb *ńangan* ‘feed’ does not allow cliticization of its object.

- (1343) ref 06043.043
 Ro mo-l-ńangan **nna**.
 then 3SG-IMPF-feed 3SG
 ‘Then she fed it.’

- (1344) Constructed example
 *Ro mo-l-ńangan=i=**a**.
 then 3SG-IMPF-feed=TR=3SG

When the object of this class of verb is relativized, it is co-referenced with a resumptive personal pronoun in the RC.

- (1345) ref 06043.065
 M̃marao pula-na [ma mo-l-ʋangan nna].
 eel CLF-3SG.POSS COMP 3SG-IMPFF-feed 3SG
 ‘The eel that she was feeding (it).’

There are few examples in the corpus where the relativized position is in the object position in the RC, but no co-referential pronoun is used.

- (1346) ref 07037.099
 Pua vaitina [ma ki-r-laʋ=i ki-r-ńna].
 knife big.PL COMP 1PL.EXCL-DL-take=TR 1PL.EXCL-DL-come
 ‘The big knives that we brought.’

In example (1346), the verb *laʋia* ‘take/bring’ is used with as V1 in a core serial verb construction, and there is no clitic on V1 or V2 co-referential with the relativized noun. Only the transitive clitic *-i* is present on V1.

Evans shows (2003:100, following Lichtenberk 1983a:36) that in Manam, the reflex of the POC transitive marker **i* has been reanalyzed as the third person singular object marker. It might be the case that in some restricted context, the transitive marker in Maʋea also functions as the object. Such restricted context would include core serialization, with an intransitive verb of movement as V2, which cannot take a clitic. If the transitive marker can encode the object, then the relative clause in (1346) is not an example of the gap strategy but of the pronoun strategy, where *-i* is the resumptive pronoun. Further research is needed to validate this claim.

14.3.2.3 Relativization of the object of comparison. Comparative constructions in Maʋea are expressed by means of a serial verb construction (see chapter 11). The second verb is always the verb *seu* ‘beat’.

(1347) ref 07085.177

Vele-na mo-valavoa **mo-seu** nira tuana.
tail-3SG.POSS 3SG-big 3SG-beat 3PL plenty

‘His tail is bigger than all of theirs.’ (Lit. His tail is big, it beats them all.)

Given that comparative constructions are expressed by means of a verb (and not, say, with an oblique construction), it is not surprising that the object clitic strategy is used: the relativized noun is the object of the verb *seu* ‘beat’, as in (1348) below.

(1348) Elicitation 2006, PVM.

Tamlo [**ma** nno ko-*ǀ*parav ko-seu=**a**] mo-sopo-to aro napar.
man COMP 2SG 2SG-tall 2SG-beat=3SG 3SG-NEG-stay here today

‘The man you are taller than is not here today.’

14.3.2.4 Double object relative. Recall that in double object constructions, the recipient or goal can be cliticized on the verb, but not the theme (see chapter 3).

(1349) Elicitation 2006, PVM.

Mo-vri=**ao** **maradi**.
3SG-throw-1SG stone

‘He threw me a stone.’

(1350) Elicitation 2006, PVM.

*Mo-vri=**a** **nao**.
3SG-throw=3SG 1SG

To co-reference a relativized theme in a double object construction, a pronoun is used in the RC; whereas the relativized recipient is marked with a clitic.

14.3.2.4.1 Relativized theme. The theme of a double object construction which is relativized is marked in the RC with a pronoun.

(1351) ref 06014.043
 Mo-on vuae [**ma** tamlo momaite mo-l-vara=i=a **nna**].
 3SG-look tree COMP man another 3SG-IMPf-tell=TR=3SG 3SG
 ‘He saw the tree that another man had told him about (it).’

(1352) ref 06020.059
 Ono [**ma** ariʋ ngirngir mo-avur=i=a **nna**].
 sand COMP cat cry 3SG-cast=TR=3SG 3SG
 ‘The sand that Rat threw (it) at it.’

The above examples are potentially ambiguous. The clitic and the personal pronoun have the same feature (in terms of person and number). It is thus difficult to tell which one refers to the theme. Let us consider the following pair.

(1353) ref 06022.018
 Mo-vara=i=**ra** **nna**.
 3SG-tell=TR=3PL 3SG
 ‘He told it to them.’

(1354) ref 06020.046
 Mo-avur **ita** **ono**.
 3SG-cast octopus sand
 ‘He threw sand at the octopus.’

These examples show that (i) the recipient (and not the theme) is cliticized on the verb in (1353), and that (ii) the double objects are always in the order of recipient then theme, whether pronouns or NPs. Examples (1351) and (1352) above follow the trend: the recipient is cliticized, the theme is not.

In the following example, the theme in the RC (*rai* ‘leaf’) is relativized, but it is not co-referenced with a clitic object on the verb *sile* ‘give’, suggesting that the gap strategy can be used with theme RCs.

- (1355) ref 06005.024
 Rai [**ma** tamlo mo-**sile** lape=a].
 leaf COMP man 3SG-give DAT=3SG
 ‘The leaf that the man gave to her.’

Similar examples can be found in a declarative sentence, as shown below.

- (1356) ref 06019.032
 Mo-to’ tina-na ro mo-**sile** lape=a.
 3SG-call mother-3SG.POSS then 3SG-give DAT=3SG
 ‘He called his mother, then he gave (it) to her.’

In both cases, the theme is missing and the recipient is introduced by the benefactive preposition *lape=*. More research is needed to determine if the two phenomena are correlated. It is also possible that the object as discourse topic is dropped in these sentences.

14.3.2.4.2 Relativized recipient. The recipient in a double object construction is co-referenced in the RC with an object clitic on the verb, as shown below.

- (1357) Elicitation 2006, PVM.
 V’ava’ina [**ma** John mo-sile=**a** pua] mo-sopo-lai.
 woman COMP John 3SG-give=3SG knife 3SG-NEG-marry
 ‘The woman that John gave (her) a knife to is not married yet.’

A personal pronoun can also be used to co-reference the relativized recipient in the RC, as shown below, if there is no corresponding clitic for the specified person and number.

- (1358) ref 07081.072
 V’ava’ina [**ma** ka’nim ki-sile **ka’nam** nna].
 female COMP 2PL 2PL-give 1PL.EXCL 3SG
 ‘The woman that you gave (her) us.’

14.3.2.5 Indirect object / oblique relatives. Keenan and Comrie’s (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy makes a distinction between indirect objects and obliques. In this section, I do not distinguish indirect objects from obliques because they don’t show any difference as far as relativization is concerned. They all use the resumptive pronoun *ai* (with the exception of time obliques).⁵⁴ As Payne notes (1997:52), what is important is to understand “how the morphosyntax of a language is sensitive to semantic roles” and not necessarily grammatical relations. I thus discuss the data in terms of semantic roles. Coalesced in this section are semantic roles that are not in general associated with direct objects; that is, semantic roles that are not agent, patient/recipient, or theme.

14.3.2.5.1 Location. When a location in the RC is relativized, it is marked in the RC with the resumptive pronoun *ai*, as shown below.

(1359) ref 06015.195
 Sara [**ma** na-l-suruv **ai**].
 place COMP 1SG-IMPF-sleep AI
 ‘The place where I was sleeping (there).’

(1360) ref 06015.166
 Ra-va na sara [**ma** ra-l-tau dae **ai**].
 3PL-go LOC place COMP 3PL-IMPF-put blood AI
 ‘They went to the place where they put the blood (there).’

(1361) ref 06024.062
 Vu-n vuae [**ma** ra-lio avua **ai**].
 stem-3SG.POSS tree COMP 3PL-fasten turtle AI
 ‘The tree where they tied the turtle to (there).’

Examples (1362) to (1364) below contain the same verbs as examples (1359) to (1361) above (namely the verbs *suruvu* ‘sleep’, *taua* ‘put’ and *lio* ‘fasten’). As we can see, the proform *ai* replaces an oblique relativized phrase introduced by the preposition *na*.

⁵⁴It could be that *ai* is a reflex of POc *akin[i] (see Evans 2003:149), and serves as a resumptive pronoun for oblique arguments (indirect objects), while the gap strategy is used with obliques adjuncts.

(1362) ref 06005a.004
 Mo-sao ro mo-l-suruv **na** sara-na.
 3SG-sick then 3SG-IMPF-sleep LOC place-3SG.POSS
 ‘She is sick, then she is sleeping in her place (~bed).’

(1363) ref 06024.061
 Da-lsu avua ro, da-tau=a **na** loko.
 1PL.INCL-hit turtle then 1PL.INCL-put=3SG LOC laplap
 ‘We kill the turtle, then we put it in the laplap.’

(1364) ref 07063.005
 Mo-lio=ra **na** vunatae-n m’atiu vataolo.
 3SG-fasten=3PL LOC root-CONS coconut different
 ‘He fastened them to a different coconut tree.’

The proform *ai* is also found in Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:443), analyzed as a reflex of the POC locative pronoun **ai*. Although it is commonly used to refer to a location, *ai* can be used as a resumptive pronoun for other semantic roles, as we will see below. Note also that *ai* need not be used with an RC in Ma’ŕea. It is also used independently as a deictic marker (similar to Tongan *ai*, as described in Otsuka 2000:257).

(1365) ref 06033.011
 Da-sopo-r-laŕ=i=a, mata mo-l-to **ai**.
 1PL.INCL-NEG-DL-take=TR=3SG snake 3SG-IMPF-stay AI
 ‘You two don’t take it, the snake is living there.’

(1366) ref 07069.091
 Ko-ŕe kari **ai**.
 2SG-make curry AI
 ‘You make curry with it.’

Locations can be co-referenced with a demonstrative, albeit rarely. The following example is the only example in the corpus to use a demonstrative pronoun as a resumptive pronoun.

(1367) ref 06019.009
 Mo-ŕis kil ŕa na ŕanua [ma vavrui mo-l-to **aro**].
 3SG-point look go LOC island COMP tree 3SG-IMPF-stay here
 ‘He pointed towards the island where the tree was (there).’

14.3.2.5.2 Source. There are two strategies to indicate the source in the RC: the proform *ai* or a possessive clitic on the source-indicating preposition.

In the following examples, the proform *ai* is used in the RC to co-reference the head noun with thematic role of source.

- (1368) ref 06034.017
 Sasa-n [ma ra-l-la manea ai], kavura na.
 work-3SG.POSS COMP 3PL-IMPF-take money AI copra only
 ‘Copra is the only work where they are getting money from.’

In the following example, the preposition *ʋalu* ‘source/goal’ is used in the RC (this preposition is discussed in chapter 8). The relativized source NP is co-referenced with a possessive clitic on that preposition. The preposition *ʋalu* is used when the source or goal is [+animate].

- (1369) Elicitation 2007, PVM.
 Tamlo [ma na-us aka du ʋalu=na].
 man COMP 1SG-ask canoe good from=3SG.POSS
 ‘The man I asked the canoe from.’

14.3.2.5.3 Instrument. The resumptive pronoun *ai* is also used to cross-reference a relativized noun with the semantic role of instrument.

- (1370) ref 06005.011
 Vuae mo-ńna mo-pal uh inao [ma ne i-salsala ai].
 tree 3SG-come 3SG-like uh thing COMP uh 3SG.IR-float AI
 ‘The wood came like, uh, something that uh he will float in (it).’

- (1371) Elicitation 2006, PVM.
 Vuae le, vuae du [ma ra-adi ʋe aka du ai].
 tree DET tree good COMP 3PL-can make canoe good AI
 ‘This tree is the best tree to make a canoe from (it).’

Another strategy marks the instrument semantic role in the RC: the personal pronoun. The pronoun strategy is found when the instrument role is introduced by the preposition *tuan* ‘with’.

(1372) Elicitation 2006, ANL.

Tamlesea mo-taur kuruba [**ma** na-l-sar vape **tuan nna**].
 elder 3SG-hold crowbar COMP 1SG-IMPF-spear hole with 3SG
 ‘The old man holds the crowbar I dug the hole with (it).’

14.3.2.5.4 Time. When the relativized noun expresses time, such as *taro* or *sorsora* ‘time’ in the following examples, it is not cross-referenced inside the RC with a proform, but with a gap instead. This is the only case where an RC does not contain a resumptive pronoun.

(1373) ref 07079.043

Taro [**ma** sola-ira i-mo-mavo].
 time COMP sore-3PL.POSS 3SG.IR-COND-healed
 ‘The time when their sore would be dry.’

(1374) ref 07081.001

Ok me ka-var sur **taro** [**ma** na-’va na-vol Eileen].
 ok FUT 1SG.IR-speak about time COMP 1SG-go 1SG-buy Eileen
 ‘Ok, I will talk about the time when I went to buy Eileen.’

(1375) ref 07080.077

Sorsora-n [**ma** ki-tau ineike...]
 time-3SG.POSS COMP 1PL.EXCL-put thing.PL
 ‘The time when we put the things...’

Note that the NP complement of the PP expressing time can also be relativized, and not cross-referenced by a proform.

(1376) ref 06045.257

Na taro [ma pupu mo-l-í'aur], da-sopo-ontavse da-v...
LOC time COMP grandpa 3SG-IMPF-alive 1PL.EXCL-NEG-know 1PL.EXCL-say
'At the time when grandfather was alive, we didn't know that...'

These RCs can function as time adverbials (such as (1376) above). They provide a time frame for the main clause.

Time RCs can also lack a head noun, as shown below.

(1377) ref 06034.023

[Ma na-va Vila] ro, na-ve year 9, year 10, 11, 12.
COMP 1SG-go Port.Vila then 1SG-make year 9, year 10, 11, 12.
'When I was in Port Vila, then I passed years nine, ten, eleven, and twelve.'

These RCs are described in section 14.3.3 below.

14.3.2.5.5 Benefactive. No example of a relativized benefactive was found in the corpus. I elicited the following sentences. When the benefactive is relativized, it is co-referenced in the RC with a clitic pronoun on the benefactive preposition *lape*.

(1378) Elicitation 2006, PVM.

Ťa'vina [ma ra-l-ve ima sa-na lape=a].
woman COMP 3PL-IMPF-make house CLF-3SG.POSS BEN=3SG
'The woman that they are making her house for (her).'

(1379) Elicitation 2006, PVM.

Ťa'vina [ma John mo-sile pua lape=a] mo-sopo-lai.
woman COMP John 3SG-give knife BEN=3SG 3SG-NEG-marry
'The woman that John gave a knife to (her) is not married.'

It is interesting to compare example (1379) above, with the double object construction below.

- (1380) Elicitation 2006, PVM.
 V̌ařina [ma John mo-sile=a pua] mo-sopo-lai.
 woman COMP John 3SG-give=3SG knife 3SG-NEG-marry
 ‘The woman that John gave a knife to (her) is not married.’

The recipient is marked with an object clitic on the verb in (1380); while the benefactive is marked with a clitic on the preposition in the RC in (1379).

14.3.2.6 Relativization of a possessor. When the relativized noun phrase is the possessor of some entity in the RC, the possessed noun is marked with a possessive clitic, matching the relativized NP possessor in number and person, as shown below.

- (1381) ref 06045.028
 Mo-dom **tamlo maike** [ma pili-ra ra-ravutu].
 3SG-cut man few COMP hand-3PL 3PL-broken
 ‘He cut a few men whose hands were broken.’ (Lit: few men who their hands were broken)

- (1382) Elicitation 2006, PVM.
Tamlo [ma va-natu-na mo-l-ngara].
 man COMP FEM-child-3SG.POSS 3SG-IMPFF-cry
 ‘The man whose daughter is crying.’

When the possessive relation between the possessor and the possessed is marked by means of a classifier, the possessor can be relativized, as shown below. The classifier takes a suffix matching the possessor.

- (1383) ref 07082.015
 Ra-sil~sile ineike lap tamlo [ma laia no-na].
 3PL-RED~give everything for man COMP wedding CLF-3SG.POSS
 ‘They give everything to the man whose wedding (it is).’

There are no examples of a relativized possessee in the data, and I did not try to elicit any. These constructions are ungrammatical in English.

- (1384) * $\hat{h}at_i$ [that John’s_i is lost] . . .

14.3.2.7 Embedded RC. I present below an example of a relative clause embedded in another one.

(1385) ref. 06005.015

Mo-on vuae [**ma** supa le tamlo le [**ma** mo-one=**a**] mo-sora=i
 3SG-look tree COMP chief DET man DET COMP 3SG-look=3SG 3SG-send=TR
 suri=**a**].
 about=3SG

‘He_i saw the tree_j [that the chief_k, the man_k [who_k had seen (it_j)] had sent (him_i)
 for it_j].’

The resumptive clitics on the verb *one* ‘look’ in the first RC, and on the preposition *suri* ‘about’ in the second RC both refer to the relativized noun *vuae* ‘tree’. Note that in the above example, the verb *sorai* ‘send’ does not take a clitic object to indicate the patient. The verb *sorai* ‘send’ can take a full NP patient (as *John* in (1386)) but if the patient is not a full NP, only the transitive marker is used, shown in (1387).

(1386) Elicitation 2007, EVK.

Ra-sor(**a**) John ra-v i-si Amsaran.
 3PL-send John 3PL-say 3SG.IR.go.down Amsaran
 ‘They sent John to Amsaran.’

(1387) Ra-sora=**i** sur upu-ku.

3PL-send=TR about clothes-1SG.POSS
 ‘They sent him for my clothes.’

14.3.3 Missing head noun. In this section, I argue that apparently headless relative clauses contain an omitted head in 14.3.3.1. In section 14.3.3.2, I show that the omitted head noun can be construed as specific or non-specific. Finally, in section 14.3.3.3, I briefly present data on (apparently) headless clauses which are ambiguous between relatives and adverbial clauses.

14.3.3.1 Apparent headless relatives. In the following three examples, the head noun preceding the relative complementizer *ma* is missing.

(1388) ref 07085.099-111

I-mo-ev ro ale me ka-var sur [**ma** mo-sev], last one,
 3SG.IR-COND-finish then then FUT 1SG.IR-speak about COMP 3SG-hang, last one
 m̄arao-ku.

right-1SG

‘When it will be finished, then I will talk about (the one) that hangs, the last one,
 on my right.’

(1389) ref 06016.041

[**Ma** tae-na mo-ara] male nna, nna ne mo-avanao dam
 COMP excrement-3SG.POSS 3SG-red this 3SG 3SG FOC 3SG-steal yam
 pula-ku.

CLF-1SG.POSS

‘(The one) whose excrement is red, this (is) him, HE stole my yam.’

(1390) ref 06034.018

[**Ma** ko-mo-l-to pemel] me ko-sopo-on te manea.
 COMP 2SG-COND-IMPF-stay like.this FUT 2SG-NEG-see some money

‘(If you are the one) who stays like this, you won’t make money.’

I assume that the above relatives do not exemplify head internal relative clauses (where the head, a pronoun, is optionally omitted, as in (1339) above or (1391) below), on the basis that internally headed RCs are (only) found in head final languages (Cole 1987:282).

I also do not believe that these relatives lack a head noun. Consider example (1388) above. A pronominal complement of a preposition in Ma’vea must be overtly realized, such that **me kavar sur* ‘I will talk about’ is ungrammatical and cannot be used to mean ‘I will talk about him’. Therefore, it is unlikely that the head of the relative clause is missing after the preposition *sur* in (1388).

Next, in the following example, the relativized noun is missing and the subject pronoun *nno* ‘2SG’ appears inside the relative clause.

(1391) ref 06025.013
 [Ma nno ko-sopo-kev]!
 COMP 2SG 2SG-NEG-sing
 ‘(You are the one) who (you) cannot sing!’

The fact that the subject pronoun *nno* ‘2SG’ is construed as co-referential with the missing relativized noun (as opposed to being a dummy resumptive pronoun) suggests that the relative clause modifies a non-overt head noun. What appears to be a headless RC is actually headed by a pronoun, but the pronominal head can be non-overt (such as *pro*) (as well as the resumptive pronoun inside the RC). I will thus assume that these RCs have an empty pronominal head.

14.3.3.2 Specific and non-specific readings. The missing head noun of an apparently headless RC can be construed as specific (with the meaning *the one who...*) or as non-specific (e.g., *anyone who/whoever...*). This interpretation is context-dependent.

Example (1388) above is taken from a descriptive text. I presented my consultant with a picture containing several imaginary animals hanging on branches. The referent he is about to describe is known to the hearer, in that it can be seen by the hearer. The omitted head noun is thus specific.

In example (1391), the missing head noun refers to a personal pronoun, a specific referent (See François 2002:174 for a similar structure in Araki).

Example (1389) repeated below could be ambiguous between a specific and non-specific referent, when taken out of context.

(1392) ref 06016.041
 [Ma tae-na mo-ara] male nna, nna ne mo-avanao dam
 COMP excrement-3SG.POSS 3SG-red this 3SG 3SG FOC 3SG-steal yam
 pula-ku.
 CLF-1SG.POSS
 ‘The one whose excrement/anyone whose excrement is red, this (is) him, HE stole
 my yam.’

This example is taken from a story with two protagonists: the red yam owner and the red yam eater. The omitted head noun is thus understood as ‘the one of us’, and not ‘whoever’. It is specific in this context.

On the other hand in example (1390) repeated below, the omitted head noun is a non-specific person such as ‘you, one’.

- (1393) ref 06034.018
 [Ma ko-mo-l-to pemel] me ko-sopo-on te manea.
 COMP 2SG-COND-IMPF-stay like.this FUT 2SG-NEG-see some money
 ‘(If you are the one) who stays (lit: you stay) like this, you won’t make money.’

In this example, the narrator is expressing a general statement: if you don’t work, you don’t get money.

14.3.3.3 Time RCs. We have seen in section 14.3.2.5.4 that the head noun of RCs expressing time is *taro* or *sosora* ‘time’. These RCs can also lack an overt head noun.

- (1394) ref 06034.023
 [Ma na-va Vila] ro, na-ve year 9, year 10, 11, 12.
 COMP 1SG-go Port.Vila then 1SG-make year 9, year 10, 11, 12.
 ‘When I was in Port Vila, then I passed years nine, ten, eleven, and twelve.’

According to Thompson and Longacre (1985:179-181), time (as well as manner and place) adverbial clauses often share properties with relative clauses, and in some languages, time adverbials are RCs. This is true of Ma’vea. Time RCs are adverbials in function and time adverbials are RCs in form (see also section 14.4.1). It is possible to assume that what was once a headless time RC has undergone grammaticalization and that *ma* is used as a conjunction that introduces a time adverbial.

The main difference between an RC and an adverbial clause is that the head of an RC has a grammatical relation in both the matrix clause and the RC. This is not the case with adverbials.

Consider the following.

(1395) ref 07074.002-004

Tamlese Surae [**ma** mo-voro, **ma** mo-l-vaiesea], ro mo-voro talran.
old Surae COMP 3SG-born COMP 3SG-IMPF-small then 3SG-born day
'The old Surae, (the time) when he was born, when he was a child, then it was
during the day.'

Restrictive RCs cannot modify definite and specific expression such as proper nouns, but non-restrictive RCs can (Keenan 1985:169), as well as adverbials. Interpreting the above *ma*-clause as a non-restrictive RC sounds odd: 'The old Surae, who was born, who was a child, was born during the day.' On the other hand, interpreting this clause as a time adverbial is more acceptable: 'The old Surae, when he was born, it was during the day.'

Another example of potential ambiguity is found below. In examples (1396), (1397), and (1398), the RC follows the personal pronoun *nao* '1SG'.

(1396) ref 06018.015

Nao [**ma** na-on veas i rua].
1SG COMP 1SG-see wild.man LIG two
'I (am the one) who saw the two wild men.'

(1397) ref 07080.033-034

Nao [**ma** ki-tur or Eileen], pupu ra-r mama ra-r-va...
1SG COMP 1PL.EXCL-stand.up block Eileen grandpa 3PL-DL dad 3PL-DL-go
'Me, when we blocked Eileen, grandpa and dad went...'⁵⁵

(1398) ref 06034.007

Nao [**ma** na-pete-si na sukul], na-sukul Ma'veja.
1SG COMP 1SG-INCPT-go.down LOC school 1SG-school Ma'veja
'Me, (the time) when I started school, I went to school on Ma'veja.'

These constructions differ in function and structure: the structure in (1396) is a cleft construction, which focuses the person *nao* '1SG'. The whole sentence stands alone as a complete statement. The RC is used predicatively. In examples (1397) and (1398), on

⁵⁵ "Blocking" is a custom practiced before a wedding, similar to an engagement.

the other hand, the RCs function as a time adverbial clause. This adverbial clause cannot be used predicatively. It indicates the time frame for the event in the main clause (see Thompson and Longacre 1985:179-181).

14.3.4 Non-specific relative clauses. We saw above that the omitted head noun of an RC can have a non-specific reading. In Ma'ea, it is also possible to form non-specific relative clauses with the wh-phrase *sa* preceded by the focus marker *ne* (see section 14.6) serving as head noun. *Ne sa* is similar in meaning to English 'whatever'. An example follows.

(1399) ref 07086.001
 Ok me ka-var sur [ne sa ma mo-l-to na re nunua ro
 ok FUT 1SG.IR-speak about FOC what COMP 3SG-IMPF-stay LOC PL picture here
 na book vaisesea].
 LOC book small
 'Ok, I will talk about whatever (that) is on the pictures here, in the small book.'

Non-specific relative clauses follow the relativization strategies of regular relative clauses. If *ne sa* refers to the subject inside the RC, as in (1399) above, I assume that there is a phonologically null pronoun in subject position in the RC (see section 14.3.2.1). If *ne sa* refers to the direct object inside the RC, then a pronoun will co-reference *ne sa* inside the RC, as in (1400) below.

Non-specific relative clauses can also be adjoined to a main clause. For instance, in the example below, the non-specific RC is linked to the main clause in that it is co-referential with the object *nna* encoding the theme of *sile* 'give'.

(1400) ref 07079.050-052
 [Ne sa ma ra-tarao=a], mo-sile=ra nna.
 FOC what COMP 3PL-want=3SG 3SG-give=3PL 3SG
 'Whatever (that) they want (it), he gives it to them.'

Likewise in the following example, the verb *laila* 'take' is marked with the third person clitic to cross-reference the non-specific RC.

(1401) ref 07080.027-030

[**Ne sa ma** ko-doro **nna** mo-pal eǵe, te tanga, te inao vaisea]
FOC what COMP 2SG-possess 3SG 3SG-like mat some bag some thing small
ko-la=i=a.
2SG-take=TR=3SG

‘Whatever (that) you possess (it), like a mat, a small basket, a small thing, you take it.’

In the following examples, on the other hand, the non-specific relative clause does not have a co-referential element in the matrix clause.

(1402) ref 06015.191-193

[**Ne sa ma** ko-ǵei=a], kañam ki-v me mǵauri-na na
FOC what COMP 2SG-make=3SG 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-say FUT life-3SG.POSS only
i-l-to.
3SG.IR-IMPF-stay

‘Whatever (that) you do (it), we only want him alive.’ (Lit: we want his life only to remain.)

(1403) ref 07081.047

[**Ne sa ma** na-ǵei=a] na-la puse navari ǵalu-ira.
FOC what COMP 1SG-make=3SG 1SG-take away children from-3PL

‘Whatever (that) I do (it), I take the children away from them.’

There is, however, a semantic relation between the non-specific RC and the main clause: the main clause seems to indicate the purpose which motivates the action related in the non-specific RC. In (1402) for example, the parents ask the doctor to do anything that he can for the purpose of saving their child’s life. In (1403), the narrator explains a series of ceremonial actions he had to perform for the purpose of adopting his children.

14.3.5 Remaining issues. In this section, I present constructions that contain the complementizer *ma*. The clauses following *ma* are verbless. They can lack an overt head noun as in (1404) and (1405), or modify a noun phrase, be it a demonstrative pronoun in (1406), a personal pronoun in (1407), or a common noun, in (1408) to (1410).

- (1404) ref 07085.171-172
 ʻMarao mo-valavoa, [**ma** matua-na] mo-vaieseā.
 left 3SG-big COMP right-3SG.POSS 3SG-small
 ‘(The) left (one) is big, (the one) that (is on) his right is small.’
- (1405) ref 06033.042
 Ra-tol-sa aima na [**ma** nira].
 3PL-PCL-go.up home LOC COMP 3PL
 ‘They went up home to (the one) that (is) theirs.’
- (1406) ref 07085.007
 Na-var sur **maro** [**ma** ʻmatua-ku].
 1SG-speak about this.one COMP right-1SG.POSS
 ‘I talked about this one that (is on) my right.’
- (1407) ref 06028.023
 Ale **nira** [**ma** Tutuva] palai. Ale **nira** [**ma** Utalaʻe].
 then 3PL COMP Tutuba likewise then 3PL COMP Santo
 ‘Then those that (are from) Tutuba as well. Then those that (are from) Espiritu Santo.’
- (1408) ref 06045.165
 Ra-sopo-ontavse **langwis** [**ma** Maʻvea].
 3PL-NEG-know language COMP Maʻvea
 ‘They don’t know the language that (is of) Maʻvea.’
- (1409) ref 06034.021
 Ka-varvara na **saed** [**ma** nao].
 1SG.IR-speak LOC side COMP 1SG
 ‘I will talk about the side that (is) mine.’
- (1410) ref 06033.031
 Ro taʻma-rarua mo-v: ‘Navari [**ma** i rua] ra-sopo-r-ʻma.’
 then father-3PL.DL 3SG-say children COMP LIG two 3PL-NEG-DL-come
 ‘Then their father said: ‘The children that (are) two didn’t come back.’’

There is partial evidence that these constructions are RCs and contain a predicate nominal. In chapter 12, it is shown that nominal predicates can be formed with a proper noun (as in (1411)) or numerals (in (1412)).

(1411) ref 06034.005-006
 Kańam, řanua sa-ńam, ese-na **Mańea.**
 1PL.EXCL island CLF.LOC-1PL.EXCL name-3SG.POSS Mańea
 ‘We, our island, its name (is) Mańea.’

(1412) ref 07084.017-019
 Sail **i** **rua.**
 sail LIG two
 ‘(There are) two sails.’

It is thus possible that examples (1408) and (1410) are RCs containing predicate nominals. The status of these modifying clauses as RC remains to be firmly established.

14.3.6 Summary. Keenan and Comrie (1977:92) argue that pronoun-retention strategies are generally found in the lower positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy, and that once the resumptive pronoun strategy is used, all positions to the right should also use that strategy (see also Hawkins 1999:258). This does not seem to be the case in Mańea, as shown in table 14.90 below. Time obliques RCs do not use the pronoun strategy but rather a gap, despite the fact that most positions to the left and right use pronouns.⁵⁶

Keenan and Comrie (1977:88) claim that “the Accessibility Hierarchy directly reflects the psychological ease of comprehension.” Hawkins (1999:266) supports this claim by showing that higher positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy are easier to process. Hawkins also mentions (1999:256) that subject relatives, the easiest RCs to process, are more frequently found in textual corpora cross-linguistically.

⁵⁶As William O’Grady notes, it is possible that the clause introduced by *ma* after a noun referring to “time” is not an RC but a complement clause, similar to English ‘the fact that’.

Table 14.90: Relativization strategies

	S	O	Double Object		OC	IO/OBL				GEN
			theme	recip.		loc./inst.	Ben.	time	source	
Gap	(√)	(√)	√					√		
Indep. Pro.	√	√	√							
Obj. clitic		√		√	√		√			
Pro. <i>ai</i>						√			√	
Poss. clitic									√	√

As shown in table 14.91 (established from a subset of the corpus), almost half of the RCs in Ma'eva are subject relatives (as exemplified in (1413)).

(1413) 06025.014

Kaŋarua ki-r-ŋa ki-r-aso tamlo [ma mo-l-kev].
 1PL.EXCL.DL 1PL.EXCL-DL-go 1PL.EXCL-DL-search man COMP 3SG-IMPV-whistle
 ‘We two are going to search for the person who is singing.’

Table 14.91: Frequency of RCs

Relativized position	Occurrence	Grammatical relation of the head noun in the matrix clause	
S	46	22	O
		13	S
		10	OBL
		1	GEN
O	30	14	O
		10	S
		5	OBL
		1	GEN
OBL	19	5	O
		1	S
		13	OBL
GEN	1	1	OBL
Total	96		

14.4 Adverbials.

Time, manner, and location adverbial clauses have in common that they can be substituted by a single adverb. They also may share the same surface forms as relative clauses, with a generic, semantically empty head noun such as *the time when*, *the place where*, or *the way that* (see Thompson and Longacre 1985:179, 183-4 and Thompson et al. 2007:243).

In Mañea, time, manner, and location adverbials have the structural characteristics of relative clauses (described in section 14.3): (i) they require the complementizer *ma*, (ii) they may lack a head noun, or (iii) they can modify a head noun. The main formal difference between the adverbial and relative clauses is that the subordinating relation between the adverbial and the main clause is inferred from the context (Thompson and Longacre 1985:179), whereas a relativized noun phrase entertains a grammatical relation with the matrix verb. There are cases, however, where the head noun of the adverbial bears a grammatical relation to the matrix verb, suggesting that sometimes, time, manner and

location adverbials in Ma'ŕea are not necessarily clauses, but NPs or PPs.

In this section, I describe time, manner, and location adverbial clauses and phrases in sections 14.4.1 to 14.4.3, followed by reason and purpose clauses in section 14.4.4.

14.4.1 Time adverbials. Time adverbials are formed with the head noun *taro* ‘time’ followed by the complementizer *ma*. In (1414), the adverbial is a prepositional phrase introduced by *na*. The relative clause modifies the noun *taro* ‘time’. In (1415), the time adverbial is headed by the head noun *taro* ‘time’, and in (1416) the head noun is the object of the transitive verb *tikel* ‘reach’.

(1414) ref 06043.001

Amma **na taro ma** űatiu mo-ere.
before LOC time COMP coconut 3SG-not.have
‘Before, at the time when there was no coconut.’

(1415) ref 07079.011

Taro-n ma ra-v ra-ŕa na sirkumsaez ...
time-CONS COMP 3PL-say 3PL-go LOC circumcise
‘The time when they go to circumcision...’

(1416) ref 07080.023

Me i-sopo-suruvu i-tikel **taro ma** ra-mo-voli=a.
FUT 3SG.IR-NEG-sleep 3SG.IR-reach time COMP 3PL-COND-buy=3SG
‘He won’t sleep until the time when they will buy her.’

There are two examples in the corpus where the head noun is *sorsora* ‘time’. Both examples appear in the same story. I am not aware of any semantic difference between *sorsora* and *taro*, except maybe that *sorsora* does not seem to be preceded by the locative *na*.

(1417) ref 07080.055

sorsora-n **ma** ki-ŕa ...
time-CONS COMP 1PL.EXCL-go
‘the time when we go...’

About half the examples in the corpus show that the head noun *taro* ‘time’ may take the construct suffix *-n*. In the other half, *taro* appears in its bare form (as in (1414) above).

(1418) ref 07065.065-066

Taro-n ma mo-l-’va ’varea, mo-pos...
time-CONS COMP 3SG-IMPF-go outside 3SG-turn
‘(The time) while he was going outside, he turned...’

I was unable to notice any difference in meaning between *taro* and *taron*, but the presence of the construct suffix suggests that the relative clause has the status of a nominal (despite the fact that there are no nominalization markers in the subordinate clause), similar to the following construction.

(1419) ref 07077.009-010

Na taro ro, **taro-n** ngadirane.
LOC time here time-CONS cold
‘At this time, (it is) the time of cold (weather).’

Time adverbial clauses in Ma’vea can also lack a head noun as shown in (1420) below.

(1420) ref 06015.224

Na-sopo-to [**ma** i-’parav] na hospital.
1SG-NEG-stay COMP 3SG.IR-long LOC hospital
‘I didn’t stay long in the hospital.’

14.4.1.1 Time adverbials: Functions. Time adverbials indicate a reference point in time (as in example (1421)), or a duration, as in (1422).

(1421) ref 06043.001

Amma **na taro ma** *ńmatiu mo-ere*.
before LOC time COMP coconut 3SG-not.have
'Before, at the time when there was no coconut.'

(1422) ref 06015.224

Na-sopo-to **ma i-ńarav** na hospital.
1SG-NEG-stay COMP 3SG.IR-long LOC hospital
'I didn't stay long in the hospital.'

The presence of the irrealis mood in this sentence is counterfactual, indicating that the time spent in hospital was shorter than expected. Mood marking in subordinate clauses is detailed in section 14.2.

Note that duration can also be expressed by means of an ambient serial verb construction.

(1423) ref 06043.081

Ra-r-vara=i=a *mo-ńarav*.
3PL-DL-talk=TR=3SG 3SG-long
'They talked about it for a long time (Lit: they talk about it, it is long).'

14.4.1.1.1 Equivalent to 'until'. In the following examples, the transitive verb *tikelia* 'reach' is followed by a headless temporal adverbial clause (in (1424) and (1425)) and a relative clause with head noun *taro* 'time' with a temporal adverbial function in (1426). This combination has the meaning 'until'.

(1424) ref 07076a.022-023

Ko-l-arvulesi pelmel, **i-tikel ma** *i-ńa i-oele*.
2SG-IMPF-stir like.this 3SG.IR-reach COMP 3SG.IR-come 3SG.IR-oil
'You are stirring like this until it will become oil.'

(1425) ref 07078.034

Mo-sev v̄aite mo-**tikel ma** napar.
3SG-hang once 3SG-reach COMP today
'It hung for good, until today.'

(1426) ref 06015.239

Ko-l-to pemel i-v̄a i-**tikel** **taro ma** me ki-on
2SG-IMPF-stay like.this 3SG.IR-go 3SG.IR-reach time COMP FUT 1PL.EXCL-look
i-mo-du.
3SG.IR-COND-good
'You stay like this for a while until the time when we see it's good.'

The adverbial following *tikelia* 'reach' is in irrealis mood, given that the event related in the adverbial has not yet happened by the time of the event of the main clause (a case similar to English 'before' clauses, as shown in Thompson et al. 2007:247).

14.4.1.1.2 Simultaneity. Adverbials may indicate that the event referred to in the main clause and the events reported in the adverbial are overlapping, expressed in English with 'while'. The main condition for the simultaneous reading in Ma'vea is the presence of the imperfective in the adverbial clause, a strategy that is typologically common (see Thompson et al. 2007:254).

(1427) ref 07065.059

Taro-n ma varava tanuma mo-l-to pemel ro nna mo-taravun
time-CONS COMP pig devil 3SG-IMPF-stay like.this then 3SG 3SG-rise
sa...
go.up
'While the demon pig was staying like that, then he stood up...'

Compare the above examples with (1428) below where simultaneity is not implied, because the adverbial does not contain the imperfective marker.

(1428) ref 07079.011-012

Taron ma ra-v ra-řa na sirkumsaez, tina-ira mo-lař=ira. . .
time-CONS COMP 3PL-say 3PL-go LOC circumcise mother-3PL 3SG-take=3PL
'When they go to circumcision, their mother takes them. . .'

The following example shows that the 'while' reading can be construed without the presence of the head noun *taro* 'time'.

(1429) ref 06034.014

Ma na-l-to ANTV, **ma** na-řa sukul ANTV, na-řa na-la kus
COMP 1SG-IMPf-stay ANTV COMP 1SG-go school ANTV 1SG-go 1SG-take course
in turism.
in tourism
'While I was at ANTV, when I went to school at ANTV, I took a class in tourism.'

14.4.2 Manner and means adverbials. Manner adverbials modify the verb phrase they follow (as opposed to the entire sentence). They describe in what manner an event is experienced, or in what way or with which means an action is performed.

There are few instances of manner adverbials in the corpus. They can be introduced by *ma*, as in (1430) and (1431), or they can be expressed by a serial verb construction (thus without a complementizer) as in (1432) and (1433).

(1430) ref 06015.088

Mo-sopo-kil~kil řa **ma** i-du.
3SG-NEG-RED~look go COMP 3SG.IR-good
'It doesn't see well.'

(1431) ref 06019.007

Mo-sopo-rongo **ma** i-du.
3SG-NEG-feel COMP 3SG.IR-good
'She doesn't feel well.'

(1432) ref 07054a.007
 Ko-ŕe **i-rro**, mo-pong.
 2SG-make 3SG.IR-fast 3SG-night
 ‘Make it quickly, it is dark.’

(1433) ref 06029.029
 Mo-rongo **mo-du**.
 3SG-feel 3SG-good
 ‘She feels good/well.’

Manner adverbial can also be introduced with *pal ma* ‘like, as’.

(1434) ref 06029.021
 Ro, mo-ŕe **mo-pal ma** tupu-na mo-vara=i=a.
 then 3SG-make 3SG-like COMP grand.parent-3SG.POSS 3SG-tell=TR=3SG
 ‘He did as his grandparent had told him.’

(1435) ref 07076b.004
 Ko-osoń popo **i-pal ma** ko-osoń íñatiu patu.
 2SG-husk coconut 3SG.IR-like COMP 2SG-husk coconut head
 ‘You husk germinated coconuts like you husk mature coconuts.’

14.4.3 Location adverbials. Location adverbials modify verb phrases. Their function is to add a spatial location. They are expressed by means of a prepositional phrase with head *na*, followed by the generic noun *sara* ‘place’, and a relative clause as in (1436) and (1437) below. The relativized head noun *sara* ‘place’ is cross-referenced in the relative with the proform *ai* (see section 14.3).

(1436) ref 07084.026-027
 Mo-tur na palo-n tasi, **na sara ma** duvu mo-ulua **ai**.
 3SG-stand.up LOC leg-CONS sea LOC place COMP grass 3SG-grow AI
 ‘He stays at the foot of the sea, at the place where the grass grows (on it).’

(1437) ref 06015.166

Ra-hariap ra-ʔa **na sara ma** ra-l-tau dae **ai**.
3PL-hurry.up 3PL-go LOC place COMP 3PL-IMPF-put blood AI
'They hurried to the place where they are keeping blood (there).'

The relative inside the PP can also lack a head noun. In this case, there is no proform *ai* inside the relative, as shown below.

(1438) ref 07068.133

Ki-r-aut atisi **na ma** Ajen.
1PL.EXCL-DL-out over.there LOC COMP Ajen
'We came out over there at (the place that is) Atchin.'

(1439) ref 06045.162

ʔatan nir me ra-vol=i=a ra-mo-laʔi ra-mo-si **na ma**
for 3PL FUT 3PL-buy=TR=3SG 3PL-COND-take 3PL-COND-go.down LOC COMP
nira...
3PL
'So that they will buy her, they would take (her) down to (the place) that (is) theirs...'

14.4.4 Reason and purpose clauses. We saw in chapter 13 that *ʔatan* 'why' is an interrogative pronoun. An example is repeated below.

(1440) ref 06020.032

Ko-l-tang **ʔatan?**
2SG-IMPF-cry because
'Why are you crying?'

In Maʔea, *ʔatan* also functions as a complementizer to introduce purpose and reason adverbial clauses. Reasons are expressed with the realis mood after the complementizer *ʔatan*, whereas purpose clauses are expressed with the irrealis mood. This mood distinction is typologically quite common, according to Thompson and Longacre (1985:185).

14.4.4.1 Reason. The morpheme *ńatan* expressing a reason adverbial may be followed by a noun phrase as in (1441), or a verb phrase, in (1442) and (1443).

(1441) ref 06003.037

Ra-r-lo-ngas **ńatan sun.**
 3PL-DL-IMPF-argue because hat
 ‘They two are arguing because of the hat.’

(1442) ref 06020.049

Na-l-ńanate=i=o **ńatan ko-pilo.**
 1SG-IMPF-mock=TR=2SG because 2SG-bald
 ‘I’m laughing at you because you are bald.’

(1443) ref 06021.023

Mo-rongo mo-du ro mo-du **ńatan mo-kolai mala.**
 3SG-feel 3SG-good then 3SG-good because 3SG-lie hawk
 ‘He felt very good because he lied to the hawk.’

14.4.4.2 Purpose. There are three ways to express a purpose clause: with the complementizer *ńatan*, with the allative preposition *suri*, and with the complementizer *ma*.

14.4.4.2.1 *ńatan*. The morpheme *ńatan* introduces a purpose clause when it is followed by the irrealis mood.

(1444) ref 06030.014

Mo-v pua i-si atano, **ńatan i-an** varua.
 3SG-say bamboo 3SG.IR-go.down ground PURP 3SG.IR-eat bird
 ‘He wanted the bamboo to bend down so he could eat the cardinal bird.’

(1445) ref 06021.024

Mo-tete ro mo-l-alal per~pere-n vuae ma ra-masanga, **ńatan**
 3SG-fly then 3SG-IMPf-search RED~branch-CONS tree COMP 3PL-forked PURP
 me ro i-sakele ai.
 FUT then 3SG.IR-sit AI
 ‘He flew and was searching for branches that were forked, so he could sit on them.’

(1446) ref 07041b.009

Ka-ṽe loko nna **ṁatan** me **ka**-laṽi ka-si na fundraising
1SG.IR-make laplap 3SG PURP FUT 1SG.IR-take 1SG.IR-go.down LOC fundraising
no-n sukul.
CLF-CONS school

‘I will make a laplap with it in order to take it to the school’s fundraising.’

14.4.4.2.2 *Sur(i)*. Thompson et al. (2007:251) note that some languages may use the allative marking to encode purpose clauses. In Maṽea, the allative preposition *sur(i)* (see chapter 8) is also used to fulfill this role.

(1447) ref 06005.010

Ko-ṁa **sur** ko-ṁe-l-sile=a lap ṽaṽina le ma mo-sao.
2SG-come PURP 2SG-IT-IMPF-give=3SG DAT female DET COMP 3SG-sick

‘You come in order to give it to the woman who is sick.’

(1448) ref 06007.017-018

I-tau-ra latia, **sur** ra-sopo-dong~dongai.
3SG.IR-put-3PL tight PURP 3PL-NEG-RED~move

‘He would put them tight so that they would not move.’

(1449) ref 06045.152

Me ko-sa ro ko-laṽ=i=a ko-ṁa ro i-on kaṁamro
FUT 2SG-go.up then 2SG-take=TR=3SG 2SG-come then 3SG.IR-see 1PL.EXCL
sur ma i-ontavse kaṁam.
PURP COMP 3SG.IR-know 1PL.EXCL

‘You will come up, and come with her then she sees us, so that she knows us.’

This last example also shows that the complementizer *ma* optionally follows the *sur(i)*, and that the adverbial clause is marked with irrealis. Below, we will see that *ma* optionally follows *ṁatan*.

14.4.4.2.3 *Ma*. We saw in the previous sections that *ma* is a complementizer that heads a variety of subordinate clauses such as complement clauses and relative clauses. When *ma* follows an intransitive verb of motion, the clause introduced by *ma* is also a

purpose clause, similar to English ‘so that’, marked with irrealis mood. Note also that negation is always present in the matrix clause.

(1450) ref 07032.024

Ra-sopo-si **ma** ra-avtai alao na tasi.
 3PL-NEG-go.down COMP 3PL-appear sea.shore LOC sea
 ‘They didn’t go down so that they come out at the sea shore.’

(1451) ref 06015.068

Na-sopo-sa **ma ka**-tikel aulu.
 1SG-NEG-go.up COMP 1SG.IR-reach above
 ‘I did not go up so that I would reach above.’

(1452) ref 06045.137

Ratua ro na-sopo-’va **ma ka**-avtai ai.
 Ratua here 1SG-NEG-go COMP 1SG.IR-appear AI
 ‘Ratua, I’ve never been there.’ (Lit: I didn’t go so that I appeared there.)

14.4.4.2.4 *Āmatan ma.* The sequence *āmatan ma* was found in the corpus to introduce purpose (in (1453)) and reason ((1454) and (1455)) clauses. It seems that *ma* adds a relative clause where the omitted head noun can be construed as ‘the purpose’ in purpose clauses, and ‘the fact’ in reason clauses.

(1453) ref 07068.111

Na-valao na-si **āmatan ma ka**-avtai na sala lavoā alao.
 1SG-run 1SG-go.down PURP COMP 1SG.IR-appear LOC road big sea.shore
 ‘I ran down for (the purpose of) coming out on the big road by the sea.’

(1454) ref 07082.074

Tankiu lap ’valu-ira **āmatan ma** ra-kuro sasa no-ira.
 thanks DAT to-3PL because COMP 3PL-leave work CLF-3PL
 ‘Thank you to them because (of the fact) that they left their work.’

(1455) ref 07082.078

Mo-rong mo-du **ńatan ma** re famli nirev ra-ńa ra-l-to.
3SG-feel 3SG-good because COMP PL family everyone 3PL-come 3PL-IMPF-stay
'He feels good because (of the fact) that the whole family came and stayed.'

Note that these constructions are ambiguous with temporal adverbials. In the following example, *ma* introduces a temporal clause.

(1456) ref 07081.037

ńatan [**ma** Eileen mo-l-vaiesea] mo-susu ńalu-na.
because COMP Eileen 3SG-IMPF-small 3SG-breast from-3SG.POSS
'Because when Eileen was a child, she breast-fed from her.'

The context often helps determine which of a purpose or a temporal reading is intended. However, as the following examples show, it is sometimes the case that both interpretations are possible.

(1457) 06017.005

Mo-sua mo-ńa **ńatan ma** me i-ńa ro, i-lań vua-n
3SG-paddle 3SG-go for COMP FUT 3SG.IR-go then 3SG.IR-take fruit-CONS
vuae.
tree
'He paddles for a while, for the purpose that he will go and take the tree's fruits.'
Or 'He paddles for a while, so that when he will go, then he will take the tree's fruits.'

(1458) ref 07079.037

Ki-r-var tankiu lape=a **ńatan ma** mo-ontai re navari.
1PL.EXCL-DL-speak thanks DAT=3SG because COMP 3SG-look.after PL children
'We say thank you to him because of the fact that he looked after the children.' Or
'We say thank you to him because of the time when he looked after the children.'

Thompson et al. (2007:247) note that languages may encode time and cause with the same morpheme, because "two events [...] adjacent in time are often inferred to be

causally related.’ This seems to be the case in Ma’ea. More research is needed, however, to determine if in other languages, the expression of time and purpose can also be encoded with the same morpheme.

14.5 Conditional clauses.

According to Thompson and Longacre (1985:191), conditionals can be divided into two main classes: Real and Unreal conditionals. These two classes are themselves subdivided as follows:

Real

Habitual / generic

Past

Unreal

Predictive

Imaginative

Hypothetical

Counterfactual

Five types of conditionals were identified in the data: present, habitual/generic, hypothetical, counterfactual, and predictive. Conditionals have in common that they make use of the conditional morpheme *mo* in the “if” clause, except for counterfactuals, expressed with the morpheme *imte*, and rarely with the conditional morpheme *mo*. The differences between all conditionals are found in the ‘then’ clause.

Each conditional is briefly described here. The last section demonstrates how conditional and time clauses overlap in form and meaning.

14.5.1 Real conditionals. Real conditionals (present and habitual/generic) share the same construction. Only the context helps to determine the interpretation.

14.5.1.1 Present. Real present conditionals are formed with the *mo* affixed to the verb in the “if” clause. The “then” clause, on the other hand, is unmarked for tense, that is, it

is [-future].

(1459) ref 07026.002-003

Da-rong da-**mo**-*ŕ*ve loko, da-*ŕ*va na lolo
1PL.INCL-feel 1PL.INCL-COND-make laplap 1PL.INCL-go LOC inside
da-alal inanan.
1PL.INCL-IMPF-search food

‘If we feel like making laplap, we go inside (~to the garden), we search for food.’

(1460) ref 06043.083-085

Ko-**mo**-pue ravti patu-ku, ko-la=i ko-*ŕ*va na ono mo-evu.
2SG-COND-chop break head-1SG.POSS 2SG-take=TR 2SG-go LOC sand 3SG-finish
‘If you cut my head, take it to where the sand ends.’

(1461) ref 07054.003-004

Ko-**mo**-sopo-*ŕ*ve te inao, ko-*ŕ*va ko-vle~vle *ŕ*matiu-n loko.
2SG-COND-NEG-make some thing 2SG-go 2SG-RED~pick.up coconut-CONS laplap
‘If you aren’t doing anything, go pick up coconuts for the laplap.’

14.5.1.2 Habitual/generic. Habitual/generic conditionals have the same structure as present conditional, but the main difference from present conditionals is that they contain a generic ‘you’ (instead of a specific ‘you’ as in (1460) above).

In the following examples, the narrators include a generic ‘you’ in the stories, to exemplify their points.

(1462) ref 07082.117-120

Nno ko-**mo**-*ŕ*na tuan natu-m i-mo i-*ŕ*visa, i-**mo**
2SG 2SG-COND-come with child-2SG.POSS 3SG.IR-COND how.much 3SG.IR-COND
i tol, i *ŕ*vati ko-la-*ŕ*=i no-ira nirev.
LIG three LIG four 2SG-take=TR CLF-3PL everyone

‘You, if you come with your child, whatever number, be there three or four, you take (it) for them all.’

(1463) ref 06034.017

Ma **ko-mo**-l-to pemel me ko-sopo-on te manea.
COMP 2SG-COND-IMPF-stay like.this FUT 2SG-NEG-look some money
‘When you would be staying like this, you won’t make money.’

14.5.2 Unreal conditionals. As mentioned in the introduction, unreal conditionals are divided into two groups: predictive and imaginative. In turn, imaginatives are subdivided into hypothetical and counterfactual. Each type of unreal conditionals is found in Ma'ŕea, as shown in the following subsections.

14.5.2.1 Predictive. Predictive conditional clauses all share the following properties: the “if” clause contains *mo*, and the “then” clause contains the future marker *me (ro)*, which licenses the irrealis subject marking on the verb. Two examples follow.

(1464) ref 06033.008
 Ki-**mo**-r-la^v=i=a, **me** mata **i**-an kamrua.
 2PL-COND-DL-take=TR=3SG FUT snake 3SG.IR-eat 2PL.DL
 ‘If you take it, the snake will eat you both.’

(1465) ref 07082.058-060
 Ra-v ra-**mo**-is pire aima na ma nira, ro **me ro** ra-taravun
 3PL-say 3PL-COND-pinch plant home LOC COMP 3PL then FUT then 3PL-rise
 tarlavua, ra-^ve inanan ...
 morning 3PL-make food
 ‘If they say they will organize the *pire* ceremony at their house, then they will wake up early, they will cook...’

14.5.2.2 Imaginative conditionals.

14.5.2.2.1 Hypothetical. To form a hypothetical conditional, the conditional morpheme *mo* needs to appear in both the “if” clause and the “then” clause.

(1466) ref 06027.010
 Ka-**mo**-taur=i=a, i-**mo**-l-la vete.
 1SG.IR-COND-hold=TR=3SG 3SG.IR-COND-IMPF-take song
 ‘If I held him, he should sing.’

(1467) ref 06010.009
 Ko-**mo**-an nna ro me ko-**mo**-rongo i-du.
 2SG-COND-eat 3SG then FUT 2SG-COND-feel 3SG.IR-good
 ‘If you ate it, you would feel well.’

14.5.2.2.2 Counterfactual. The morpheme *imte/inte* indicates a counterfactual event. It occurs as a predicate, taking subject agreement marking, as in (1468), or it may occur in its bare form sentence initially (as in (1469) to (1471)).

(1468) ref 07041b.012
Ko-*imte* var ko-story...
 2SG-wish tell 2SG-story
 ‘If you were to tell a story...’

(1469) ref 06032.029
Inte ko-l-var momos=i=a mo-evu.
 wish 2SG-IMPf-tell good=TR=3SG 3SG-finish
 ‘If only you had told it to me properly.’

(1470) ref 06045.259
Inte pupu da-v da-us pupu i-ul momos sara.
 wish grandpa 1PL.INCL-say 1PL.INCL-ask grandpa 3SG.IR-narrate good place
 ‘If only grandpa, we had asked grandpa to narrate the history of the place well.’

(1471) ref 06045.260
Inte i-l-ńaur.
 wish 3SG.IR-IMPf-alive
 ‘If only he were alive.’

As the above examples show, the morpheme /imte/ is sometimes produced as [inte]. This morpheme seems to be falling into disuse. The youngest consultant I interacted with believed that *imte* and *mo* could be used interchangeably; while the eldest consultant made it clear that that was not the case. Consider the following pair:

(1472) Elicitation, 2006, EVK (Older consultant).
Inte nao lańana, me **ka-in** ai.
 wish 1SG male FUT 1SG.IR-drink kava
 ‘If (only) I were a man, I could drink kava.’

- (1473) Elicitation, 2006, PVM (Younger consultant).
 I-**mo** nao laiñana, me **ka**-in ai.
 3SG.IR-COND 1SG male FUT 1SG.IR-drink kava
 ‘If I were a man, I could drink kava.’

For the older consultant *imte* (and not *mo*) is used when one wishes something to happen, or when something was unreal, that is, with counterfactuals. For the younger consultant the presence of *mo* in the “if” clause and the future marker in the ‘then’ clause was enough to indicate a counterfactual. As we see in chapter 9, however, the construction in (1473) is a predictive conditional.

14.5.3 Conditional and time clauses. In languages such as Indonesian, there is no formal distinction between predictive conditionals and time adverbial clauses (Thompson et al. 2007:257). In Ma’ea, a conditional may be interpreted as a time adverbial clause if the “if” clause (that is, the “when” clause) is marked with future tense and contains the conditional morpheme *-mo* (whereas in predictives, the future is marked in the “then” clause and the conditional *-mo* appears in the “if” clause). Conditionals and time clauses differ in the degree of certainty involved. Conditionals indicate a lack of certainty which time clauses do not share.

- (1474) ref 06007.100-103
 Ka-soro tavua **me** tamlo ra-**mo**-rongo=a, ra-ña.
 1SG.IR-blow conch FUT man 3PL-COND-hear=3SG 3PL-come
 ‘I will blow the conch, when people will hear it, they will come.’

- (1475) ref 06020.016
Me ro ka-**mo**-on te sala aite ro, ale, ka-v ka-atau.
 FUT then 1SG.IR-COND-look some road one then then 1SG.IR-say 1SG.IR-behind
 ‘When I will find a way, then I will come after.’

There is so far one counter example to this generalization. In the following example, the future marker and the conditional are in the “if” clause, but the meaning of the sentence is predictive, it is not a time clause.

(1476) ref 07065.027-028

Mo-v i-mas taur=i=a m'atan **me** i-**mo**-kuro=a ro,
 3SG-say 3SG.IR-must hold=TR=3SG for FUT 3SG.IR-COND-leave=3SG then
 tanuma i-an nna.
 devil 3SG.IR-eat 3SG

'He said he must hold it because if he leaves it, then the devil will eat him.'

Thompson et al. (2007:257) argue that only predictive conditionals and future time clauses may lack a formal distinction in Indonesian. There are, however, examples in the Ma'ëa corpus where a present conditional functions as a time clause, as (1477) below. More research is required to determine if in other languages too, present conditionals can serve as time clauses.

(1477) ref 07026.017-018

Apu-na i-**mo**-an i-**mo**-si atano ro, ko-va
 fire-3SG.POSS 3SG.IR COND-burn 3SG.IR-COND-go.down ground then 2SG-go
 ko-kalat apu-na.
 2SG-tongs fire-3SG.POSS

'When/if its (the food's) fire goes down, then you remove the stone from its fire with tongs.'

The general findings are summarized in the following table.

Table 14.92: Conditionals

	If clause	When clause
Present	conditional - <i>mo</i>	[-future]
Habitual	conditional - <i>mo</i>	[-future]
Predictive	conditional - <i>mo</i>	[+future]
Hypothetical	conditional - <i>mo</i>	conditional - <i>mo</i>
Counterfactual	<i>imte</i>	
Time clause	[+future] and conditional - <i>mo</i>	

14.6 Topicalization and contrastive focus

Topicalization and focus constructions are devices used to foreground an element in the sentence by placing it in a prominent position at the left of the clause.

In Ma'ẽa, subjects, direct objects, and objects of prepositions can be topicalized. They must be cross-referenced by a pronoun or a clitic (thereby resembling left-dislocation construction in a language like English (see Andrews 1985:85, Foley 2007:443 and Gundel 1988:223-224)). Focus is marked by the morpheme *ne* post-posed to the focused element. This focus marker is also used with some wh-questions and cleft constructions.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 14.6.1 presents topicalization, section 14.6.2 focus, and section 14.6.3 pseudo-clefts.

14.6.1 Topicalization. Direct objects and objects of prepositions can be fronted. When an argument is dislocated, it is co-referenced by a pronoun or a clitic, matching in person and number features. In the following example, the object of a verb is dislocated and replaced by a pronoun in the main clause. Note that the Ma'ẽa examples do not always contain a comma to separate the dislocated element from the main clause, as there is not always phonological evidence that the fronted element is separated from the rest of the utterance.

(1478) ref 07064.034
ǂisio-n maro mo-an **nna**.
meat-3SG.POSS this.one 3SG-eat 3SG
'His flesh, this one ate it.'

(1479) ref 06045.164
Malere da-sopo-varvara **nira**.
these 1PL.INCL-NEG-talk 3PL
'These ones, we don't talk to them.'

In the following examples, the object of a serial construction is fronted and co-referenced by the clitic object =*a*.

(1480) ref 06007.057
Ťaťina le na-leng on rongo=**a**.
 female DET 1SG-can't look feel=3SG
 'This woman, I have never seen her.'

(1481) ref 06015.218
 Na-pete-ontavse=i=a ka-v: '**Palo-ku** doctor mo-dom
 1SG-INCPT-know=TR=3SG 1SG.IR-say leg-1SG.POSS doctor 3SG-cut
 ravt=i=**a**.'
 break=TR=3SG
 'I just realized it: 'My leg, the doctor cut it.'

Oblique objects can also be dislocated. In that case, the resumptive pronoun in the main predication is *ai*, a pronoun also found in relative clauses (see section 14.3).

(1482) ref 07046.047-048
Kaŋatol aka, wae mo-si **ai**.
 1PL.PCL canoe water 3SG-go.down AI
 'We, the canoe, water went inside it.'

Below, we can see that topicalization may also apply in embedded clauses.

(1483) ref 06037.067
 Mo-on ma **varua pula-na** tanuma mo-lsu=**a**.
 3SG-look COMP cardinal CLF-3SG.POSS devil 3SG-hit=3SG
 'He saw that his cardinal bird, the devil killed it.'

The following two sentences contain an NP and a pronoun, both referring to the subject. These sentences can receive two different interpretations: (i) the subject NP is fronted, and cross-referenced with a pronoun (similar to subject relative clauses (see (1339))), or (ii) the pronoun is used for emphasis. I will not take a stance here.

(1484) ref 06020.027
 Ťatan mo-sopo vomae, **vomae nna** mo-tete mo-ťa.
 because 3SG-NEG dove dove 3SG 3SG-fly 3SG-go
 'Because it is not Dove, Dove, she flew away.'

(1485) ref 07080.082-083

Mo-pal tamlo ra-ontavse ra-v **Eileen nna**, mo-pal *ń*marau-ku.
3SG-like man 3PL-know 3PL-say Eileen 3SG 3SG-like wife-1SG.POSS
'It's like people know that Eileen, she is like my wife.'

14.6.2 Focus. According to Kiss (1998) there are two kinds of focus: identificational and presentational. The main pragmatic function of a presentational focus is to introduce a new referent in the discourse that is unknown to the hearer (see also Andrews 1985:79). Identificational focus on the other hand expresses exhaustive identification (Kiss 1998:248) and may also express contrastiveness (Kiss 1998:267).

Kiss (1998:250, 260) also notes that presentational focus in English does not have a structurally determined position. It can remain in situ and is assigned pitch accent, while identificational focus is realized syntactically (by means of a cleft construction) or phonologically (with stress).

In this section, I concentrate solely on identificational focus, to which I will refer as focus. In Ma'vea, focus is expressed morphologically, by means of the focus particle *ne* postposed to the element in focus. In the following examples, the subject is focused.

(1486) ref 06016.041

Ma tae-na mo-ara mal nna, **nna ne** mo-a'vanao dam
COMP excrement-3SG.POSS 3SG-red that.one 3SG 3SG FOC 3SG-steal yam
pula-ku.
CLF-1SG.POSS
'(The one) whose excrement is red, that one, he, **HE** stole my yam.'

(1487) ref 06025.023

Ro mo-v: 'Io, **nao ne** na-l-kev.'
then 3SG-say yes 1SG FOC 1SG-IMPF-sing
'Then he said: 'Yes, **I** am singing.'

(1488) ref 06016.055

Na-vara=i na-v **nno ne** ko-aʋanao dam pula-ku
1SG-tell=TR 1SG-say 2SG FOC 2SG-steal yam CLF-2SG.POSS
'I said that **YOU** stole my yam.'

There are no examples in the data where an object is focused. However, as we shall see in the following section, wh-words in object positions can be focused with *ne*.

14.6.2.1 Focus particle and wh-words. The fact that the morpheme *ne* is a focus marker is evidenced by the fact that it occurs to the right of a wh-word, when the wh-word is fronted.⁵⁷ In the following pair, the wh-word *ṁatan sa* 'for what reason' is in situ in (1489), and fronted and focused with *ne* in (1490).

(1489) Elicitation, 2006, PVM

Ko-lsu viriu **ṁatan sa?**
2SG-kill dog why what
'For what reason did you hit the dog?'

(1490) Elicitation, 2006, PVM

ṁatan sa ne ko-lsu viriu?
why what FOC 2SG-kill dog
'For what reason did you hit the dog?'

However, with the wh-word *sa* 'what', the focus marker occurs to the left of the wh-word. In the following example, the wh-phrase *sa* is a subject of the verb *ʋeia* 'make'. It appears preceded by the focus particle *ne*.

(1491) ref 06024.026

Ne sa mo-ʋe taʋalu-n aʋa-m?
FOC what 3SG-make side-CONS wing-2SG.POSS
'What happened to the side of your wing?'

⁵⁷Wh-words request new information, in that sense they express presentational focus. It may be the case that when focused with *ne*, they express contrastive/identificational focus. I would like to thank Yuko Otsuka for this clarification.

The following example of the wh-word *sa* in situ expresses an echo question. The monkey, a character in the story, did not hear what the other character said and asks him to repeat, using *ne sa* in situ.

- (1492) ref 06032.024
 Manki mo-taravun ro mo-v: ‘Ko-v **ne sa**?’
 monkey 3SG-rise then 3SG-say 2SG-say FOC what
 ‘Monkey got up and said: ‘What did you say?’

As the following example shows, *ne sa* can also be used in situ to encode a “true” (as opposed to “echo”) wh-question.

- (1493) ref 07030.004
 Mo-valao mo-l-’va na ’vanua nor te **ne sa** nor?
 3SG-run 3SG-IMPF-go LOC island here.now or but what here.now
 ‘He is running to this island here or what is this?’

14.6.2.2 Origin of *ne*. There are two possible paths of grammaticalization for the focus particle *ne*: it originates either from the adverb *na* ‘only’ or the demonstrative determiner *nel(e)*.

There are (few) examples in the corpus where a question word is followed by the morpheme *na* ‘only’.

- (1494) ref 07054.005
Ise na mo-l-us masese?
 who only 3SG-IMPF-ask matches
 ‘Who was asking for the matches?’

The morpheme *na* ‘only’ is generally used as an adverb, as shown below.

- (1495) ref 06018.007
 Amma, mo-sopo te trak, sala varvari **na**.
 before 3SG-NEG some truck road small only
 ‘Before, there were no trucks, only small roads.’

It is known that cross-linguistically, the adverb *only* is used as a contrastive focus particle with flexible positioning in a sentence (König 1991:7,10). It is possible that *na* ‘only’ is used in Ma’vea as a focus marker for wh-phrases. The fact that *na* can be pronounced *ne* follows from the phonological rules of Ma’vea, since several lexemes ending with [a] are pronounced in free variation with an [e], such as *ima/ime* ‘house’. The fact that *ne* can be preposed or postposed could also be attributed to the positional variability of the focus particle *only*.

The other analysis is that the focus particle *ne* originates from the demonstrative determiner *nel(e)*. Some wh-phrases appear followed by the demonstrative determiner *nel(e)* ‘this’, as shown below.

(1496) ref 06042.084
 Mo-v: ‘Rarua a’pe **nele**?’
 3SG-say 3PL.DL where this
 ‘He said: ‘Where are they?’”

(1497) Elicitation, 2006, EVK
Ńatai sa nel ko-lsu viriu?
 why what this 2SG-kill dog
 ‘For what reason did you hit the dog?’

According to Diessel (1999:36-37), it is not uncommon for demonstratives to grammaticalize into focus markers. If it is the case that the focus particle is a determiner, then focused wh-phrases are cleft constructions, and example (??) should translate as *What is it that you lifted (it) from the bag?* Whether the focus marker *na/ne* originates from a demonstrative or an adverb is left open here.

14.6.3 Pseudo-cleft constructions. Pseudo-clefts are predicate nominal constructions, where a (headless) relative clause functions as subject or predicate (see for example Givón 2001b:225 and Payne 1997:278).

X is (NP_{*i*}) [*relative*... t_{*i*}...]
 (NP_{*i*}) [*relative*... t_{*i*}...] is X

In Ma'ŕea, some pseudo-clefts have the same structure as non-specific relative clauses (see section 14.3). The head noun of the non-specific relative, the wh-phrase *sa* 'what' is preceded by the focus marker *ne*, suggesting that the relative clause is focused.

(1498) ref 07079.061-062

Ne [sa ma ko-adi sile sapuri-n na-natu-n] inao vaisesea.
 FOC what comp 2SG-can give uncle-CONS PL-child-3SG.POSS thing small
 'What(ever) you give to the children's uncle (is) a small thing.'

As the following example shows, the predicate is not necessarily a nominal. It can also be a classifier.

(1499) ref 07081.049-050

Mo-pal ne [sa ma no-ku] no-n na-natu-ku.
 3SG-like FOC what comp CLF-1SG.POSS CLF-3SG.POSS PL-child-1SG.POSS
 'Like what(ever) is mine (is) my children's.'

In the above examples, the relative clause in the pseudo-cleft is construed as the subject of the predicate nominal. There is one example in the corpus where the relative clause is the predicate of the pseudo-cleft construction.

(1500) ref 06018.015

Nao [ma na-on veas i rua].
 1SG COMP 1SG-see wild.man LIG two
 'I (am the one) who saw the two wild men.'

More research is needed to determine whether focused wh-phrases are clefted.

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Appendix A

Item number 06041 (legend).

Recorded on Aore Island, in 2006. Consultant: PSL, born circa 1960.

Summary: Fowl and Megapode get ready to go to a party. They decorate themselves, and Fowl paints Megapode entirely black.

- (1501) Ok amma Malao ra-r Kou ra-r-lolo aima.
ok before bird 3PL-DL fowl 3PL-DL-inside home
'Ok, before, Megapode and Fowl were living at home.'
- (1502) Ra-r-lo-to aima mo-lo-va na taro aite
3PL-DL-IMPF-stay home 3SG-IMPF-go LOC time one
'They were staying at home for a while, one day'
- (1503) mo-pal tamlo mo-pal ra-ve anan aite ro,
3SG-like man 3SG-like 3PL-make eat one then
'like, men, like they had a party, then'
- (1504) rarua ra-v ra-r-va ai, ra-r-va na anan.
3PL.TWO 3PL-say 3PL-DL-go AI 3PL-DL-go LOC eat
'they 2 decided to go there, they went to the party.'
- (1505) Re masi nirev ra-va na anan aro.
PL bird.fish everyone 3PL-go LOC eat here
'All the birds went to this party.'
- (1506) Na rarua ra-r-lo-to na sara aitenge, ro ra-v ra-r-va.
but 3PL.TWO 3PL-DL-IMPF-stay LOC place one then 3PL-say 3PL-DL-go
'But they 2 were staying together, then they said they would go (together).'
- (1507) Ro Kou mo-var Malao mo-v: 'Polmor da-r-lako~lako.'
then fowl 3SG-speak bird 3SG-say like.this 1PL.INCL-DL-RED~decorate
'Then Fowl said to Megapode: 'So, let's decorate ourselves'.
- (1508) Ko-la te pulu aite ko-pulu-ao. Mo-ev ro nao ka-pulu-o ro,
2SG-take some dye one 2SG-dye-1SG 3SG-finish then 1SG 1SG.IR-dye-2SG then
'Take some paint, paint me. When it is done, I will paint you, then'
- (1509) da-r-lako~lako me da-r-va ai.
1PL.INCL-DL-RED~decorate FUT 1PL.INCL-DL-go AI
'we are decorated, we will go there.'

- (1510) Ro Kou mo-var Malao mo-v: ‘Nno ko-tan
then fowl 3SG-say bird 3SG-say 2SG 2SG-begin
‘Then Fowl said to Megapode: ‘You start’
- (1511) Ko-pulu-ao madia. Mo-ev ro ale nao ka-pulu-o.’ Ale
2SG-dye-1SG first 3SG-finish then then 1SG 1SG.IR-dye-2SG then
‘You paint me first. When it is finished, ale, I will paint you. Ale’
- (1512) Io, mo-dere. Malao mo-pul Kou madia. Ale Malao mo-pul Kou,
yes 3SG-no bird 3SG-dye fowl first then bird 3SG-dye fowl
‘Yes, no. Megapode paints Fowl first. Ale, Megapode paints Fowl,’
- (1513) mo-pul momos-i-a ro mo-ǎe mǎs~mǎsi-na
3SG-dye good-TR-3SG then 3SG-make RED~color-3SG.POSS
‘he paints her well, then he makes her colorful,’
- (1514) mo-mas~masi-ra mo-pal mo-ara, mo-voko, mo-vria.
3SG-RED~color-3PL 3SG-like 3SG-red 3SG-white 3SG-black
‘her colors are like red, white, black’
- (1515) Mo-ǎa mo-pul momos Kou ro, mo-ǎe Kou mo-ǎe Kou,
3SG-go 3SG-dye well fowl then 3SG-make fowl 3SG-make fowl
‘He paints Fowl well then, he makes Fowl, he makes Fowl’
- (1516) mo-lo-pulu-a mo-v i-ev ro ale,
3SG-IMPf-dye-3SG 3SG-say 3SG.IR-finish then then
‘he is painting her, when it is finished, then,’
- (1517) Malao mo-var Kou mo-v: ‘Ale, norto nno ko-pulu-ao.
bird 3SG-say fowl 3SG-say then now 2SG 2SG-paint-1SG
‘Megapode says to Fowl: ‘Ale, now you paint me.’
- (1518) Kou mo-ǎa mo-tan mo-la pul viria vat.
fowl 3SG-go 3SG-begin 3SG-take dye black bare
‘Fowl starts, she takes black paint only.’
- (1519) Mo-ǎa mo-lo-pul Malao ro mo-pulu-a mo-lo-ǎa ro mo-viria evui.
3SG-go 3SG-IMPf-dye bird then 3SG-dye-3SG 3SG-IMPf-go then 3SG-black all
‘She goes to paint Megapode, then she paints him for a while, then he is entirely
black.’
- (1520) Ra-r-ǎa na inaita,
3PL-DL-go LOC something
‘They go to the thing,’

- (1521) ra-r-řva ra-r-tir~tiro na tungu-n vuae.
 3PL-DL-go 3PL-DL-RED~look.at LOC hollow-CONS tree
 ‘they go to look at themselves in a (watery) hollow tree.’
- (1522) Ra-r-řva ra-r-tir~tiro ra-r-on ma,
 3PL-DL-go 3PL-DL-RED~look.at 3PL-DL-look COMP
 ‘They go to look at themselves, they see that,’
- (1523) Malao mo-on ma Kou mo-pulu-a ro mo-lo-viria ro,
 bird 3SG-look COMP fowl 3SG-dye-3SG then 3SG-IMPf-black then
 ‘Megapode sees that Fowl has painted him black, then’
- (1524) mo-vria ev. Ro mo-si, mo-rong mo-isat.
 3SG-black finish then 3SG-cross 3SG-feel 3SG-bad
 ‘he is entirely black. Then he is angry, he feels bad.’
- (1525) Ale mo-v: ‘Mo-du, ko-komo-ao pelmel.’
 then 3SG-say 3SG-good 2SG-spoil-1SG like.this
 ‘Ale, he says: ‘Ok, you spoiled me like this.’
- (1526) Ro mo-v i-ev ro Malao mo-řnanan.
 then 3SG-say 3SG.IR-finish then bird 3SG-ashamed
 ‘Then, Megapode is ashamed.’
- (1527) Ro mo-v: ‘Mo-du ko-komo-ao ko-ře-i na-viria.
 then 3SG-say 3SG-good 2SG-spoil-1SG 2SG-makeTR 1SG-black
 ‘Then he says: ‘Ok, you spoiled me, you made me black.’
- (1528) da-r-lo-to momos,
 1PL.INCL-DL-IMPf-stay well
 ‘We were good to each other,’
- (1529) ale da-v da-r-řva na anan ne ro,
 then 1PL.INCL-say 1PL.INCL-DL-go LOC eat this then
 ‘ale, we said we would to go to this party, then’
- (1530) na ko-tan ko-pulu-ao ko-ře-i-ao na-vria.
 but 2SG-begin 2SG-dye-1SG 2SG-make-TR-1SG 1SG-black
 ‘but you started to paint me, you made me black.’
- (1531) Nno ko, na-ře momos-i-o. Mo-du me nno ko-řva na anan ne.
 2SG 2SG 1SG-make well-TR-2SG 3SG-good FUT 2SG 2SG-go LOC eat this
 ‘You, I made you well. Ok, you will go to this party.’
- (1532) Nao ka-sopo-řva řnatan ko-řva ko-komo-ao
 1SG 1SG.IR-NEG-go COMP 2SG-go 2SG-spoil-1SG
 ‘Me, I will not go because you spoiled me’

- (1533) ko-pulu-ao na-vria evui.’ Ro mo-rongo mo-isat
 2SG-dye-1SG 1SG-black all then 3SG-feel 3SG-bad
 ‘you painted me I am all black.’ Then he felt bad,’
- (1534) mo-pal mo-ńanan mo-sopo-rong i-avtai
 3SG-like 3SG-ashamed 3SG-NEG-feel 3SG.IR-appear
 ‘like he was ashamed, he didn’t feel like coming out’
- (1535) ńatan ma Kou mo-pulu-a mo-ńe mo-vria evui.
 COMP COMP fowl 3SG-dye-3SG 3SG-make 3SG-black all
 ‘because Fowl had painted him, she had made him completely black.’
- (1536) Ro mov: ‘Mo-du. Nao me ka-ńa
 then 3SG-say 3SG-good 1SG FUT 1SG.IR-go
 ‘Then he said: ‘Ok, I will go’
- (1537) ka-to na vono, ńatan ka-ńa aima na
 1SG.IR-stay LOC bush COMP 1SG.IR-come home but
 ‘I will stay in the bush, because I would go home, but’
- (1538) ńatan na-viria ko-ńe ko-komo-ao pemel
 COMP 1SG-black 2SG-make 2SG-spoil-1SG like.this
 ‘because I am black, you spoiled me like this,’
- (1539) na-ńanan ńatan me ka-ńe-l-ńa aima.
 1SG-ashamed COMP FUT 1SG.IR-IT-IMPf-come home
 ‘I am ashamed to go home again.’
- (1540) Ro mo-ńa mo-ńa mo-to na vono mo-v:
 then 3SG-go 3SG-go 3SG-stay LOC bush 3SG-say
 ‘Then he went and stayed in the bush, he said:
- (1541) ‘ka-ńa ka-to na vono, nno ko-l-to aima,
 1SG.IR-go 1SG.IR-stay LOC bush 2SG 2SG-IMPf-stay home
 ‘I will go stay in the bush, you stay home,’
- (1542) na me taro-n ma ko-mo-otol,
 but FUT time-3SG.POSS COMP 2SG-COND-lay.eggs
 ‘but whenever you will lay eggs,’
- (1543) otoli-n me tamlo ra-l-an nna. Nao, ka-ńa.
 egg-3SG.POSS FUT man 3PL-IMPf-eat 3SG
 ‘your egg, men will eat it. Me, I will go.’
- (1544) Tamlo ra-mo-rong ra-on otoli-ku,
 man 3PL-COND-feel 3PL-look egg-1SG.POSS
 ‘If people want to see my egg,’

- (1545) te ra-mo-rong ra-mo-an nna,
 some 3PL-COND-feel 3PL-COND-eat 3SG
 ‘if someone wants to eat it,’
- (1546) me mo-pal ra-trae had mʔatan me ra-tikel otoli-ku
 FUT 3SG-like 3PL-try hard COMP FUT 3PL-reach egg-1SG.POSS
 ‘like, they will try hard to find my egg,’
- (1547) ra-r-an nna.’ Ale mo-ʔe nortovono, ra-po-íe-r-lo-to
 3PL-DL-eat 3SG then 3SG-make now 3PL-NEG-IT-DL-IMPF-stay
 ‘to eat them.’ Ale, it happens that today they do not stay anymore’
- (1548) na sar aitenge. Malao mo-to na vono, Kou mo-l-to aima.
 LOC place one bird 3SG-stay LOC bush fowl 3SG-IMPF-stay home
 ‘in the same place. Megapode stays in the bush, Fowl is staying at home.’

Item number 07054a (conversation).

Recorded on Maʔea Island, in 2007. Consultant: SLL, born circa 1957.

Summary: SLL is washing clothes while talking to her daughter and grand-daughter.

- (1549) Albatros mo-l-suv sasan. Sasan ra-linao pa.
 albatros 3SG-IMPF-dive K.O.fish K.O.fish 3PL-stay still
 ‘The albatros is diving for the sasan fish. The sasan fish are still here.’
- (1550) Saltavles ra-ʔe sasan ra-linao, ro nira ra-l-suv-ira,
 tuna 3PL-make K.O.fish 3PL-stay then 3PL 3PL-IMPF-dive-3PL
 ‘The tuna fish make the sasan fish stay, then they are diving for them,’
- (1551) albatros mo-l-suv-ira.
 albatros 3SG-IMPF-dive-3PL
 ‘The albatros is diving for them.’
- (1552) Caroline! Ko-ʔa ko-us-i-a, ko-ʔe i-rro mo-pong.
 Caroline 2SG-go 2SG-ask-TR-3SG 2SG-make 3SG.IR-fast 3SG-night
 ‘Caroline! You go ask it. Make it quik, it is dark.’
- (1553) Kuro i-l-to me da-davoi-a.
 leave 3SG.IR-IMPF-stay FUT 1PL.INCL-plant-3SG
 ‘Leave it, we will plant it.’

- (1554) Nao na-pete-l-davoi-a,
 1SG 1SG-INCPT-IMPF-plant-3SG
 ‘Me, I just planted it,’
- (1555) Vovaro mo-taravun mo-tan mo-tar ravti-a.
 Vovaro 3SG-rise 3SG-begin 3SG-chop break- 3SG
 ‘Vovaro got up and started to chop it.’
- (1556) Apu mo-ńa ra-r-ńe ineike dav langalenge.
 fire 3SG-come 3PL-DL-make everything seem crazy
 ‘The devil comes (lit: the fire comes), they make anything, it seems they are crazy.’
- (1557) Ko-vir mamaite, ko-vir gwava,
 2SG-throw another 2SG-throw guava
 ‘You throw the other one, throw the guava,’
- (1558) ko-kuro ńei i-l-to. Gwava ko-vir nna,
 2SG-leave plant.SP 3SG.IR-IMPF-stay guava 2SG-throw 3SG
 ‘Leave the ńei plant. The guava, throw it,’
- (1559) na ko-kuro pei i-l-to.
 but 2SG-leave plant 3SG.IR-IMPF-stay
 ‘but leave the ńei plant.’
- (1560) Mo-v i-ńe sa?
 3SG-say 3SG.IR-make what
 ‘She said she’d do what?’

Item number 07075 (personal history).

Recorded in Luganville, in 2007. Consultant: EVK, born circa 1943.

Summary: EVK is narrating a dream her father had when he was young.

- (1561) Nao tańa-ku, ma mo-l-ulvo,
 1SG father-1SG.POSS COMP 3SG-IMPF-young
 ‘Me, my father, when he was young,’
- (1562) amma mo-l-ulvo ro mo-to mo-ńa,
 before 3SG-IMPF-young then 3SG-stay 3SG-go
 ‘before, he was young, then he was staying for a while,’

- (1563) sur pong aite ro mo-ʋan~ʋano mo-si mo-ńasur
 about night one then 3SG-RED~walk 3SG-go.down 3SG-descend
 ‘one day then, he walked down, he descended’
- (1564) alao, na tasi, mo-ńasur ‘Mata-n tina-ra’.
 sea.shore LOC sea 3SG-descend eye-CONS mother-3PL
 ‘to the shore, the sea, he descended at “Matan tinara”.’
- (1565) Mo-ńasur ‘Mata-n tina-ra’ ro,
 3SG-descend eye-CONS mother-3PL then
 ‘he descended at “Matan tinara” then’
- (1566) mo-l-řar~řara, ro mo-on kakato voko aite.
 3SG-IMPF-RED~follow.reef then 3SG-look heron white one
 ‘he was following the reef, then he saw a white heron.’
- (1567) Mʔatan amma ro kakato voko mo-dere,
 COMP before then heron white 3SG-no
 ‘Because before then there was no white heron,’
- (1568) mo-ere, kakato voko mo-sopo-tea. Kakato viria na!
 3SG-not.have heron white 3SG-NEG-one heron black only
 ‘they didn’t exist, there was not one white heron. Only black herons!’
- (1569) Taro ro mama mo-ńasur mo-si,
 time here dad 3SG-descend 3SG-go.down
 ‘At this time, dad descended, he went down,’
- (1570) mo-l-řar~řara ‘Mata-n tina-ra’,
 3SG-IMPF-RED~follow.reef eye-CONS mother-3PL
 ‘he was following the reef at “Matan tinara”,’
- (1571) mo-on kakato voko aite. Ro mo-on kakato voko ro,
 3SG-look heron white one then 3SG-look heron white then
 ‘he saw a white heron. Then, he saw a white heron then,’
- (1572) mo-ev ro kakato voko mo-tapair mama ro mo-tete.
 3SG-finish then heron white 3SG-shake dad then 3SG-fly
 ‘when it was finished, then the white heron jumped with the fear of dad and he flew.’
- (1573) Mo-tete, mama mo-sa aima, mo-sa,
 3SG-fly dad 3SG-go.up home 3SG-go.up
 ‘He flew, dad went up home, he went up,’

- (1574) ro mama mo-ńe-l-tapula mo-sa aima.
 then dad 3SG-IT-IMPF-return 3SG-go.up home
 ‘then dad returned home.’
- (1575) Mo-sa mo-pong mo-suruvu ro, mo-on ma, tamlese aite.
 3SG-go.up 3SG-night 3SG-sleep then 3SG-look COMP old one
 ‘He went up, it was dark, he slept, then he saw that there was an old man.’
- (1576) Mo-ńa ro mo-vara-i-a nna mo-v:
 3SG-come then 3SG-tell-TR-3SG 3SG 3SG-say
 ‘He came then he told it to him, he said:
- (1577) ‘Nno nel napar ko-ńa kolpar~para?
 2SG this today 2SG-come 2SG-IMPF-RED~follow.reef
 ‘Were you the one today who came following the reef?’
- (1578) Alao na tasi, ro ko-one-ao.
 sea.shore LOC sea then 2SG-look-1SG
 ‘At the sea shore, then you saw me.’
- (1579) Nao nel, kakato voko le, na-l-řar~řara,
 1SG this heron white DET 1SG-IMPF-RED~follow.reef
 ‘This is me, the white heron, I was following the reef,’
- (1580) ro ko-ńa ro na-tapair nno ro na-tete.
 then 2SG-come here 1SG-shake 2SG then 1SG-fly
 ‘then you came, then I jumped with the fear of you, then I flew.’
- (1581) Na me ko-l-to pelmel i-lo-řa.
 but FUT 2SG-IMPF-stay like.this 3SG.IR-IMPF-go
 ‘But, you will remain like this for a while.’
- (1582) I-va te pong ko-la te řařina,
 3SG.IR-go some day 2SG-take some female
 ‘One day, you will take a woman,’
- (1583) ki-r-peře, na-natu rarua ra-sa ra-vaitina,
 1PL.EXCL-DL-father PL-child 3PL.TWO 3PL-go.up 3PL-big.PL
 ‘you will have children, your children will become big,’
- (1584) nno me ko-l-to pelmel i-lo-řa i-řa,
 2SG FUT 2SG-IMPF-stay like.this 3SG.IR-IMPF-go 3SG.IR-go
 ‘you will remain like this for a while,’
- (1585) ko-sa ko-tamlesea i-lo-řa i-řa,
 2SG-go.up 2SG-old 3SG.IR-IMPF-go 3SG.IR-go
 ‘you will grow old and old,’

- (1586) ko-para i-’va, para-m ra-voko i-’va i-ev.
 2SG-white 3SG.IR-go chest-2SG.POSS 3PL-white 3SG.IR-go 3SG.IR-finish
 ‘your hair will be all white, your chest will be entirely white.’
- (1587) Umi-m, vul~vulu-na e’ē-m le re ra-voko
 beard-2SG.POSS RED~hair-3SG.POSS body-2SG.POSS DET PL 3PL-white
 ‘Your beard, your body hair they will be entirely white.’
- (1588) i-ev. Ra-pal vulu-ku. Vulu-m me i-pal
 3SG.IR-finish 3PL-like hair-1SG.POSS hair-2SG.POSS FUT 3SG.IR-like
 vulu-ku
 hair-1SG.POSS
 ‘They will be like my hair. Your hair will be like my hair ’
- (1589) ma mo-voko. Ko-on vulu-ku mo-voko mo-pal sa?
 COMP 3SG-white 2SG-look hair-1SG.POSS 3SG-white 3SG-like what
 ‘which is white. You see how white your hair will be?’
- (1590) Ro me nno me ko-para, vulu-m i-voko i-palai-ao.
 then FUT 2SG FUT 2SG-white hair-2SG.POSS 3SG.IR-white 3SG.IR-likewise-1SG
 ‘Then your hair will be white like me.’
- (1591) Mo-ev me ko-pete-’nata.
 3SG-finish FUT 2SG-INCTP-dead
 ‘When it is done, you will die.’

Appendix B

A - a

- a-** *clf.* classifier used with items to be eaten.
- a** *cl.* third person singular direct object enclitic.
- adi** *n.* 1) black biting ant. *Etym:* PNCV *kadi.
2) the hurricane season, the biting season.
- adi tete** *n.* flying ant.
- adi** *aux.* can.
- adi** *n.* tree used as fire wood, to make posts.
- adia** *vi.* go or do first.
- ado** *n.* long mouth fish whose bones are blue.
- ado mormor** *n.* trumpet fish. This fish has no scales, no teeth. It swallows down sardines. *Fistularia tabacaria, family Fistulariidae.*
- ado mormor ango** *n.* yellow trumpet fish.
- ado rupa** *n.* blue marlin fish, swordfish.
- adua** *n.* south wind, south east wind.
- adua sivo** *n.* west wind.
- adua tavonav** *n.* south east wind from Malekula. *Etym:* PNCV *dualiu 'SE wind'.
- adua** *n.* red three-spot crab.
- ae** *n.* kava. *Piper methysticum.*
- aese** *N.* Ais island.
- ai** *pro.* anaphoric (resumptive) and deictic pronoun.
- aia** *adv.* done deal, that's it.
- aia** *vt.* remove from fire, of pots, copra, cacao.
- aima** *n.* home.
- aine** *adv.* there, at hearer's location.
- aira** *adj,vi.* wet.
- airasia** *vt.* wet so., water plants.
- aite** *det.* article, indefinite specific.
- aitenge** *quant.* one.
- aka** *n.* boat, canoe. *Etym:* POC *waga, PNCV *waqa.
- akalao** *n.* k.o bird.
- ala** *n.* basket.
- alan aroso** *n.* basket to carry dirt.
- alali** *n.* wooden stick used to carry bags on shoulder.
- alali** *vt.* look for, search for food, louse.
- alao** *adv.* sea shore. *Etym:* POC *laur, PNCV *lau.
- alaul** *adv.* far up.
- ale** *adv.* there, away from both interlocutors, closer to hearer.
- alere** *quant.* everywhere, anywhere.
- ali-** *n.* back of the neck.
- alia** *vt.* carry on a wooden stick by at least two men.
- alili** *n.* small sea snail. *Etym:* PNCV *ali-li 'cat's eye shell, Turbo sp.'.
- alīma** *num.* fifth.
- altīva** *adv.* over there across, out of sight.
- amāl** *n.* village's court house. *Etym:* POC *kamaliR, PNCV *kamali.
- amasai māvuro** *n.* k.o urchin. *Family Ophiotrichidae.*
- amasina** *n.* k.o tree which strong roots are used to make combs.
- amma** *adv.* before (space and time), in front, a long time ago.
— *vi.* go first.
- amsaran** *N.* name of the area that encompasses: **Vunaro, Onda, Vunopuma, and Vasaon tartara.** Other place names on the sea banks include: **Santaese, Vunapeo, Naedua, Tamdu, Vunopua, Matanvuso, Saoroi, Naopono, Nalapa, Tevo, Tanapan, Patun man, Varpaio, Salmatala, Serseri, Vunao dura, Varae, Vuna malaus, Vunas vae, Madurdur lavo, Madurdur vaise, Matantung, Vunpore, Matanapu, Vuntarare, Veleri, Apae, Malsiviro, Vunopuma, Matan tinara, Tanom sarana, Vasao lavo, Vasao vaise, Vopan virivoke, Kerma ima, Vun tonge.** Place names inland include: **Rovanua, Valanur, Varae, Udua, Penmol, Tamdu, Persangavul, Pelsi, Parango, Tantanoima, Anpirpoa, Pelinsi, Modu, Vunpodur, and Alvua.**
- amutia** *vt.* rub oil, cream onto one's body.
- an** *vi.* sharp. *Etym:* PNCV *ka=kani.
- an** *vi.* burn, of an ongoing fire.
- anan** *vi.* eat.
- an** *vt.* eat. *Etym:* PNCV *kani.

- anan taʻmalas** *n.* small flying cockroach. *Lit:* 'eat leftovers'.
- anana** *n.* feast, party.
- ananai** *vi.* rub one's body with water, wash oneself.
- ani** *n.* blade.
- anono** *n.* fruit fly.
- anparpara ango** *n.* k.o yellow plant. Juice from the leaves is used as an emetic. The leaves of another type found by the sea, with white flower, are used to cook fish, and to make mats.
- antaʻmapo** *N.* Malo island.
- ango** *adj,vi.* yellow. *Etym:* POc *yaNo 'turmeric, cucurma', PNCV *ango.
- ango** *n.* k.o shell fish. *Lambis chiragra*, family *Strombidae*. *Strombus gigas* is edible.
- ao** *vi.* walk with little balance, as on reef, on a log. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *lako 'walk'.
- ao** *cl.* first person singular direct object enclitic.
- aokarae** *n.* k.o tree used as timber, fire wood. *Antiaris toxicaria*.
- aom** *n.* k.o tree whose strong wood is used to build the **peru** beams for a house. The bird **vavei** eats its fruits.
- aʻpa** *n.* wing. *Etym:* POc *kapak, PNCV *kaba-u.
- apaleve** *n.* devil, ghost.
- apanasa** *vi.* noisy (of kids).
- aʻpani** *n.* canoe sail. used to be made of mats. *Etym:* POc *banic 'wing', PNCV *(ka)bani.
- aʻpaʻpa** *vi.* fight.
- aʻpaʻpal** *vi.* flap, of birds' wings.
- aʻpasi-** *n.* palm, frond.
- aʻpe** *wh.* where. *Etym:* POc *pai-a, PNCV *bea, *vea.
- aʻpea** *vt.* cut something soft and pasty with one's hands.
- aʻpirot** *n.* kiddo, pal, buddy, term of address for a young child.
- apria** *vt.* pile, gather.
- apu** *n.* fire, fire wood. *Etym:* POc *api, (k,g)abu, PNCV *kabu.
- apu** *n.* k.o tree. The seeds are used to poison fish at low tide in pools. This fishing technique is forbidden as it kills all reef life.
- apua** *vt.* anchor.
- aputu** *N.* name of the island Penwara.
- ara** *adj,vi.* red.
- ara** *n.* fence. *Etym:* POc *qaRar, PNCV *ara.
- ara** *n.* handle. *Etym:* POc *p(w)aRaRa.
- arapus** *n.* k.o plant.
- arapus ara** *n.* k.o plant.
- arara** *vi.* crawl (of insects, toddlers). *Etym:* PNCV *karaka.
- arara** *n.* wooden stick on which meat or fish is roasted, kebab.
- arari** 1) *n.* scale, of fish. 2) skin disease where dry skin peels off.
— *vt.* remove scales.
- arata** *adj,vi.* sweet.
- ari** *n.* scraper, grating tool to grate banana, coconut, or roasted yams. This scraper used to be a bivalve shell, now it is a shard of broken glass. *Etym:* PNCV *ka(r)i.
- ariʻvi** *n.* cat.
- ariʻvi ngirngir** *n.* rat, mouse. *Etym:* PNCV *karivi.
- aro** *adv.* this, here at speaker's location.
- aroa** *vt.* clean (soil, sand, dirt, vegetable peel) with hands.
- arosia** *vt.* scratch because of itch, to have scabies. *Etym:* PNCV *karo-si 'scrape'.
- aroso** *n.* dirt.
- aru** *n.* sea oak tree, ironwood. *Casuarina*. Used for house post beams. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *yaru.
- arua-** *n.* friend.
— *num.* second.
- arvulesia** *vt.* stir, whisk.
- asa-** *n.* penis.
- asai** *vt.* pull out, pull down.
- asao** *adv.* far, long way. *Etym:* POc *sauq, PNCV *sau.
- asari** *n.* stem of leaf.
- asaseia** *vt.* separate.
- ase roko** *n.* reefcrest parrot fish. *Scarus scaber*, family *Scaridae*.
- asea** *vi.* self, alone, by oneself.
- asi** *n.* k.o rope.
- asi vatu** *n.* k.o rope used to fasten canoe parts.
- asi turniu** *n.* rope sp., used to fasten canoe parts. Coconut roots may also be used for that purpose.

- asi tuva** *n.* k.o rope used to poison fish, to fasten house beams.
- asi mata** *n.* k.o thick rope which look like a snake.
- asi povis** *n.* k.o rope.
- asi rau vaitina** *n.* k.o rope.
- asia** *vt.* cut **v̄aro** leaves for laplap.
- asia** *vi.* trespass, come through, motion from outside to inside.
- asin po** *n.* long sea worm, marine annelid.
- asin poa non Tatatai** *n.* k.o biche de mer. *Family Synaptidae.*
- aso** *n.* mushroom.
- asoa** *vt.* search, look for something that has been lost, or might not exist.
- asuni** *n.* smoke. *Etym:* POC *qasu, PNCV *'asu.
- asuria** *vt.* spit liquid on s.o.
- asv̄a** *vi.* go to the toilet.
- atano** *n.* down, on the ground. *Etym:* PNCV *tano.
- atapolo** *n.* dragon plum tree and its edible fruits. *Dracontemelon vitiense.* *Etym:* PNCV *katabola.
- atatai** *adv.* one after the other, a few.
- atati** *vi.* biting, tight. *Etym:* PNCV *kaRa-ti.
- atattmata** *n.* large yellow bee with painful sting. *Families Vespidae and Specidae.* Is said to use snake scales to make a nest.
- atau** *adv.* behind (space and time).
- atia** *vt.* bite. *Etym:* PNCV *kaRati.
- atisa** *adv.* over there down.
- atisi** *adv.* over there up.
- atkum** *vi.* have closed mouth, clinged teeth.
- atmaomao** *vi.* yawn. *Etym:* PNCV *mawa.
- atoli** *num.* third.
- atou** *n.* hermit crab. *Coenobitidae.* *Etym:* PNCV *katou.
- atou ara** *n.* k.o hermit crab. *Family Diogenidae.*
- atu** *adv.* there, away from both interlocutors.
- auau** *n.* type of laplap rolled inside a leaf and cooked inside a bamboo.
— *vi.* make the **auau** laplap. *Etym:* POC *kauR 'bamboo', PNCV *'au.
- aue** *interj.* expression of joy, laughter.
- aulia** *vt.* line fishing.
- aulu** *adv.* on top, above, up.
- aure** *N.* Aore island.
- av** *vi.* fly, as of wood chips.
- av laua** *vt.* jump over something, after running.
- av̄a** *n.* k.o black crab living in the bush.
- av̄a ara** *n.* k.o red crab. *Family Xanthidae.*
- av̄alolo** *n.* rock crab, green, orange and grey crab living in the reef.
- av̄anao** *vt.* steal. *Etym:* POC *panako.
- av̄ati-** *num.* fourth.
- avav** *vi.* rise.
- av̄e** *n.* armpit. *Etym:* PNCV *'avi-ga.
- av̄ia** *n.* Malay apple, tree and edible fruits, with bright pink flowers. *Syzygium ricchi.* In Kastom law, hanging a branch of **av̄ia** tree on one's back was used as a warning, to give someone one last chance to redeem himself before the death penalty was applied. *Etym:* POC *kapika, PNCV *kavika.
- av̄iev̄ia** *n.* sabre squirrel fish, as red as the **av̄ia** flowers. *Family Holocentridae.*
- avis** *vi.* hard work, thank you.
- avona** *n.* end (of story, road), edge.
- avra** *adj,vi.* grey.
- avtai** *vi.* come out, appear, escape.
- avua** *vt.* dig with hands: a hole, eggs, roots, sand beach crabs.
- avav** *vi.* dig.
- avua** *n.* turtle. *Family Chelonidae.* *Etym:* PNCV *'avua.
- avua p̄ep̄ev̄e** *n.* green sea turtle, which carries her young.
- avua mas** *n.* hawkbill sea turtle.
- avua kalo** female turtle.
- avuria** *vt.* cast seeds, throw sand or small stones so that they scatter. *Etym:* POC *sapu[r,R], *kabu(R), PNCV *savu[r,b]i.

D - d

- da-** *agr.* first person plural inclusive subject. **-da** *cl.* first person plural inclusive object clitic.

- *pro.* first person plural inclusive possessive suffix.
- dadavoi** *n.* cultivated plant.
- dae** *n.* blood. *Etym:* POc *draRaq, PNCV *daRa.
— *vi.* bleed, bloody.
- daiu** *n.* coconut crab, same family as Bisl: nakato. *Family* *Birgus*. *Etym:* PNCV *daweRu.
- dal** *prep.* around.
- daldal** *N.* masc name. Other names include: **Vuropaitia**, **Molavea**, **Moldovo**, **Molvalao**, **Molvatol**, **Molkokona**, **Molnatu**, **Molnatunmol**, **Molorovro**, **Molpaio**, **Molres**, **Molsavasava**, **Molseo**, **Molseese**, **Molsivo**, **Molsoi**, **Molsusu**, **Moltas**, **Moltoaima**, **Moltorua**, **Surae**, **Toa**, etc.
- dalo** *n.* shoulder.
- dam** *n.* yam. *Dioscorea*. There are two sorts of yams: strong yams **dam piria**, and soft yams **dam malum**. Types of strong yams include: **pir paili**, **voru**, **marou**, **tipak**, **net**, **pir siaotol**, **orvasila**, **lesles**, **pongurngur**, **korkor**, **daila**, **pala**. *Etym:* PNCV *damu.
- damdovo** *adj.* fowl with black and white feathers.
- damma** *vi.* not ready.
- damolmol** *adj,vi.* circle shape, round. *Etym:* PNCV *molimoli.
- danga** *vi.* stink, as of rotten food.
- darua** *pro.* first person dual inclusive independent subject.
- datol** *pro.* first person inclusive trial or paucal independent subject.
- daudau** *vi.* doze off.
- dav** *vt.* seem.
- davoia** *vt.* plant a tree, cabbage, bananas, taro, anything but yam.
- deo** *vi.* defecate.
- dere** *vi.* no.
- desia** *vt.* defecate on.
- didi** *vi.* tangled up.
- didiu** *n.* red ant. *Etym:* PNCV *diu.
didiu patu vaitina *n.* red ant with big head, which lives in dead trees.
didiu pat vari *n.* small red ant.
didiu tete *n.* flying ant.
- dila** *n.* small stones that are heated and put under the laplap.
- dildileia** *vt.* shake a burning branch used as torch to remove ashes so that it can catch fire again.
- dimango** *n.* young coconut to drink, with no flesh.
- dinga** *vt.* shake something in order to level it, as of a bag of copra.
- dipa** *n.* k.o green bird.
- direa** *vt.* catch s.t. that is falling (like a fruit from a tree) or being thrown, before it reaches the ground.
- diresia** *vt.* rip, tear apart, break through.
- diring** *vt.* hatch.
- dirong** *vt.* beat the drum, hit someone.
- di'vi** *n.* nose water, snot. *Etym:* PNCV *davi.
- divuia** *vt.* fill up a container with liquid.
- dodo** *n.* cloud. *Etym:* PNCV *dodo 'dark cloud'.
- dodoa** *vi.* cloudy.
- dodor** *n.* k.o tree.
- dom petur** *adj,vi.* short tempered.
- dom ravtia** *vt.* cut break with a knife. *Lit:* 'cut break'.
- dom'dom'i-** *prep.* straight.
- domea** *vt.* cut finger nails, slice meat, trim hair.
- dom'i** *n.* neck.
- dom'o** *vt.* be sorry for.
- don sakaia** *vt.* choke. *Lit:* 'swallow cross'.
- dondona** *n.* throat.
- donoa** *vt.* swallow. *Etym:* POc *tilo, *to[n,d]om-i, PNCV *do(l,n)o-mi.
- dongaia** *vt.* move, shake, gesticulate.
— *vi.* jitter.
- doro** *vt.* have, possess a house, canoe, rice, time.
- dovea** *vt.* stick through.
- dovo** *adj,vi.* rotten, of food, wood, corrugated iron.
- do'vo** *adv.* through, from outside in.
- dovoso** *vi.* think.
- du** *adj,vi.* happy, good.
- dua** *n.* yellow or green flying insect, about 3cm in length, eating **talaua** leaf.
- dudu** *n.* chambered nautilus shell. Used before as a cup.
- duel maladua** *n.* south east wind.
- dueliu** *n.* west wind.
- dum** *vi.* run, of an engine, fire of a firearm.

duma *n.* heap, group.

— *vt.* heap.

dumana *adv.* plenty, a lot of.

dumdumdolao *n.* k.o tree. Its leaves boiled with salt water are used to treat scabies. When boiled the water turns yellow.

dun *n.* damsel fish. *Families Pomacentridae and Pomacanthidae.*

dun ango *n.* k.o fish. *Hypsopus rubicundus, family Pomacentridae.*

duna *vt.* soak, as of leaves or clothes in water. *Etym:* PNCV *dono 'submerged', *nunu 'soak'.

dungdung doae *n.* ringed moray eel.

dupa *n.* k.o banana.

dupa ara *n.* banana that is not yet ready.

dupa kaleasi *n.* k.o banana, 15 cm long.

dupa masa *n.* k.o banana, 30 cm long.

dupa paranga *n.* k.o banana.

duria *n.* black flying fox.

duru *vi.* full (of moon).

durua *n.* hole left open after harvesting a yam. Also tomb or grave.

durua *vt.* cut the pointed bottom of a coconut (three corners) to drink its juice.

dusdusei *n.* idea, thought.

duseia *vt.* think, remember.

duvu *n.* grass. *Etym:* PNCV *dovu 'weeds'.

duvu davonave *n.* k.o plant with small yellow flowers.

duvun avua *n.* k.o sea weed, turtle weed.

E - e

ea *n.* k.o plant.

el *n.* small wooden stick used to dig out yam.

elada *n.* September. Time when the sea worm **eli** is eaten.

elavoa *n.* November. Abundance of food.

eldovo *vi.* harvest new yam whose leaves are not yet dry.

eli *n.* sea worm caught in the months of Oct & Nov. Types of **eli** include: **virae avie**, **virae aru**, **maua**, **elpo**, **elaola**, **vari vatali**, **kunkun**. *Etym:* PNCV *weli.

elia *vt.* dig up yam with a stick. *Etym:* POC *keli 'harvest', *kali 'dig', PNCV *keli.

elmangadidi *n.* November, December. Time when it's cold, there is no more yam to eat.

elriv *n.* big wooden stick used to dig the ground to plant vegetables or dig out yam.

eluba *n.* bamboo stick with sown palm leaves that make a thatch roof.

elung *n.* k.o plant, used as pig feed.

elunga *n.* pillow. *Etym:* POC *qulung-an, PNCV *ulu-ga.

epe *n.* mat. *Etym:* POC *qebal, PNCV *eba.

epe *n.* body. PNCV *abe.

ere *vt.* not have.

ese *adj, vi.* blue, green. *Etym:* POC *keja 'green', PNCV *keza 'blue'.

ese *n.* jaw. *Etym:* POC *qase, PNCV *ase.

ese- *n.* name. *Etym:* POC *qacan, PNCV *ase.

ese parav *n.* k.o eel.

eu *n.* dew. *Etym:* PNCV *me=meu.

eve *n.* k.o tree used to make canoe.

e'veng *n.* coconut palm weaved into a mat.

e'vev *n.* grey crab with red spots.

evui *quant.* all.

evuia *vt.* already, finished, complete.

I - i

i *num.* number marker, ligature.

i *interj.* expression of disgust.

i- *agr.* third person singular subject irrealis prefix.

-i *cl.* transitive marker.

-i *cl.* third person singular possessive marker, used with inanimates, similar to **-na**.

ida *pro.* first person plural inclusive independent subject and object pronouns. *Etym:* POC *kita, PNCV *(k)ida.

idevui *quant.* we (inclusive) all.
idia *vt.* squeeze.
ididono *n.* snake eel living on sand beach, marbled snake eel.
ila *adj,vi.* wild. *Etym:* PNCV *'ila.
ililia *vt.* tickle.
ima *n.* house. *Etym:* PNCV *yumwa.
iman tamlo lavoa *n.* church. *Lit:* 'house of big man'.
imte *adv.* wish, if only.
inaite *pro.* something, one thing.
inana *n.* food.
inao *n.* thing.
inatar *quant.* everything.
ineia *vt.* press with force.
ineike *quant.* everything, all things.
inele *pro.* thing.
inelere *n.* these things here.
inoror *n.* these things here.
inoví *n.* tomorrow.
inua *vt.* drink. *Etym:* POc *inum, PNCV *inu.
inue *n.* drink, beverage.
ingese *wh.* what time, when. *Etym:* PNCV *gaisa.
io *adv.* yes. *Etym:* POc *io, PNCV *io.
-ira *cl.* third person plural possessive suffix or

object clitic.
iriví *n.* hand fan, made of weaved pandanus leaves. *Etym:* PNCV *iri-vi.
irivía *vt.* fan.
isati *adj,vi.* bad. *Etym:* POc *saqat, PNCV *sa'ati.
isavái *wh.* how.
ise *wh.* who, whoever. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *sei.
iseveia *vt.* do what.
isia *vt.* pinch, break a leaf by pinching it.
ita *n.* octopus. *Lit:* 'This man's excrement is as big as an octopus' excrement'. *Family Octopodidae.*
ita vakari *n.* k.o octopus with very long tentacles.
ita manaka *n.* squid. *Family Sepiidae.* **manaka** refers to the bone inside the squid. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *kuRita.
itia *vt.* copulate, have sex with.
itit *vi.* copulate, have sex.
iuese *adv.* The day after tomorrow.
ivisa *wh.* how much, how many.
— *quant.* few. *Etym:* POc *pican, PNCV *visa.

K - k

ka- *agr.* first person singular subject irrealis prefix.
kakamarua *n.* green or light brown insect about 15cm in length, eating **vinua** and coconuts fond. Can be roasted and eaten.
kakao *n.* rib.
kakato *n.* grey reef heron with yellow feet.
kala *n.* lizardfish. *Family Synodontidae.* *Etym:* PNCV *qala.
— *n.* k.o lizard.
kalan *adv.* spoil, damage.
kalat *n.* long bamboo tongs to move hot stones in the fire.
kalatia *vt.* use the tongs **kalat** to remove stone from the fire. *Etym:* PNCV *bala-ti.
kalato *n.* k.o stinging plant, whose leaves cause itchiness. *Family Dendrocnide latifolia.* *Etym:* PNCV, POc *kara, PNCV *qalato.

kalato pong sangavul *n.* k.o **kalato**, with big round leaves, which causes itchiness for about ten days.
kaloto toto *n.* k.o **kalato**, of maximum 30cm high, with small round leaves which causes itchiness for a brief time. Roasted leaves are used as medicine put on sore muscles.
kalato pua *n.* k.o **kalato**, stinging plant.
kalea *n.* bunch of banana, of coconut. Said of fruits and nuts that do not grow in a bundle.
kalo *n.* testicles.
kaloa *n.* cudgel, club used to hit pigs on the head.
kalsu *n.* nose. *Etym:* PNCV *qanisu.
kalvaia *vi.* sleep coiled in the fork of a branch, like a snake.
kañam *pro.* first person plural exclusive independent pronoun. *Etym:* PNCV

*qama(m)i.
kańar *conj.* coordinator for 1pl.excl.dl and another entity.
kańarua *pro.* first person dual exclusive independent subject pronoun.
kańatol *pro.* first person paucal exclusive independent pronoun.
kame *vi.* break, as of waves on the reef.
kańim *pro.* second person plural independent pronoun.
kamrua *pro.* second person dual independent pronoun.
kamtol *pro.* second person paucal independent pronoun.
kao *vi.* hard work, difficult.
kao *vi.* stick.
kapat *n.* k.o orchid.
karae *n.* flying fox. *Etym:* PNCV *qarai.
karae tong *n.* bat with black and white neck.
karae ara *n.* brown bat.
karai *vi.* recoil, grimace, make a facial expression denoting fear.
karia *vt.* spread evenly hot stone fire **dila** in order to put the laplap on top.
karie *N.* Kastom dance of south Santo.
karkar *n.* scraper.
karte *vt.* strike, as of matches, scratch.
karu *vi.* swim, or walk in the sea knee high. *Etym:* PNCV *karu 'swim, bathe'.
karvarua *N.* Kastom Chief name, who killed 200 rava pigs.
katkat *vi.* shiver with fear.
kauli *n.* hook to pull down branches.
kaulia *vt.* pull down a branch with a hook to pick up fruits or nuts.
kava *n.* corrugated iron used as tin roof. *From:* Bisl.
kańia *vt.* fight with a hatchet.
kańkań *n.* hatchet to fight.
kavura *n.* copra.
keia *vt.* start, light a fire.
keo *n.* spider web.
keo *vi.* mingled, of ropes.
kere *n.* buttock, back, behind. *Etym:* PNCV *qere.
kere palo *n.* heel. *Lit:* 'back of foot'.
kernaima *N.* David Vatu's place.
keru *n.* long sharp sea snail whoseshell was used

as an arrow head. *Terebra maculata*, *Family Terebridae*.
kes *n.* box. *From:* Fr *caisse*.
kevu *vt.* sing Kastom songs, whistle of the **mosomoso** bird, play a traditional bamboo flute.
ki- 1) *agr.* first person plural exclusive subject agreement marker. 2)
— *agr.* second person plural subject agreement marker.
kil *vi.* look. *Etym:* PNCV *kila-la 'know, see'.
kilao *vi.* turn one's head to look back.
kir meńe *vi.* cry for nothing.
kiri *n.* k.o edible anemone. *Stichodactyla haddoni*, *Family Stichodactylidae*.
kiria *vt.* cut out the bone of a coconut frond to make a broom.
kiria *vt.* shave, brush, burnt hair on a dead pig's skin, remove dirt on vegetables, strike matches, scratch. *Etym:* PNCV *kiri 'clear away'.
kiroko *n.* kava that is cultivated to drink.
ko- *agr.* second person singular subject agreement prefix.
koi *vt.* raise animal.
kolaia *vt.* lie.
komoa *vt.* spoil.
konaine *adv.* there.
konale *adv.* there.
konkonal *adv.* over there.
konaro *adv.* here, now, at speaker's location.
konatisi *adv.* there, over there.
konativa *adv.* far.
konatu *adv.* there.
koru *adj,vi.* dry. *Etym:* PNCV *qoru.
koso *adj.* dirty, rubbish.
kot *vt.* walk by.
kotkot *vi.* wander, walk about.
kotkotao *vi.* cackle, as of a hen after making an egg.
kou *n.* fowl.
kou vul sangarngara *n.* fowl with curled feathers.
kou umia *n.* bearded fowl.
kou siu *n.* fowl with feather on top of the head.
kovo *vt.* sing.
kovo *N.* Kastom dance of Mańea, Tutuba, Aese,

Aore.
-ku *cl.* first person singular possessive suffix.
kua *n.* dolphin. *Family delphinidae.*
kua *vt.* boil.
kuea *vt.* sprain.
kuku *n.* clay cooking pot.
kum *vt.* close one's hand, clench fist. *Etym:* POC
 *gugu(m).
kumkum *vt.* rinse, gargle.
kunia *vt.* grow, as of rope or ivy around another

plant.
kunna *vt.* bend (of limbs), fold. *Etym:* POC
 *lo(g,k)u(t) 'fold', PNCV *lu(q,k)u-ni 'bend,
 fold limbs'.
kureia *vt.* wash one's face.
kuroa *vt.* leave, abandon, let go, release.
kurua *n.* k.o red crab.
kurua *n.* bamboo basket to carry water. *From:*
 Tutuba.

L - I

lai *vi.* marry. Used by women only. *Etym:*
 PNCV *laki 'marry, married'.
laia *n.* wedding.
laia *vt.* take, remove, peel. *Etym:* PNCV *la-i
 'take, give'.
lakoia *vt.* decorate.
lakrusa *n.* small and strong tree use to make
laku nails. Boiled leaves are used as a
 mouth rinse to soothe toothache.
laku *n.* wooden nails on the **vatia** outrigger's
 strut. *Etym:* PNCV *laqu.
laku *n.* small tree which red fruits look like
 chilis.
lalao *n.* saliva.
lale *n.* trochus shell. *Trochus niloticus.* *Etym:*
 POC *lalai, *lalako, PNCV *lala.
lalia *adv.* argue, scold.
lama *n.* oil lamp, light.
la'mana *n.* boy.
lang *n.* wind. *Etym:* PNCV *langi.
langa *vi.* bear fruit.
langai *vt.* open.
langalanga *n.* k.o crab.
langalenge *vi.* crazy, stupid.
langlang *vi.* ready (of person).
langlos *n.* hurricane. *Lit:* 'wind lot'.
laoia *vt.* cut tree bark all around the trunk for the
 tree to dry standing up. The tree is then used
 for yams to grow around.
laoro *n.* wooden stick used to throw at birds, at
 nuts or to hit a cow.
lape *prep.* for someone, instead of someone.
 Benefactive and dative.
laru *vi.* be, stand, stay put, of inanimate entities.

lasa *n.* coconut shell used as a cup. *Etym:* POC,
 PNCV *lasa.
lasia *vt.* tie up with rope.
laso *n.* penis.
lason poro *n.* ear lobe. *Lit:* 'genital of ear'.
Etym: POC *lasoR 'testicles', PNCV *laso.
late *adv.* cross (a field, water), go across.
latia *adv.* tight.
latlateia *adv.* settle.
latu *vi.* slippery, slip.
laua *vt.* over. *Etym:* PNCV *lakau, *lakawa
 'cross over'.
la'via *vt.* take, carry, bring. *Etym:* POC *lapi,
 *alap 'take from', PNCV *lavi 'take, carry'.
la'la'v *vi.* deliver a baby.
lavoa *adj,vi adj.* big, plenty.
le *det.* article, specific referential.
ledeia *vt.* kill lice in between one's fingers.
leng *aux.* cannot.
leo *n.* dialect, language, voice, speech, talk.
Etym: POC *leqo 'voice', PNCV *dale'o,
 *leo.
leo ma rasureida *n.* secret. *Lit:* 'The talk
 they hide from us'.
leo vardu *n.* truth. *Lit:* 'talk good'.
leo *vi.* dry, of a fruit whose flesh does not stick
 to the shell. When split open, the flesh
 comes out all at once.
lepsileo *N.* Kastom Chief name, who killed 100
uduru pigs.
lese *n.* k.o coral. *Family Acroporidae.* *Etym:*
 PNCV *laz(e,i).
lese tutun *n.* k.o itchy coral. *Families*
Acroporidae, Pocilloporidae, and

Agariciidae.

leseia *vt.* hammer, break a shell, a nut, by hammering it.

lidi *n.* midrib of a leaf.

liliu *adv.* upside down. *Etym:* POC *liu 'turn', PNCV *liu 'reverse'.

líma *n.* five. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *lima.

líma koru *n.* starfish. It is said that someone who touches a starfish will have 'dry hands' and won't be successful in growing a garden.

linao *vi.* stay put somewhere.

ling *vt.* pour. *Etym:* POC *liNi, PNCV *lingi.

lio *vt.* fasten rope around a tree and an animal's neck.

lipai *n.* mud. *Etym:* POC *le(p,b)a, PNCV *leba.

lisa *n.* k.o small sea snail, turtle feed.

lisa *n.* nit, lice eggs.

lisia *vt.* tie a growing yam to its stick.

lito *vi.* spit. *Etym:* PNCV *loto-vi.

litovia *vt.* spit on.

liu *vt.* lose a month, be pregnant.

livliv *adv.* over.

livua *adv.* in the middle of, in between. *Etym:* PNCV *livuka.

llea *vt.* part the hair when looking for lice.

leo *vi.* awake, wake up, open one's eyes. *Etym:* POC *leqo, PNCV *le'o.

llua *vt.* roll.

llura *adj,vi.* rotten, watery of yam, brown color.

lo- *asp.* imperfective aspect marker.

loa *vi.* becoming ripe, changing colour.

lodolodo *n.* wild edible root, eaten in time of famine.

lodolodo váe *n.* k.o very long edible root but not too thick (about 3cm), like the roots of the tree **váe** which grows close to the shore.

lodolodo poa *n.* k.o edible root, about 10cm

thick, but not too long.

loko *n.* pudding (local food) consisting of grated starch such as yam, taro, banana, cooked in **varo** leaves. *Etym:* POC *lo(g,k)u 'fold, bend', PNCV *loqo.

lolo *n.* inside (one's body), inland, the garden. *Etym:* PNCV *lolo 'inside'.

lolon pili *n.* palm, inner hand.

lolon mata *n.* pupil of the eye.

lolo *vi.* live.

lomoa *vt.* crush, pound.

lopolipo *vi.* tell lies.

loslos vákari *vt.* laugh out loud. *Lit:* 'hit bones'.

loso *vi.* bathe, wash one's body. *Etym:* PNCV *loso-vi.

loso *deg.* more, too much.

losua *vt.* kill, hurt, beat up, scold, hit the water with a rope attached to a bamboo stick to kill sardines.

lotu *n.* tibia.

lua *vi.* vomit.

luesia *vt.* vomit on. *Etym:* POC *luaq, PNCV *lua.

lulu *vi.* lit (of fire), burning with flames.
— *n.* flame.

lulu *n.* wood lice.

lulu *n.* joints of hands.

lului mási *n.* school of fish.

lulumai *n.* blanket. *Etym:* POC *lumi 'fold, hem, crease', PNCV *lulu-mwi 'cover, roll up'.

lum *vt.* tiredness, tired.

lumeia *vt.* cover with a blanket.

lumo *vi.* tired.

lupluput *n.* food wrapped in leaf.

luputia *vt.* cover up with leaves. *Etym:* POC *kaput-i.

luvia *vt.* chase, run.

M - m

-m *cl.* second person singular possessive suffix.

ma *comp.* complementizer and relativizer.

má *vi.* come, become. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *ma(i).

má- *clf.* classifier used with items to be drunk.

mádara *vi.* ripped, torn, unweaved, of a mat.

Etym: PNCV *ma(d,t)are.

madasi *n.* between.

madi *n.* canoe part that link the canoe struts **vatia** together.

madi *n.* calf of the leg.

mádi *n.* tide, current.

- m̃adoa** *n.* flying ant.
- madoni** *n.* varo midrib used to fasten the varo leaves around the laplap.
- m̃adou** *vi.* thirsty. *Etym:* PNCV *madou.
- m̃adue** *clf.* classifier used to describe a dead man's belongings.
- m̃adun** *vi.* drown, soaked, of inanimate entities.
- m̃aduodua** *n.* old woman.
- m̃aia** *vi.* wilted, of leaves.
- maike** *quant.* few, some.
- maimai** *vi.* come in small group.
- m̃akavkav** *vi.* crushed juicy, softened, watery, as after being pounded or overripe, gruel-like.
- mako** *n.* thigh.
- makoʻi** *n.* ash.
- mala** *n.* hawk, swamp harrier. *Circus approximans.* *Etym:* PNCV *(b, m)ala.
- m̃aladua** *n.* west wind.
- m̃alanga** *vi.* be open.
- m̃alanglang** *vi.* smart.
- malao** *n.* black bird. *Incubator. Megapodius.* *Etym:* POC *m(w)alaw, PNCV *mwalau.
- m̃alaua** *vi.* old (of food), smelly.
- m̃alaul** *adj.* young (of animals).
- m̃alauis** *n.* k.o tree used as timber, posts, fence.
- m̃alavua** *n.* mullet fish.
- male** *det.* that one.
- malere** *det.* those ones.
- m̃ale tinana** *n.* k.o fish. *Coris gaimard.* *family Labridae.*
- malese** *n.* k.o fish. *Thalassoma commersoni.* *family Labridae.*
- m̃alevo** *n.* k.o green or red soft wood tree. The juice of its leaves has medicinal properties.
- malida** *n.* k.o tree.
- m̃allai** *adv.* little bit, few.
- mallao** *N.* Turtle island.
- mallu** *n.* under, below.
- malmala** *n.* wooden club used for killing pigs.
- m̃alm̃ala** *vi.* novice, ignorant, inexperienced, who is not trained to do something, or who doesn't like to speak in public.
- m̃alm̃alea** *adj,vi.* tamed, quiet.
- m̃alm̃altiai** *n.* short and very thin millipede found in the bush, which glows at night.
- malmalu** *n.* k.o edible clam shell. *Tridacna crocea.* *family Tridacnidae.*
- m̃alm̃alum** *n.* evening.
- malo** *n,vi.* reef, low tide. *Etym:* POC 'mwaloq', PNCV *mwalo 'coral head, reef'.
- malo pipi** *n.* flat reef stone.
- malo pivi** *n.* k.o coral. *Family Acroporidae.*
- malo tutun** *n.* k.o coral. *Family Dendrophylliidae.*
- malparav** *N.* Oyster island. *Lit:* 'reef long'. Other islands between Maʻvea and Santo include: **Maluepe** and **Malvatu**. The islands **Malvapevu** and **Malvanua** are closer to Santo.
- m̃alti** *n.* taste.
- m̃alum** *adv.* quiet, slow. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *ma-lumu.
- m̃am** *cl.* first person plural exclusive possessive suffix.
- mama** *n.* dad, daddy. *Etym:* PNCV *mama.
- mamaite** *pro.* another one.
- m̃ana** *vi.* laugh. *Etym:* PNCV *mana.
- m̃anan** *vi.* be ashamed.
- m̃anateia** *vt.* mock, laugh at.
- m̃aniʻniʻ** *vi.* thin. *Etym:* POC *manipis, PNCV *ma-nivi=nivi.
- m̃anm̃anea** *n.* fun, funny, who can make you laugh.
- m̃anm̃anu** *n.* k.o disease of yams.
- m̃angadidi** *vi.* cold. *Etym:* POC *ma(ka)(d)ri(d)ri, PNCV *madidi, *mariri.
- mangae** *n.* fork of a sling, of a branch.
- m̃aono** *vi.* sweat. *Etym:* PNCV *maono-ta.
- m̃amaone** *n.* sweat.
- maoto** *n.* k.o plant.
- maoto lavoa** *n.* May. Yam's leaves are dried and fall down. Yams are ready.
- maoto vorvor** *n.* April. Time when the **maoto** plant is blooming, yams are ready for dig up.
- mapa** *n.* Tahitian chestnut, tree and its edible nuts, eaten boiled or roasted. *Inocarpus fagiferus.* *Etym:* PNCV *mwabwe.
- m̃apai** *vi.* coiled.
- m̃apar** *n.* k.o tree.
- mape** *n.* stick or pole to which an animal is tied.
- mapi-** *ni.* kinship term used to refer to a female grand child, used by children to refer to the female children of their maternal uncle or of their paternal aunt.

mapir *vi.* folded, crumpled, creased.
mapolo *vi.* pierced, with holes, of something round or hollow.
mapu *n.* breath. *Lit:* 'when did his breath finish?'.
mar *prep.* belong (space and time).
marada *n.* pig tusk which has gone through the jaw at least one time.
maradi *n.* stone.
maradsul *n.* big stones heated up and put on top of the laplap to bake it.
marae *n.* east wind.
marao *adv.* left (direction).
marao *n.* k.o sea snake, smaller than **pilepango**.
marao sala *n.* k.o eel, that comes close to the shore.
marao aros *n.* k.o eel.
marao voko *n.* k.o white eel.
marapa *n.* September.
marau- *ni.* wife.
marava *num.* six.
mario *vi.* be dark, be night time.
mariu *n.* wattle, barrel tree. *Acacia spirorbis*.
Etym: PNCV *mariu.
maruari *n.* tiny green coconut.
maro *det.* this here.
maror *det.* these ones here.
marong *vi.* breathe.
marong sevsevu *vi.* breathe loudly, pant, gasp for air.
marong teptepu *vi.* sob. *Etym:* PNCV *maro.
marongi *n.* lungs, breath.
marpati *num.* ninety.
marasaia *vt.* finish.
maru *n.* hunger. *Etym:* PNCV *maro.
-marua *cl.* first person plural exclusive dual possessive suffix.
marve *num.* sixth.
marverua *num.* seven.
marvetol *num.* eight.
marvitu *n.* close, near.
mas *adv.* through, motion from outside to inside.
masa *n.* k.o of knife or walking stick, crooked at the top. *Etym:* PNCV *mwaza 'spear'.
masa *n.* whip.
masa *n.* k.o tree.
masa *vi.* be dry, dried.

masakarkara *n.* bamboo roof beam that runs in the middle of the roof.
masaliopoa *n.* roof part.
masalsala *vi.* light weight, floating. *Etym:* PNCV *ma-sale.
masaluva *vi.* be capsized, overflow, be dropped.
masan wili *n.* orange spine unicorn fish. *Family* *Acanthuridae*.
masanga *vi.* forked. *Etym:* PNCV *saga.
masapsaputu *vi.* lose hair.
masara *n.* red squirrelfish.
masaroi *vi.* be seated on the ground with leg straight.
masi *n.* generic term for birds and fish.
masi *n.* color.
masmasi *vi.* colorful.
masi *vi.* sore.
masi ara mata vaitina *n.* k.o red fish. *Family* *Holocentridae*.
masi poa viria *n.* k.o fish. *Family* *Haemulidae*.
masi poa voko *n.* k.o fish. *Family* *Haemulidae*.
masi pepe *n.* butterfly fish. *Family* *Chaetodontidae*.
masi poa *n.* big lip fish. *Family* *Haemulidae*.
masi popoi uduru *n.* sail fin tang fish. Strong smell when cooked.
masi uduru *n.* angelfish. *Lit:* 'fish pig'. *Families* *Monocentridae* or *Pomacanthidae*. They have a long spike near the gill, resembling a pig's tusk.
masi rai *n.* k.o fish with a very long dorsal fin. *Families* *Sciaenidae*, *Chaetodontidae*, and *Zanclidae*.
masin soso *n.* k.o yellow stripped fish. *Family* *Haemulidae* or *Lethrinidae*.
masinpisu *n.* finger nail.
masingo *vi.* agree, accept.
masirai *n.* angelfish.
masmas *n.* insect.
maso *vi.* straight (of hair, road, talk).
masoa *n.* star. *Etym:* PNCV *mwazo(e,i).
mason *n.* giant trevally. *Family* *Carangidae*.
mason tasi pua *n.* k.o fish. *Family* *Carangidae*.
mason angu *n.* k.o fish. *Family* *Carangidae*.

mason viria *n.* k.o fish. *Family Carangidae.*
mason ese *n.* k.o fish. *Family Carangidae.*
mason roro *n.* k.o fish. *Family Carangidae.*
mason tara *n.* k.o fish. *Family Carangidae.*
masor *vi.* belch, burp. *Etym:* PNCV *masoru
 'hiccup, sob'.
masura *vi.* descend.
mata *n.* snake. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *mwata.
mata *vi.* dead. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *mate.
mata *n.* eye. *Etym:* PNCV *mata.
matai sa *wh.* for what reason.
matala *n.* puzzle tree. *Kleinhovia hospita.* Used
 as fire wood, to build local houses' roof.
matalapa *n.* k.o shell. *Turbo petholatus, family*
Turbinidae. Used as Kastom hair
 decoration.
matamaso *n.* sun.
matamata *n.* laplap rolled inside a **talaua** leaf,
 cooked inside a bamboo.
matan *comp.* because, so that.
matan susu *n.* nipple. *Lit:* 'eye of breast'.
matapa *n.* sore that is still bleeding.
matara *n.* scar, a cut.
matasala *adj.* blind.
matasat *n.* blind person.
matavono *n.* axe. *Lit:* 'eye of the bush'.
matavot *n.* one spot sea perch. *Family*
Lutjanidae.
matesala *n.* door.
matevulu *N.* Mavea speaking settlement on
 Santo.
matiu *n.* coconut fruit and tree. *Etym:* POc
 *matuqu 'brown and ripe coconut which has
 not fallen yet', PNCV *matu-i.
matua *n.* right (direction). *Etym:* POc *matuqu,
 PNCV *matu'a.
matua *vi.* hard, strong.
matulei *vt.* swing.
matultulai *vi.* swing.
maur *vi.* alive. *Etym:* PNCV *ma'uri.
mauri *n.* life.
maururia *vt.* harvest yams and leave them to
 dry in a shelter near the garden.
mautu *n.* k.o banana.
mavan *vi.* play (of children).
mavea *N.* language and island's name.
mavo *vi.* be healed, dried. *Etym:* PNCV *mavo.
mavua *vi.* split, cracked, because of drought

(soil), of an earthquake (building).
mavuro *n.* k.o plant. used to make arrows.
me *tns.* future tense marker.
me- *asp.* iterative aspect marker.
meia *vt.* lick.
me rongo *vt.* taste. *Lit:* 'lick feel'.
mel *adv.* one more, once again, additionally.
mele *n.* cycad. *Cycas circinnalis.*
me-me *n.* k.o stinging sponge. *Family*
Callyspongiidae.
me-me *n.* tongue. *Etym:* POc *maya, PNCV
 *mea.
me-melu *n.* k.o rope.
mene *adj,vi.* ripe. *Etym:* POc,PNCV *mena.
mene *n.* k.o biche de mer. *Family*
Holothhuridae.
mepe *vi.* drown.
mere *vi.* urinate. *Etym:* POc *mimiR, PNCV
 *me=me-re.
merenga *vt.* bark at.
meresia *vt.* urinate on.
merlasa *vi.* have yellow fever.
mermere *n.* k.o fish. *Cetoscarus bicolor, scarus*
ghobban, scarus gibbus, family Scaridae.
mer tapa *n.* k.o fish. *Scarus sordius, family*
Scaridae.
meru *vi.* bark.
meu *n.* wattle, barrel tree that grows near the sea,
 good fire wood. *Acacia simplex.*
meu *vi.* be wet with dew.
mi *n,vi.* earthquake. *Etym:* PNCV *muki.
-mim *cl.* second person plural possessive suffix.
mo- *agr.* third person singular subject agreement
 marker.
mo- *asp.* conditional aspectual marker.
moli *n.* orange, citrus. *Etym:* POc *molis, PNCV
 *moli.
momo *vi.* soft, softened.
momos *adv.* well, good.
mongavulu rua *num.* twenty.
mongavulu tolu *num.* thirty.
mongavulu marverua *num.* seventy.
mongavulu marvetolu *num.* eighty.
mormor *n.* ditch, gully.
moru *n.* earth oven, fire place. *Etym:* PNCV
 *moru 'hole'.
mosomoso *n.* k.o bird.
-mruo *cl.* second person dual possessive suffix.

N - n

- n** *cl.* construct suffix.
- na** *prep.* in, at, on, near, of.
- na** *conj.* but.
- na** *adv.* only.
- na** *interj.* conversation filler.
- na** *wh.* focus marker.
- na-** *agr.* first person singular subject agreement marker.
- na-** *num.* plural marker prefixed to kinship terms.
- na** *cl.* third person singular possessive suffix.
- nadnadi** *n.* make a Kastom peace ceremony to pay back an offence. Give something in exchange of a favor (such as a passage used).
- nalapa** *N.* Maika Shem's village name.
- nanovī** *adv.* yesterday. *Etym:* PNCV *nanov(i,a).
- nao** *pro.* first person singular independent pronoun. *Etym:* PNCV *nau 'I, me'.
— *n.* face. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *nako 'face'.
— *adv.* in front of.
- naopono** *N.* Philip Riri's village name.
- napar** *adv.* today.
- napnapai** *n.* lid, cover, cork.
- nasa** *adv.* softly, quietly.
- natu** *adj.* next.
- natu** *n.* red silkwood tree and its edible fruits. *Burckella obovata.* *Etym:* PNCV *natu.
- natu-** *ni.* kinship term used to refer to one's own male child, or the male child of the sister of the husband or the wife, or the male child of the brother of the husband, used by a maternal aunt and her husband, or a paternal uncle and his wife to refer to their nephew.
- natui sala** *n.* (insult) child with no father, bastard. *Lit:* 'child of road'. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *natu.
- natua** *vt.* fertile.
- natua-** *ni.* neighbor.
- nauese** *adv.* the day before yesterday. *Etym:* POC [qa]-na-waRisa, PNCV *ana-waRisa.
- navaisesea** *n.* child (person).
- navari** *n.* children (person).
- navkotarleo** *N.* Kastom Chief name, who killed 100 rava pigs with a kaloa.
- navo** *n.* wave. *Etym:* PNCV *navo.
- ndia** *vt.* make a knot.
- ne** *interj.* conversation filler.
- nele** *det.* this (one).
- nelere** *det.* these (ones).
- nidevu** *pro.* everyone of us.
- nini** *adj,vi.* fat.
- nira** *pro.* third person plural independent pronoun. *Etym:* POC *sira, PNCV *n(a)-ira.
- nirevu** *quant.* everyone.
- nna** *pro.* third person singular independent pronoun.
- nneria** *vt.* remove the stalk of a leaf.
- nnia** *vt.* rub one's eye.
- nni'peia** *vt.* slice a bamboo to sharpen it.
- nniroa** *vt.* look at, observe closely, watch.
- nno** *pro.* second person singular independent pronoun.
- no-** *clf.* possessive classifier.
- noa** *vi.* cooked, done. *Etym:* POC *[ma-]noka, PNCV *ma-noka.
- nono** *vi.* walk very slowly.
- nororo** *pro.* now, here, this.
- noror** *pro.* these here.
- nortovono** *n.* now.
- nov** *vi.* burn.
- novi na vatano** *n.* centipede found in the bush, not too harmful, about 5cm in length.
- novu** *n.* k.o scorpion fish. *Family Scorpidae.* *Etym:* POC nopa 'scorpion', PNCV *novu.
- novu sangsangara** *n.* red firefish, scorpion fish (with poisonous scales).
- novu tavun** *n.* venomous false stone fish which changes colour to resemble stones. *Family Platycephalidae.*
- novu sala** *n.* k.o venomous fish. *Family Scorpidae.*
- ntao** *vt, vi.* afraid.
- nua** *n.* picture. *Etym:* PNCV *nua 'image'.
- nuenue** *n.* rainbow. *Etym:* PNCV *nuanua,

*nivaniva.

Ng - ng

ngadira *vt.* be cold.

ngadirane *n.* cold.

ngadiri *n.* thorn.

ngadiria *vt.* scratch, graze, scrape.

ngado *n.* round basket of weaved coconut with one or two straps, to carry kumala or taro.

ngangae *n.* native almond tree and its edible nuts. *Canarium indicum*. Used a timber. *Etym:* PNCV *'angaRi.

ngara *vi.* whine, cry (of children, cats, rats, flying fox).

— *n.* cry. *Etym:* PNCV *gara.

ngaria *vt.* peel sugar cane **tovu**, corn, banana.

ngasi *vi.* quarrel verbally.

ngatngatir *vi.* thorny.

ngatngatur *vi.* crunchy.

ngava *n.* measure, one arm length to the middle

of the chest.

ngavul *num.* decade.

ngelo *n.* k.o fish. *Pseudodax moluccanus*, family *Labridae*.

ngerngere *n.* mosquito.

ngirngir *vi.* cry of a mouse. *Etym:* PNCV *gere 'cry'.

ngisa *vi.* show one's teeth. *Etym:* PNCV *gisa 'smile'.

ngolngol *n.* k.o eel sp with no tooth.

ngoro *vi.* snore. *Etym:* PNCV *gora.

ngurngur *n.* chin.

ngurngur *vi.* growl, grunt, of dogs, pigs.

ngusa *vi.* blow one's nose.

ngutngut *vi.* hum.

ngutu *vi.* moan, groan, because of pain.

O - o

o *interj.* oh!

-o *cl.* second person singular direct object clitic.

oi *n.* water inherent to a body.

oin m̄mata *n.* tears.

oin m̄matu *n.* coconut milk.

oi *interj.* uh, really, no way.

oia *vi.* juicy.

olas *n.* k.o tree with stinging leaves and trunk.

olo *vi.* bend of body, tree.

oloa *vt.* surf a wave.

olo *vi.* surf.

ololo *vt.* show respect.

olotu *N.* Luganville.

ona *n.* bile, digestive fluid.

onda *N.* Samson's village name.

onea *vt.* look at, see, find, meet.

ono *n.* sand.

ono *vi.* salty, bitter. *Etym:* PNCV *kona 'bitter'.

onono *vt.* see.

ontaia *vt.* look after, take care of, raise children.

ontatina *vi.* jealous.

ontavseia *vt.* know.

op̄ae *N.* Ambae island.

opo *vi.* hot (of weather, water).

opoi *vt.* like something, love someone.

opul *vi.* satiated, full (of food).

or *adv.* maybe.

oria *vt.* fuck (slang).

oro *adv.* obstruct, block. *Etym:* PNCV *koro 'obstruct'.

oroto *n.* k.o tree and its edible nut. Other species include: **oroto malese**, **oroto ara**, and **poturo**. *Barringtonia edulis*.

ortango *n.* k.o tree. Used to make bows.

orvai *vi.* startle.

osia *vt.* clean by wiping, as of a child after he defecates.

oso *vi.* come ashore, reach the shore.

osoa *vt.* stick a knife in the food, ground, stab, pick one's nose, stick with a syringe.

osom̄a *vt.* remove coconut husk by hitting it on a pole. *Etym:* POc *kojom, PNCV *kozo-mi.

oti *n.* bundle of fire wood, of pandamus,

faggot. *Etym:* PNCV *Ro'oti.
otia *vt.* disturb.
otol *vi.* lay eggs.
otoli *n.* egg. *Etym:* POc *qatoluR, PNCV *'atolu.
otor *n.* k.o black bee sp without sting, which uses leaf to make a nest in wood holes.
otot *vi.* disturb, bother.
otot *vt.* fasten with a belt.
o'vae *n.* sting ray.
o'vae karae *n.* eagle ray. *Family* Myliobatidae.
o'vae raorao aka *n.* manta ray, said to be able to hold a canoe with its wings. *Family*

Mobulidae.
o'vae tavun *n.* k.o ray. Tachypleus gigas, *family* Limulidae.
o'vato *n.* long flying insect (about 7cm in length) like a scarab, living in dead trees. Starts off as a caterpillar.
o'via *vt.* smolder, incubate, sleep close by, simmer, carry under one's arm.
o'v *vi.* baked and still in the fire, of laplap. *Etym:* PNCV *'avi-ga.
o'vo *n.* frigate bird.
ovuseia *vt.* bang.

P - p

pa *asp.* still, yet.
pai *n.* shoulder.
paia *vt.* light a fire by rubbing pieces of wood together, a short one **ruru**, and a long one **vanatu**. The best woods to rub are **v'ae** and **matala**.
paipai *vi.* light a fire by rubbing pieces of wood together.
paia *vt.* wind st. on itself, like a rope, a thread.
paika *n.* big green sea snail, up to 20cm shell. *Etym:* PNCV *baiqa.
pailil *vi.* with lots of curves.
pailua *vt.* bend.
pailu *vi.* crooked, curved.
paingure *adj,vi.* stubborn.
paio *n.* shark. *Etym:* POc *bak(e,i)wa, PNCV *bakewa.
paio tavun *n.* k.o shark. Chiloscyllium punctatum, *family* Hemiscyllidae.
paio sala *n.* k.o shark.
paika *n.* bow.
paika *n.* banyan tree (Ficus). Used for the **vopatu** house beams, cross and rails. The wood is first roasted to peel off the bark, then drown into the ocean for at least a week, then dried for 2 or 3 weeks. *Etym:* POc *baga, PNCV *baqa.
paikaia *vt.* denounce an innocent.
paikaia *vt.* be tight, as of a tight dress that prevents from walking straight.
pakao *n.* k.o parrot fish. *Scarus*

strongylocephalus, *family* Scaridae.
pakao as *n.* k.o fish. Scarus prasiognathus, *family* Scaridae.
pakao singo ara *n.* k.o fish. *family* Scaridae.
pakao si'vi *n.* k.o fish. *family* Scaridae.
paikapaka *vi.* be fined by the Kastom law.
paikapaka *n.* k.o coral peeled when dried to reveal its black and shiny inside. *Families* Melithaeidae and Subergorgiidae. Used as decoration.
pakutia *vt.* stick, glue.
pal *vt.* resemble, alike, as...as.
palaia *vt.* imitate, copy.
pala *n.* handle, of a knife.
pala *n.* bed, shelter, storage for yams. *Etym:* POc *patar 'bed, platform, PNCV *bala 'bed', PNCV *bala-ti 'wattled structure'.
pala *vi.* (flower) bud, budding.
palai *adv.* likewise, too, same as, as well.
palaia *vt.* put a piece of wood horizontally on top of two forked vertical sticks, hit a piece of wood leaned against another one to break it. *Etym:* POc *pwalaq-i.
palako *n.* k.o tree sp with edible young leaves and fruits growing on the branches and trunk. Ficus gibbosa, Ficus wassa. The fruits are also bat's feed.
palat *vt.* peel a seed, a peanut.
palati *n.* thin leaf that covers young bamboo shoots.
palatia *vt.* close, shut.

- pale** *adv.* down.
- paleia** *vt.* insert or plant a pole in the ground.
- palia-** *ni.* kinship term used by a son-in-law to refer to his father-in-law, or the brothers of his parents-in-law, and vice-versa. *Etym:* PNCV *bwalika 'affine'.
- ǎpalioa** *n.* unedible wild kava. Its leave are said to protect a new born child from the evil eye. They are thus attached to the child's belongings.
- palo** *n.* leg. *Etym:* PNCV *bwalo.
- ǎpalpala** *n.* food storage, shelter for food.
- ǎpalpala** *n.* small pool of water left at low tide in which people with scabies swim.
- palpalai** *vi.* 1) level.
- palpalai** *adv.* same.
- paltaua** *vt.* plant a knife's blade in a surface.
- panara** *adv.* outside one's fence.
- panpan** *n.* Kastom bracelet.
- panuta** *n.* drummer fish. *Kyphosus sectatrix*. *family Kyphosidae*.
- pange** *n.* belly. *Etym:* PNCV *bage.
- pangori** *n.* skull.
- pao** *vi.* pull a canoe with a cord.
- ǎpao** *n.* k.o bird with black feathers and red head, as big as a **malao**, which eats banana. Purple swamphen bird.
- ǎpao** *n.* k.o cultivated plant.
- paoa** *vt.* make a hammock, for children to rest, by hanging a piece of cloth to two trees.
- ǎpaoǎpao** *n.* 1) k.o wild plant. 2) — *vi.* play the **paopao** game which consists of finding forked **paopao** leaves, which are rare, and count for a lots of points.
- paovǎi** *n.* grating tool.
- paovǎ talaua** *n.* grating tool made of a **talaua** leaf stem.
- paovǎ kava** *n.* grating tool made of corrugated iron.
- papa** *vi.* wash one's hand.
- papai** *n.* dry banana stem fiber, used to make a rope to tie a growing yam to its stick.
- ǎpǎpar** *n.* oyster.
- paparao** *quant.* all.
- papil** *n.* white spotted surgeon fish. *Family Acanthuridae*.
- par ngisa** *vi.* make a face, grim, to show dislike to someone.
- para** *n.* spider.
- para** *vi.* have white hair (of a person).
- para** *n.* chest.
- ǎpara** *vi.* follow the reef, the water while on the coast.
- paramal** *vi.* unmarried.
- paranga** *vi.* skinny.
- paranga** *n.* cave.
- paras** *n.* k.o surgeon fish.
- paras** *n.* stick on which the yam plant grows.
- parasia** *vt.* plant a stick in the ground for a yam to grow along.
- ǎparav** *adj,vi.* tall, long (space and time). *Etym:* POc *b^(w)arapu, PNCV *baravu.
- pareke** *n.* edible island cabbage with red stem.
- paro** *adj,vi.* not ripe (of banana), new (of house), uncooked, raw. *Etym:* POc *paqoRu, PNCV *bwaro.
- parorua** *adv.* everywhere, all around.
- parou-** *n.* orphan, fatherless child.
- pasa** *vt.* duck down.
- pasangiengia** *n.* troll, small devilish creature.
- pasuarvina** *n.* frontanele, top of the skull.
- pasuosua** *n.* caledonian crab, has a fin it uses to swim. *Scylla serrata*.
- pasura** *n.* papaya.
- pat sangavul** *adj,vi.* said of a rooster, which comb looks like a crown.
- patamme** *n.* prow, front of canoe.
- patatau** *n.* stern, back of canoe.
- pataua** *n.* garbage.
- patliu** *n.* mountain. *Etym:* PNCV *bwatu 'head' and *liu 'beyond'.
- patnao-** *ni.* widow.
- patolapa** *n.* tidal wave.
- patruda tete** *n.* flying fish.
- patu** *n.* thunder.
- patu** *n.* head. *Etym:* PEO *pwatu, PNCV *bwatu.
- patui** *n.* bamboo stem.
- pau** *n.* knee. *Etym:* PNCV *bwau.
- paua** *vt.* fasten the legs of a live pig to carry him.
- pauia** *vt.* push with the knee.
- ǎpaura** *n.* k.o tamanu tree. *Calophyllum inophyllum*. Young shoots used to make the **vatia** link between outrigger and canoe. The fruits are bat feed. The yellow seeds are boiled with coconut oil as medicine to cure scabies and sores. Another uncommon

- species, **ǃpaura lala** has larger leaves, and grows into small trees. *Etym*: PNCV *bakura.
- ǃpaura** *n.* k.o edible root similar to **tasoa**, big in size.
- paṽi** *n.* carving tool for a canoe.
- paṽi** *n.* paddletail fish.
- paṽia** *vt.* carve inside a canoe.
- ǃpea** *n.* Kastom drum made of bamboo. *Etym*: PNCV *bwea 'slitgong'.
- ǃpeai** *vt.* put a bait, lure. *Etym*: POc *bayan, PNCV *bea.
- peara** *n.* small white fish with red stripes, convict surgeon fish. *Acanthurus triostegus*. *family Acanthuridae*.
- peas** *n.* coconut husk and shell.
- ǃpei** *n.* k.o edible plant.
- ǃpei papala** *n.* k.o edible plant.
- ǃpeia** *vt.* stick one's finger in, insert, as of cabbage inside laplap.
- peke** *n.* owl.
- pelia** *vt.* finish one's work.
- pelmele** *adv.* like this, like that.
- ǃpeo** *n.* breadfruit, (gen) whose wood is used to carve canoes. *Etym*: POc *baReko, PNCV *baeko.
- ǃpeo tamauta** *n.* k.o tree and its edible fruit, soursop. *Annona muricata*.
- pepe** *n.* liver.
- ǃpepe** *n.* butterfly.
— *n.* butterfly fish. *Etym*: POc *bebek, PNCV *bebe.
- ǃpepe udu** *n.* large moth, about 20cm in width.
- ǃpeperavutu** *n.* k.o bat.
- pepero** *n.* white mushroom that grows on dead tree. *From*: Tutuba. *Etym*: PNCV *bwero, *boro.
- pere** *n.* branch.
- ǃperetia** *vt.* hurt by falling, by being dropped.
- pero** *vi.* dream. *Etym*: PNCV *bore.
- perisati** *n.* nightmare.
- perpero** *vt.* forget.
- ǃperu** *n.* post, fence, pilar in house that stands upstraight.
- pete** *n.* k.o taro including **pete ara**, and **pete voko**. *Etym*: PNCV *bweta.
- pete-** *asp.* inceptive aspect, marking the very beginning of an action.
- petea** *vt.* split a piece of wood which is standing on another one.
- petu** *vi.* dull, blunt.
— *n.* opposite side of a blade.
- peturu** *adj,vi.* short.
- ǃpeve** *vt.* bear children. *Etym*: POc *papa, PNCV *bava, *baba.
- ǃpevea** *vt.* carry one's child in a cloth slung across the chest.
- pevis** *n.* k.o edible root.
- pevu** *n.* k.o wild yam whose stem is used as rope.
- piepia** *n.* dust.
- ǃpilae** *n.* pacific golden plover bird. *Etym*: PNCV *bilake 'buff-banded rail, (Rallus)'.
ǃpilai vovono *n.* banded rail bird.
- ǃpile** *n.* woman's genitals. *Etym*: PNCV *bile.
- ǃpilepango** *n.* dangerous big brown eel, giant moray. *Family Muraenidae*.
- pili** *n.* fresh water swamp, lake.
- pili** *n.* hand, arm, front leg of an animal.
- pilia** *vt.* serve, share food.
- pilo** *adj,vi.* bald.
- pilto** *vi.* close one's eyes, sleep.
- pinga** *n.* female genitals.
- piopio** *n.* k.o fish.
- pipio** *n.* rippled rockskipper fish.
- pir** *vt.* squeeze, hold tight.
- pira** *n.* Kastom ceremony when a groom collects money to buy his bride.
- pirav** *n.* striped surgeon fish. *Acanthurus lineatus*. *family Acanthuridae*. This fish has two knives close to its tails that it uses to fight predators.
- piri** *n.* coconut husk and shell but no flesh.
- ǃpiri** *n.* shell.
- piria** *n.* strong yam.
pir vovono *n.* k.o wild yam.
- piria** *vt.* fold, crumple, crease.
- piria** *N.* Ma'vea speaking village on Santo.
- pirpir** *vi.* thunder, small storm.
- ǃpirpiri** *n.* k.o tree. *Hernandia*. Used to make outriggers like the tree **sinor**. Fruits used as whistle. *Etym*: POc *pi(r,R)jipi(r,R)i, PNCV *biri=biri.
- pisi** *vi.* extinguish (of fire).
- ǃpisu** *n.* k.o yam, soft, highly praised, used in Kastom ceremonies. Other types include:

- piseroi, pismakoap̃a, pisese, pistungmanap̃ao.**
- pisu** *n.* k.o tree, bead tree, red beam tree. *Adenanthera*. Good fire wood. *Etym:* PNCV *bis(u,a).
- pisua** *vt.* point at, with index finger. *Etym:* PNCV *bisu 'finger'.
- pit̃a** *n.* flying cicada. Lives on trees, lays eggs on the ground.
- ple** *vt.* kick, spread wings.
- poa** *n.* (gen) pig. *Etym:* POC *boRok, PNCV *boe.
- poa** *vi.* crawl on all four limbs, hands and knees, of toddlers.
- podia** *vt.* roll a branch with forked bamboo prongs to break it.
- podio** *n.* green grasshopper.
- poi** *n.* smell, odor. *Etym:* PNCV *bo.
- poin kalan** *n.* bluestripe sea perch. *Family Lutjanidae*.
- pokala** *n.* blue tail copper-striped skink lizard.
- pokalatia** *vt.* lock one's arms by putting your arm under the other person's armpit and lock them behind her neck.
- pole** *N.* Kastom dance of Hog Harbour.
- polmoro** *adv.* like this, like that, likewise.
- polo** *n.* basket made of coconut frond to carry fruits. *Etym:* POC *bola 'woven coconut leaves', PNCV *bolo.
- polo** *n.* k.o fish. *Acanthurus nigrofuscus*. *family Acanthuridae*.
- polo ṽae** *n.* k.o fish. *Acanthurus nigricauda*. *family Acanthuridae*.
- poloa** *vt.* break (of a clay pot, egg, canoe, coconut, stone), pierce, make with a hole.
- poloa** *vt.* hit one's head.
- pololia** *N.* Kastom dance south Santo.
- polopolo** *n.* raft.
- polṽai** *n.* white cheek surgeon fish.
- pon** *vi.* smell bad. *Etym:* PNCV *b(o,u)ni.
- pona** *n.* A knot outside a tree trunk or branch.
- poni** *n.* bottom.
- pono** *vi.* swell, of wood, flower bud, body.
- ponsa velena** *n.* tail, rump of a fowl.
- ponga** *vi.* funeral ceremony, **ponga liṃa** is performed five days after the death, **ponga sangavul**, 10 days after the death, then 50 days after the death.
- pongi** *n.* night, day length. *Etym:* POC *boNi, PNCV *bongi.
- popo** *n.* germinated coconut, ready to be planted, and its edible pith.
- porkoroko** *n.* oriental sweetlip fish, multicolored fish.
- porkoroko tasi pua** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Haemulidae*.
- porkoroko ango** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Haemulidae*.
- porlese** *n.* dry coral found on the beach.
- poro** *n.* k.o wild pandanus not used to weave.
- poro** *n.* ear, gills. *Etym:* PNCV *bwero, *boro.
- poroi aso** *n.* diamond scale mullet.
- porong** *vt.* snort, sniff, smell.
- porpepe** *n.* devil, devilish creature.
- porput** *n,vi.* deaf person.
- porta** *n.* dry sore.
- posi** *n.* behavior, attitude, making.
- posia** *vt.* turn.
- posoa** *vt.* pluck fruits with hands.
- poṽeia** *vt.* pretend to do s.t.
- povis** *n.* k.o rope.
- povon** *vi.* heavy.
- povoto** *n.* castrated.
- povso** *n.* banana flower.
- povuso** *n.* Kastom wooden club used to kill pigs in grade taking ceremony.
- pua** *n.* 1) bamboo. 2) knife. Bamboos were cut in pointed shapes and used as knives. *Etym:* PNCV *bue.
- pua** *vi.* deep. *Etym:* PNCV *bua.
- pua** *n.* tomb, grave.
- pua voko** *n.* k.o tree.
- puai** *n.* sea cow, dugong.
- puai** *n.* strong bamboo.
- puaka** *n.* k.o plant.
- pue** *n.* canoe mast.
- puea** *vt.* slice, cut, peel.
- puelol** *n.* laplap cooked directly inside a bamboo.
- pukpuk** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Tetraodontidae*.
- pula** *vt.* fish at night, low tide, in the reef's pools, with a torch.
- pula-** *clf.* belong, possessive classifier, used with vegetables and animals (but not pigs).
- pule** *vt.* wag, shake.
- pulpul** *adj,vi.* sticky.
- pulpul tineran** *n.* broom grass.

pulu *n.* sap.
pulu *n.* k.o tree, glue tree.
pulu *n.* paint.
pulua *vt.* dye, paint.
pulua *vi.* gather, together. *Etym:* PNCV *bulu-ti 'stick to, join'.
puma *n.* k.o big round coral stone. *Families Faviidae and Mussidae.* Small pieces were used as a kava grating tool.
pumet *n.* red bellied fusilier fish.
pumet tasi pua *n.* k.o fish. *Family Caesionidae.*
punopuna *n.* k.o plant with big leaves used as umbrella.
pungu *n.* bamboo or sugar cane ring.
pungu- penis ring, penis head.
pur palo *n.* top of the foot.
pura *n.* puffer fish. *Arothon, Family Tetraodontidae.* *Etym:* PNCV *buebue.
pureia *vt.* cover up with a dish.
purlesia *vt.* put one's clothes inside out.
puro *n.* 1) coconut shell after being grated, used as a cup. 2) kava shell. *Etym:* PNCV *bura-

ti 'empty container, shell'.
puropura *vi.* swell up after being hurt. *Etym:* PNCV *bura 'elephantiasis'.
purpur tong *vi.* mushy, sticky, as of overripe fruits.
purtun *n.* big biche de mer with hard body. *Family Holothuridae.*
puru *n,vi.* grade taking. Some grades names are **puri kou, puri karae, and pur levus.**
puru *n.* back of the body.
purunga *vi.* thick.
puse *adv.* away from.
puse *n.* jaw, cheek.
pusopuso *vi.* binge on, gorge, stuff.
put nao pono *n.* steephead parrot fish. *Family Scaridae.*
putan *vi.* unwillingly.
puto *n.* navel. *Etym:* POc *buto, PNCV *b(u,i)to.
putput *n.* deaf and dumb person.
putu *vi.* deaf. *Etym:* PNCV *butu 'deaf, mute'.
puturi *n.* trunk, stem of a tree.

R - r

r- *agr.* dual marker.
ra- *agr.* third person plural subject marker.
rai *n.* leaf.
rai *vi.* stuck.
rai *vi.* swell, as of waves.
rako *vt.* carry a bow and arrow.
rakoa *vt.* carry in one's arm or hand, collect, pick up.
ran *n.* day, daylight. *Etym:* POc *raqani, PNCV *rani.
ranga *vi.* have an erection.
rangaia *vt.* transport in a vehicle (canoe, boat, or truck).
rao *vt.* encircle with two arms, climb by circling with arms a rope, a tree trunk.
rape *n.* body. *Etym:* PNCV *ta-rabe.
rape *n.* tree log.
rapisu *n.* drink made of grinded **usu** mixed with coconut juice, coconut flesh and sugar.
rappati *num.* nine.
rar *conj.* coordinator used to link two noun

phrases.
rarua *pro.* third person plural dual, subject or object.
raruorua *adv.* two together.
rasa *n.* rafter, one of the bamboo beams on a roof where **eluba** is attached, perpendicular to the **vopatu**.
rasa ono *vt.* rub sand, brush with an abrasive.
rasarasa *vi.* search for something in the dark, grope around.
rasua *vt.* bail out, scoop. *Etym:* POc *asu, PNCV *rasu.
— *n.* pail.
— *vi.* rummage, scour.
rata *n.* k.o fern. Its woolen trunk is used to make pillows.
ratia *vt.* lift something up.
ratol *pro.* third person trial or paucal pronoun subject.
ratol *conj.* coordinator used to link a third noun phrase.

- rattolu** *num.* eight.
- rau** *n.* leaves. *Etym:* POC *rau(n), PNCV *rau.
- rau tasoa** *n.* k.o sea weed used as medicine to heal a wound.
- raua** *vt.* embrace with force.
- rauia** *vt.* place a yam in an open hole before burrying it.
- raul** *vt.* plant.
- raun** *vt.* remove, take out.
- rauna** *vt.* carve the inside of a canoe.
- rava** *n.* hermaphrodite pig. *Etym:* PNCV *ravwe.
- ravarava** *n.* k.o tree. Its bark is boiled to dye pandanus leaves red. Also used as medicine: the flesh inside the bark is boiled and used as ointment on a sore tooth. Good fire wood.
- ra^{ve}ia** *vt.* pull. *Etym:* PNCV *r[a,e]ve.
- ra^{ve}rua** *num.* seven.
- ra^via** *vt.* be side by side, beside.
- ra^vra^vi** *adv.* side.
- ra^vra^vin paio** *n.* k.o fish living around sharks.
- ravsai** *vt.* side, alongside.
- ravtia** *vt.* break, cut, break by pulling.
- ravutu** *vi.* broken.
- re** *det.* plural marker.
- rea** *vt.* separate wood in the fire to stop it from burning.
- reng** *vi.* shallow.
- rere** *vi.* come out, show, see through torn clothes.
- reserese** *vi.* 1) take time to grow, not developed well, stable (of animal, humans, plants...). 2) time of the month when there is no tide, the sea stays at the same level.
- ria** *aux.* must.
- rikrikis** *vi.* drizzle, small rain. *Etym:* POC *riki(t,q), PNCV *riki 'small'.
- ri^{ma}** *vt.* suck, drink with a straw.
- rio** *vt.* check, visit.
- rioia** *vt.* spy.
- rivua** *vt.* plant yam. *Etym:* PNCV *ruvi.
- rkata** *vi.* stick.
- ro** *conj.* and, after, then, thus, while.
- roa** *n.* gecko.
- romasia** *vi.* throw a stick to get nuts or fruits, to hit something.
- rong voseia** *vt.* learn something, obey, recognize.
- rongoa** *vt.* hear, feel. *Etym:* POC *roNoR, *longoR-i, PNCV *rogo.
- ror** *pro.* here, these ones here.
- roria** *vi.* be busy doing sth.
- roro** *n.* sound. *Etym:* PNCV *ro=ro-go. — *vi.* sound, make noise.
- rosia** *vt.* grate coconut, grate roasted yam or taro's skin with a sharp piece of glass.
- roso** *vi.* fever.
- rosonga** *vt.* cover up the laplap in the fire place with leaves or copra bags.
- rotonga** *vt.* warm up.
- rovo** *vi.* early morning.
- ro^{vo}** *n.* wooden plate made of **toro** or **tavo** wood, on which breadfruit is pounded.
- ro^{vo}ro^{vo}** *n.* k.o flat fish with both eyes on the back and the mouth on the side. *Families bothidae, Soleidae, and Cynoglossidae.*
- rpaia** *vi.* bang.
- rpasi** *vt.* burn.
- rro** *vi.* fast.
- rru** *vi.* keep on asking, insist.
- ru** *vi.* go inside a small hole, as of animals in their dens.
- rua** *num.* two. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *rua.
- rui** *adv.* underneath.
- ruia** *vt.* hunt.
- rumma** *vt.* suck, gather nectar.
- ruprup** *adv.* too much, too many, a lot.
- rupu** *n.* February. Time when the yams are all eaten up from the wooden bed on which they were stored after being digged up.
- ruru** *vi.* hunt, walk in the bush, play 'hide and seek' inside the bush.
- ruru** *n.* 1) short piece of wood rubbed against a long one called **vanatu** to make fire. 2) matches.
- rusia** *vt.* pull out slowly, gently. *Etym:* POC *unus, PNCV *ru=ru-si.
- rutu** *n.* bumphead parrotfish. *Cheilinus undulatus, family Labridae.*
- rutu** *vt.* nibble, gnaw.
- rutua** *vt.* kill louse by biting them.
- ruturu** *n.* termite.
- ru^{va}** *vi.* escape, run away.

S - s

- sa** *wh.* what. *Etym:* POc *sapa, PNCV *sava.
- sa** *vi.* go up, away from the sea. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *sake.
- sa-** *clf.* classifier used for location, such as one's garden, one's house.
- sadi** *n.* spur, dewclaw of a fowl.
- sadia** *vt.* plant the eye of a knife's blade in a surface, to keep a knife in a safe place.
- saia** *vt.* push, lift, shove.
- saisai** *n.* woman's Kastom outfit, made of *va* skin, of young white **punopuna** leaves, or of **si** leaves. Equivalent to the male outfit *va'vaono*.
- sakaia** *vt.* put, deposit.
- sakaia** *vt.* meet.
- sakele** *n.* seat.
- sakeleia** *vt.* sit. *Etym:* PNCV *saqele.
- sakira** *n.* shoot of a tree.
- sala** *n.* road, way of doing. *Etym:* POc *jalan, PNCV *sala.
- sala masanga** *n.* intersection, fork, junction.
- sala** *vi.* float, glide (of birds).
- sala** *n.* door.
- salaor vava** *n.* whale. *Lit:* 'float block the strait'.
- saleia** *vt.* float. *Etym:* POc *saliR, PNCV *sale.
- saleia** *vt.* listen.
- salia** *vt.* lasso a rope to catch an animal.
- salo** *vi.* crawl of snake, snail.
- saloso** *n.* floating wood.
- salsala** *n.* plate, traditional serving dish made of weaved coconut frond.
- saltavea** *n.* intersection, fork of a road, junction.
- saltavles** *n.* yellow fin tuna.
- sama** *n.* outrigger. *Etym:* POc *saman, PNCV *zama.
- sama** *n.* waste of food, after chewing its juice out.
- samalao** *n.* k.o strong tree used as firewood, in the garden as yam stick.
- saṃsaṃ** *n.* tree shoot.
- saṃsaṃ** *vt.* prune unwanted branches or young shoots on a tree.
- samuia** *vt.* chew. *Etym:* POc *jamu, PNCV *zamwa.
- sana** *vi.* dirty.
- sani** *n.* coconut flesh.
- sanga** *n.* crotch, groin, fork. *Etym:* POc *saNa, PNCV *saga.
- sangara** *n.* k.o sea urchin.
- sangarata** *n.* k.o sea urchin. *Family Diadematidae.*
- sangavulu** *num.* ten. *Etym:* POc *saNapulu(q), PNCV *sagavulu.
- sangria** *vt.* wave a branch in someone's face.
- sao** *vi.* be sick.
— *n.* sickness.
- sao paranga** *n, vi.* to have tuberculosis.
- saoroi** *N.* Chief Lowet's village name.
- saovia** *vt.* wait.
— *n.* patience.
- saṃpelea** *vt.* carry a bag with handle around one's head (woman style). Carry as a backpack.
- saṃsaṃ** *vt.* carry a bag by putting its strap on one's shoulder.
- saproro** *adv.* daydream.
- saptia** *vt.* dig out by pulling the leaf, as of peanuts, taro, manioc.
- sapuri-** *ni.* kinship term used to refer to the brother of one's mother, to the child of your wife's brother, used by children to refer to the husband of a paternal aunt, used by a maternal uncle and the husband of a paternal aunt, to refer to their nephew.
- sar palo-** *n.* footprint.
- sara** *vi.* clean, clear (of water), shining (of stars and moon but not sun), bright (of light). *Etym:* POc *sara 'clear'.
- sara** *n.* place.
- saran asi** *n.* hip. *Lit:* 'place of rope'. The rope used for malmal, the traditional garment for men.
- saran sola** *n.* scar. *Lit:* 'place of sore'.
- sara** *vt.* scratch, as of fowl searching for food.
- saraia** *vt.* select, pick up, choose.
- saraia** *vt.* level, spread evenly, as of laplap before cooking it.
- sarako** *vt.* blow.

- *n.* June. The wind blows the dry yam leaves against trees.
- sare** *vi.* roar (of thunder), flow (of river). *Etym:* PNCV *zara.
- sari** *n.* spear.
- sari** *n.* hinder leg of an animal.
- saria** *vt.* spear an animal by throwing a spear from a distance; dig a hole with an axe. *Etym:* PNCV *sari.
- saria** *n.* k.o tree with edible fruits. Species include: **saria ara**, **saria ese**.
- saria** *vt.* insert decorative shells and feathers in one's hair before a Kastom dance.
- saroa** *n.* k.o dark brown crab living in the bush, which drops its eggs in the ocean.
- saroia** *vt.* dip.
- sarovia** *vt.* brush one's hair, pat or stroke an animal.
- sarsar** *vi.* spear fishing.
sarsar *vi.* throw spears as a game, to practice for accuracy.
- sarsarai** *vi.* squat.
- sartai** *vi.* shift, change direction (wind).
- sarua** *vi.* bear two fruits.
sartol *vi.* bear three fruits.
- sasa** *vi.* work.
— *n.* work.
- sasan** *n.* k.o small fish, like sardines.
- sasaoro** *n.* wall (made of concrete).
- satia** *adv.* bad.
- satvar** *adj, vi.* old, of fowls.
- saua** *vt.* lift up, drag, carry a basket by holding its body.
- saul** *n.* hibiscus.
- saul** *vt.* carry by the handle, by the strap, by hanging a basket.
- sav** *vt.* light a fire on the beach as a signal.
- sava** *vi.* dance. *Etym:* PNCV *savwa.
- sava-** *wh.* whose, which.
- savā** *vi.* push one's hand to grab something.
- savaia** *vt.* step in, on, push with the feet.
- savi** *n.* k.o soft tree, wild **vavru**.
- savi** *vt.* pound breadfruit.
— *n.* breadfruit paste.
- savāia** *vt.* cut in the shape of an arrow, pointed and sharp.
- savāia** *vt.* peel out coconut fiber with a knife.
- savleia** *vt.* capsize, empty, get rid of.
- savsarete** *vi.* slide.
- savtia** *vt.* uproot, pull out.
- se** *wh.* which.
se marai *wh.* which one.
se taro *wh.* when. *Lit:* 'which time'.
- sea** *vi.* ready to harvest (of yam, banana, breadfruit etc).
- sea** *deg.* more.
- sea** *n.* stool.
- seasea** *n.* k.o small insect like **soso**, living in trees.
- seltia** *adv.* miss.
- sepur** *vt.* carry on one's back with one's arms locked at the back to support the load.
- ser** *vi.* turn back while walking.
- sere** *vi.* blow, of wind. *Etym:* POc *nsi(dr)i, PNCV *sere.
- sereia** *vt.* remove the blade of a leaf, to keep the midrib.
- serseri** *N.* creek, north of Ma'ŕea.
- seru** *n.* Kastom dance and song.
- sese** *vi.* talk, ramble, be talkative, complain about something that is done repetitively.
- seua** *vt.* go beyond, win over, beat as in a race.
- sev** *vi.* hang.
- sevsevi** *n.* k.o fish. *Hyporahmphus affinis*, *family Hemirhamphidae*.
- sevuia** *vt.* hang.
- si** *n.* k.o tree used to make Kastom outfits.
- si** *vi.* go down, towards the sea.
- si** *vi.* cross at, angry at.
- siao** *n.* year.
- siksikit** *vi.* do something in secret, walk without making any noise when hunting birds.
- silā** *n.* spoon, usually made of **vinua ara** wood, used to cut the breadfruit paste **savi**.
- sile** *vt.* carry dried coconut leaves on fire as a torch, or in order to relight a fire.
- sile** *vt.* prick, puncture.
- silea** *vt.* give.
silsile *vt.* distribute. *Etym:* POc *pani.
- silet** *n.* ground worm.
- silvia** *vt.* sew clothes.
- simir vanatu-** *n.* body part containing a fowl's egg.
- simiria** *vi.* suck, to gather nectar (of butterfly), nimble (of bats).
- simra** *n.* coconut branch, where the coconuts

- grow and hang.
- simtung** *n.* k.o crab.
- sinai** *n.* (gen) all types of yam. *Etym:* PNCV *sinaka 'food'.
- sinei** *n.* k.o banana eaten raw.
- sinor** *n.* k.o tree used to make outrigger. Its small yellow flowers are boiled with coconut oil to perfume it. Its black fruits are feed for the birds **weŋe**, **vere**, and **dipa**. *Etym:* PNCV *digori 'perfume tree (Cananga)'.
- singa** *vt.* shell out copra.
- singai** *vi.* sneeze.
- singo** *n.* mouth, beak, point of. *Etym:* PNCV *zigo.
- sio** *n.* king fisher. *Halcyon*. *Etym:* PNCV *siko.
- siŋa** *n.* weaved bamboo to make a wall.
- sipei** *vi.* state of the **oroto** tree after the flower and before the fruit.
- siŋeia** *vt.* peel off, skin off, cut with a knife. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *siba.
- siŋeia** *vt.* blow.
- sira** *n.* semen.
— *vi.* ejaculate.
- siri** *vi.* fart. *Etym:* POc *zii, PNCV *si(r)i, *bwisi.
- sirira** *vi.* lazy.
- sirtia** *vt.* fart on.
- sisi** *vi.* be dark, be time when the cicada whistle 'sisisi'.
- sisi** *n.* penis hole.
- sisisea** *vi.* nervous, impatient, always angry.
- siso** *n.* sea snail. *Etym:* POc *sisi(q), PNCV *sisa/sese.
- siua** *vt.* knead grated coconut to extract its milk before squeezing it.
- siŋi** *n.* parrot, rainbow lorikeet. *Trichoglossus*. *Etym:* PNCV *siviri.
- sivo** *vi.* go home, go down. *Etym:* POc *sipo, PNCV *sivo.
- sivo** *deg.* only, just, exactly.
- sivonai adua** *n.* south west wind, from Suranta.
- sivonai tolao** *n.* north wind from Matevulu.
- so** *vt.* dislike.
- soaia** *vt.* push, pass, lift, slide a bracelet on one's arm, penetrate. *Etym:* POc *soka-i 'pierce'.
- soe-** *ni.* brother, used by his sister.
- soi** *n.* penis.
- soko** *n.* friend, vocative/quotative form of address
- to call on someone younger.
- sokoria** *vt.* hurt, sprain a limb.
- sola** *n.* sore.
- solia** *vt.* skin a cow, a pig, after killing it, pull down the penis skin. Also used as an insult.
- solia** *name* s.o, give a name to.
- solo** *vi.* wounded.
- solotia** *vt.* carry on the shoulder, or on the breast. *Etym:* POc *solat-i, PNCV *[s,z]olo 'carry on stick over shoulder'.
- somi** *n.* Kastom necklace made of seeds. *Etym:* PNCV *zomu.
- sona** *vt.* fill, put inside.
- song** *vi.* hide.
- songoa** *vt.* split with ax or knife into two pieces, as split coconut to extract its flesh; cut lengthwise.
- sope** *n.* piece. *Etym:* PNCV *sobwe.
- sopen ese** *n.* nickname. *Lit:* 'piece of name'.
- sope** *n.* maternal uncle, mother's brother.
- sopea** *vt.* follow, join.
- sopo-** *neg.* negation.
- sora** *n.* time.
- sorai** *vt.* send.
- soraia** *vt.* narrate, report, detail, explain, recount, relate.
- soro** *n.* cage made of wood used as a trap to catch birds.
— *n.* musket, **soro mar aul** riffle, **soro mar na tasi** fishing musket, harpoon.
- soroa** *vt.* 1) blow. 2) shoot with a rifle, a harpoon.
- soso** *n.* brown or black insect, about 1cm in length like scarab. The black one eats taro and the brown one eats yam.
— *vi.* eaten by the **soso** insect, rotten and turned brown.
- sosolo** *n.* red ginger flower. *Alpinia purpurata*, *Zingiberaceae*.
- sosong** *adv.* facing.
- sot** *vt.* make fire for cooking laplap.
- soŋi** *vi.* fall down. *Etym:* PNCV *zomi.
- soŋia** *vt.* wash one's child, wash one's hair.
- spitia** *vt.* pierce.
- su** *n.* elbow. *Etym:* POc *sikun, PNCV *s[i,u]ku.
- sua** *vt.* paddle, row. *Etym:* POc *sua, PNCV *sua.

sualai *vt.* rummage, root in, push with nose, as of pigs looking for food. *Etym:* POc *suar, PNCV *sua.

sueia *vt.* lull.

suksuksuk *interj.* call to attract hens.

sulai *vt.* poke at fruits with a long bamboo to get them to fall.

— *n.* stick used to poke at fruits.

suli *n.* young shoots, suckers, growing from the root of a banana tree. *Etym:* POc [s,j]uli(q), PNCV *suli.

sulia *vt.* burn dirt, leaves, wood, smoke copra. *Etym:* POc *sulu(q), PNCV *sulu.

sulvatal *n.* green jobfish.

sum *n.* (gen) fish with no scales. Also orange-lined triggerfish. *Family* *Balistidae*. *Etym:* PNCV *sumu.

sum elaru *n.* clown triggerfish. *Balistoides viridescens*, *family* *Balistidae*.

sum lako lako *n.* triggerfish.

sum tan meov *n.* triggerfish.

sum si'vi *n.* k.o fish. *Balistapus undulatus*, *family* *Balistidae*.

suma *vt.* kiss. *Etym:* PNCV *zumi.

sume mase *n.* roof part, beam.

sun *vt.* wear to cover the top of the head, as a hat, an umbrella. *Etym:* PAN *suqun, PNCV *su'u-ni.

suna *vt.* carry on one's head.

suni *n.* comb, of a fowl, hat.

sun sat *adj.* said of a fowl, which has feather

inside its comb.

suosua *n.* corner wall.

supa *n.* chief, **patun supa** paramount chief. *Etym:* PNCV *subwe.

supeliu *n.* January. Time when the yam is growing along its pole.

surai *adv.* hidden, in secret.

sureia *vt.* hide sthg.

suri *prep.* for, about.

suria *vt.* push with one's elbow.

suria *vt.* drag a canoe from the beach to the sea; pull ropes out of a bunch.

sursa *wh.* for what.

surtapaovia *vi.* turn something hollow so that the hollow part is now facing down (for example, turning a turtle on its feet).

suruvia *n.* sleeping.

suruvu *vi.* lie down, sleep.

susu *n.* breasts. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *susu.

susu man paio *n.* k.o coral. *Families* *Nephtheidae* and *Alcyoniidae*.

susulua *n.* k.o red fish. *Family* *Holocentridae*.

suvia *vt.* carry a fire stick in order to relight a fire.

suvie *n.* diving.

susuvu aspipi *n.* k.o creeping plant. When it blooms, it is time to brush a garden.

suvu *vi.* dive, sink, sunset.

suv *vt.* dive to rescue.

T - t

ta *vi.* come from, originate from.

ta- *clf.* person from, denizen of. *Etym:* PNCV *'ata.

tae *n.* excrement. *Etym:* POc *taqe, PNCV *ta'e.

tai *vt.* pull a canoe onto the beach.

taitai *n.* landing site, where the canoe is stationed on the beach.

tailang *n.* sky.

taite *quant.* one.

taitenge *quant.* one and only one (out of a group).

taka *n.* spiny rabbit fish. *family* *Siganadae*.

taka sul *n.* k.o fish.

taka ango *n.* k.o fish.

taka madese *n.* k.o fish. *Siganus stellatus*, *family* *Siganidae*.

takala *n.* k.o breadfruit.

takalmemeia *n.* slug that feeds on cabbage.

takere *n.* woman's genitals (lips).

takerene *n.* long, of a tail.

takonai *vt.* make ready (of food), be ready (person).

tal- *clf.* related to a day length.

tal savai *wh.* when, related to period of a day.

talapong *adv.* night, tonight.

- talaua** *n.* palm leaves used to make a thatch roof.
- talia** *vt.* swirl, wind up, coil up. *Etym:* POC *tale, PNCV *[d,t]ali 'go around'.
- talia** *vt.* Cover up or burry fruits to help them ripen.
- talio** *n.* warming fire, fire to sleep around.
- talmalum** *n.* afternoon.
- taloa** *vt.* circle an object with one's hands.
- talsea** *deg.* very.
- taltal** *n.* flying fish. *Families Callionymidae and Gobiidae.*
- taltali** *vi.* curl.
- talvava** *vt.* catapult, sling.
- taña** *n.* breadfruit flower.
- taña-** *ni.* kinship term to refer to one's biological father, used by a wife to refer to her father-in-law, used to refer to one's paternal uncle, or used by the wife of a maternal uncle to refer to his sister's male child, used by a paternal aunt to refer to her brother's male child, used by the sister of the grandfather to refer to the male grandchildren. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *tama.
- taña vaise** *ni.* paternal uncle.
- tañalás** *n.* leftovers. *Etym:* PNCV *malazi.
- tamalmala** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Serranidae.*
- tamalmala ara** *n.* k.o fish, grouper fish, rockcod. *Family Serranidae.*
- tamalmala voko** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Serranidae.*
- tañanatu-** *ni.* husband. *Lit:* 'father of children'.
- tañasi** *n.* sculpture.
- tamata** *vi.* quiet, peaceful. *Etym:* PNCV *tamwata.
- tañateá** *n.* dead man. *Etym:* PNCV *'atamata.
- tañauta** *n.* white man.
- tamleseá** *adj, vi.* old (of animate things).
— *n.* old man.
- tamlo** *n.* human being, person, man. *Etym:* POC tamwaqane 'male, man', PNCV *ata-mwa'ane.
- tan** *vi.* begin.
- tanaso** *n.* barracuda, wahoo. *Family Sphyraenidae.*
- taniña** *n.* sardine.
- tanme** *n.* soul, spirit.
- tanme ado** *n.* k.o fish. *Cheilinus fasciatus.*
family Labridae.
- tanmeaña** *n.* ghost, of a man whose death was not natural.
- tano** *n.* floor. *Etym:* PNCV *tano.
- tantanemas** *n.* 1) brown bird with long tail, wattled honeyeater bird. 2) small shell used as a spining toy.
- tanuma** *n.* devil.
- tang** *vi.* cry.
- tang purpur** *vi.* sound bad, make too much noise, of a bamboo drum.
- tanga** *n.* (gen) bag, purse. *Etym:* POC *taNa, PNCV *taga.
- tangan mermere** *n.* bladder. *Lit:* 'bag of urine'.
- tangara** *n.* vagina.
- tangate** *adv.* wait.
- tangavu** *n.* brain.
- tangavulu** *n.* intestine, guts.
- tangsia** *vt.* mourn, cry over a dead man. *Etym:* POC taNis, PNCV *[t,d]agi-si.
- tao** *vt.* make a nest.
— *n.* nest.
- taolo** *adv.* turn one's back.
- tapai** *vt.* plaster, glue, hold tight.
- tapair** *vi.* 1) shake because of fear. 2) to make so jump with fright.
- tapala** *n.* spotted rockcod, hawkfish. *Family Serranidae.*
- tapala arapus** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Serranidae.*
- tañala** *n.* coconut growing as a bundle.
- tapara** *vi.* be open ground, as a grave, an uprooted tree, a harvested plant.
- tapareke** *n.* red bass.
- taparpar** *n.* boxfish. *Family Ostraciidae.*
- taparur** *n.* flying scarab about 4cm in length.
- tapato** *n.* banded sergeant fish.
- tapato** *vt.* stick.
- tapea** *n.* timber, plank.
- tañea** *vt.* carry a dish with two hands underneath, palms up.
- tapepea** *vi.* thin, flatten.
- tapetu** *n.* k.o plant growing as a parasite on a tree, on which wild fowls like to nest.
- tapokara** *n.* k.o tree with edible nuts, black fruit, orange flower, grows close to the sea shore.
- taponpono** *n.* small mound of earth.
- tapong dodo** *adv.* night time, very dark.

- tapu** *n.* mound of earth which covers a yam. *Etym:* PNCV *tavua.
- tapula** *vi.* come back, return.
- tar koso** *vt.* hatch.
- tara** *n.* basket used for fishing and carrying fish, weaved with **dordoro** rope.
— *vi.* fish with a basket.
- tara** *num.* thousand.
- taraia** *vt.* chop in big pieces, cut (wood, copra, bones...), grate vegetables. *Etym:* POC *taRa(q), PNCV *taRa-'i.
- taraua** *vt.* want, prefer.
- taravun** *vi.* rise (from bed), get up, get ready to go.
- tare** *n.* clitoris.
- tarere** *vi.* crow (of a rooster), cackle. *Etym:* PNCV *tare-re.
- tariaka** *n.* k.o plant.
tariaka ara *n.* k.o plant.
- tarlavua** *adv.* morning.
- tarmale** *vt.* chase, let go mature chicks to go lay egg again.
- taro** *n.* time, period, season. *Etym:* PNCV *taro.
taron langlos *n.* hurricane season: January to March.
taron rivue *n.* sunny season: September to December.
taron udura *n.* winter: June to August.
taron usa *n.* rainy season: April to June.
- taroa** *n.* white-throated pigeon, metallic wood pigeon. *Columba vitiensis*. *Etym:* PNCV *taroa.
- tarpe kala** *n.* k.o fish, lizzard fish. *Synodus saurus*, family *Synodontidae*.
- tartara** *n.* wrasse fish. *Thalassoma genivittatum*, family *Labridae*.
- tartara** *adv.* shake, with fear or cold.
- tasi** *n.* sea, ocean. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *tasi.
- tasi-** *ni.* kinship term used by a boy to refer to his brother, the husband of your wife's sister, the husband of your husband's sister, used by the children of a maternal aunt or of a paternal uncle to refer to their male cousin (and vice versa), used by the sister of a paternal grandfather to refer to her male grandchildren. *Etym:* POC *taci 'younger sibling', PNCV *tasi 'younger same-sex sibling'.
- tasia** *vi.* rough (of sea).
- tasoa** *n.* sweet edible purple root with needles. *Dioscorea esculenta*.
- tata** *n.* mom, mommy. *Etym:* PNCV *tata 'father'.
- tatakulas** *n.* black and white striped sea snake, living in reef. *Laticauda clubrina*, family *Hydrophiidae*.
- tatavon** *n.* brown or black insect living in **vae** trees, which bites man.
- tau-** *ni.* kinship term used by a husband or a wife to refer to his/her sisters and brothers in law. *Etym:* POC *tau 'person', PNCV *tau-wia.
- taua** *vt.* put, get, have, carry, keep, lend, have time, share.
- tauna** *adv.* other side of an island, that is the side you don't reside in.
- tauria** *vt.* adopt, hold, massage, carry in one's hand.
- taut** *n.* porcupine fish (dangerous). *Chilomycterus*, family *diodontidae*.
- tautau** *n.* stack, heap.
— *vi.* stack up, make a heap of one's belongings.
- tava** *vt.* pay off. Part of a Kastom wedding, to pay off the breastfeeding period to the mother of the bride.
- tava** *n.* womb.
- tavalu** *n.* side, next to. *Etym:* PNCV *taval[a,u].
ta'valsa *adv.* inland, upwards.
ta'valsi *adv.* downwards.
- ta'vasia** *vt.* break a forked branch, prune.
- tavea** *n.* creeping plant with purple or white flowers.
- ta'veke** *vi.* smashed from falling down and being ripe (banana, breadfruit, papaya).
- ta'vilo** *vi.* shine, as of a bald head, a mirror.
- tavoa** *n.* tree and its edible nuts, Indian almond. *Terminalia*. Used as timber, to make **ro'vo**. *Etym:* PNCV *tavoRa.
- tavoat** *n.* tree, same family as **tavoa**, which edible seeds are in a soft shell that can be cracked open with the mouth.
- tavua** *n.* conch, used to call out. *Etym:* POC *tapuRi(q), PNCV *tavui.
- tavun** *vt.* bury. *Etym:* POC *tapun, *tanum-i, PNCV *tavu-ni.

- te** *conj.* or.
te *adv.* here.
tea *num.* one, anyone.
— *quant.* some.
te pong *adv.* sometimes.
tea *vt.* smash.
teia *vt.* lean against.
teria *vt.* move an animal fastened to a tree to graze in a different location.
teria *vt.* bloom, open.
terterete *n.* proud, boasting.
tesia *vt.* 1) pull out coconut fiber. 2) undress s.o.
tesoia *vt.* tear leaf mat in long narrow strips.
tete *vi.* fly.
teví *vt.* sweep.
— *n.* broom.
ti *vi.* put, toward, in the direction of.
ti apu *vt.* burn one's garden, dirt.
ti maliu *vi.* somersault.
tiala *vt.* wear across the chest, slung over the shoulder.
tiala *vi.* shaky, not stable.
tiana *vi.* pregnant. *Etym:* PNCV *tiana.
tikel sir play chasey, tag's game.
tikelia *vt.* reach, touch, catch.
tikelsir *n.* grey flying insect, like a grasshopper.
tikoua *vt.* marry. Used only by men.
tileia *vt.* exchange.
tiletila *n.* brown grasshopper.
timoti *n.* very thin white and pink stinging coral growing on stones.
tina- *ni.* kinship term to refer to one's mother, used by a wife to refer to her mother-in-law, also used to refer to one's maternal aunt, or the wife of one's paternal uncle. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *tina.
tingoa *vt.* push someone, knock over.
tingsia *vt.* stop a mat, weave the edge of a mat.
tio *vi.* jump (from a stationary position), limp. *Etym:* PNCV *tiko.
tion *vi.* limp, walk with a stick. *Etym:* PNCV *tiko.
tiona *n.* walking stick. *Etym:* PNCV *tiko.
tipala *vi.* explode, of rotten eggs, bamboos.
tipese *vi.* lean.
tiro *vi.* look at oneself. *Etym:* POc *tido, PNCV *tiro.
tiroi *n.* shadow, reflection.
— *vt.* gaze. *Etym:* POc *tirop-i.
tiron wae *n.* dragonfly.
tiu *adv.* top.
tiu *vt.* throw fishing line.
tiua *vt.* sharpen.
tiua *vt.* spread.
tiutiu *vt.* wave at someone.
tivlulu *n.* laplap layered with **pareke** leaves.
tivonga *vt.* measure, compare.
tivtívi *n,vi.* loincloth wrapped around the hips and groin. Garment or diapers.
to *vi.* stay, live, sit, lose. *Etym:* POc *toka, PNCV *tok[a,o].
to *vi.* lost.
toa *adj.* sitting.
tol- *agr.* trial or paucal marker.
tolu *num.* three. *Etym:* POc, PNCV *tolu.
topeia *vt.* break in pieces by hand.
tora *n.* fins.
toro *n.* tree used as timber, to make furniture, and **ro'vo**. Good fire wood. *Java cedar*. *Intsia*. *Etym:* POc *toRas, PNCV *tora.
toroa *vi.* glide, soar, of birds.
toto *adv.* fast, quickly.
totorae *n.* tree which forked branches are used as slings.
tov nao masanga *n.* k.o unicorn fish. *Family Acanthuridae*.
tovatu *n.* edible shell fish, chiton. *Polyplacophora*.
to'via *vt.* call someone.
tovoa *vt.* count. *Etym:* POc *topo 'try', PNCV *tovo 'measure'.
tovtovo *vi.* count.
tovu *n.* sugar cane. *Saccharum officinarum*. *Etym:* POc *topu, PNCV *tovu.
tovu *vi.* grow (of teeth), sprout, germinate. *Etym:* POc *tupul, PNCV *tovu.
— *n.* sprout, state of a plant which has started to grow, as of coconut, after the state of **popo**, or yams.
tua *vt.* stab, pierce.
tuan *conj.* with.
tuana *quant.* plenty, all.
tuen *vt.* help.
tuia *vt.* punch. *Etym:* POc *tutuk 'pound', PNCV *tu=tu-ki 'pound'.
tuleia *vt.* 1) leave a newly wed wife with her

husband and her dowry. A man buys his wife at her parents house. The girl's parents then throw a farewell party, then take her (**tuleia**) to her husband. Nowadays, when the husband pays his wife to his in-laws, he takes her with him. 2) accompany. 3) see someone off (shake hands).

tultuleia *n.* marriage, farewell ceremony for the bride.

tuluia *vt.* order.

tunua *vt.* cook, roast. Food used to be cooked inside a bamboo. *Etym:* POC, PNCV *tunu.

tungei *num.* numeral classifier used with thousand-place.

tungu- *n.* hollow, of tree, roots, logs, or canoes, bilge. *Etym:* PNCV *tugu 'pool'.

tupu- *ni.* kinship term used to refer to one's grand parents, or the spouse of one's grand parent, to refer to the brother of the grand parents and the sister of the grand mother, used by children to refer to the male children of their maternal uncle or the male children of their paternal aunt, used by grand parents to refer to a male grand child, used by children of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt to refer to their male cousin, used by the brother of the grand parents and the sister of their grand mother to refer to their grand children. *Etym:* POC, PNCV

*tubu; POC *(bu)bu 'gd.parent'; POC, PNCV *makubu 'grandchild'; PNCV *bu=bu-a.

tur *vi.* stand. Specially for children or women, who were not really allowed to walk about during men's talk. *Etym:* POC *tuqu(r), PNCV *tu'u-ru; PNCV *maturu 'sleep'.

tur do'vo *vt.* pierce through.

tur sea *vi.* argue something is yours, stand firm on one's opinion.

tura *vi.* drip, leak. *Etym:* POC *tuduq, PNCV *turu.

turtan *vi.* start up, begin. Marks the begin of an action.

turu *n.* k.o rope used to fasten **eluba** on the **rasa** rafter.

turua *vt.* pierce, make a hole, push a thread through a needle. *Etym:* POC tuRi, PNCV *[d,t]uru.

turua *vt.* fasten **eluba** on the **rasa** rafter.

turua *n.* tomb, grave.

tur'vaite *adv.* everyday, everytime, often, always.

tutu *n.* papaya used as a pounding tool, with two small wooden sticks planted on its top, used as handles.

tutu *n.* pig tusk which has not grown back through the pig's jaw.

tutuva *N.* Tutuba island.

tuvasia *vt.* whip.

U - u

u *vi.* be wrinkled.

u *interj.* ah!

ua *vi.* high tide. *Etym:* POC *Ruap, PNCV *Rua.

udu *n.* tooth.

udu kerpapa *n.* molar, back grinding tooth.

udu nao *n.* front tooth.

udun tasi *n.* k.o stinging sea anemone. *Family Actiniidae.*

udungi *n.* bundle of fruits or nuts, that grow all in one place, such as oranges, grapefruit, mango, **oroto**, **ngangae**.

udura *n.* k.o tree used to make fences (soft wood). Its flowers are eaten by the parrot **sivi**.

udura lavo *n.* July, the **udura** tree is blooming.

udura pono *n.* June, the **udura** tree in in bud.

uduru *n.* male, uncastrated. Also used as a swear word for a man who sleeps around.

uia *vt.* carry a bag by holding its strap on one's shoulder. *Etym:* POC *puat-i.

uiui *vi.* carry two bags attached to a stick on each side of one's shoulder.

ulasia *vt.* whip someone.

ules *n.* thin white worm (1cm in length) eating rotten food, maggot. *Etym:* POC *quloc, PNCV *'ulo-si.

ulia *vt.* write.

ulia *vt.* pull out weeds from the garden, roll

- them and cut them with a knife.
- ulo** *vi.* bark, sing (birds), shout (person, cow), babble. *Etym:* PNCV *ulo.
- ulua** *vi.* grow, as of plants, children.
- ululdun** *vi.* narrate a story.
- ululdunia** *n.* story.
- ululia** *vt.* untangle a rope out of a bunch.
- ulvo** *n,vi.* young, teen, single.
- um** *n.* goat fish. *Family Mullidae.*
- um lapatai** *n.* doublebar goatfish.
- um vul pilai** *n.* k.o fish. *Upeneus tragula*, *family Mullidae.*
- um angu** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Mullidae.*
- um rapē vatali** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Mullidae.*
- umi** *n.* beard, moustache, whiskers. *Etym:* POC *kumi, PNCV *kumwi.
- umia** *adj,vi.* said of a fowl, which has feathers like a beard.
- upu** *vt.* wear.
— *n.* loincloth, clothes, calico.
- upupu** *n.* stone inside the fowl's gizzard **vatlena**.
- ur lao** *vt.* put a stick of bamboo between a growing yam and a nearby tree, for the yam to grow along.
- ura** *n.* k.o tree, Indian mulberry. *Morinda citrifolia*. Its boiled roots are used to dye yellow. The bark is used as medicine, boiled and drank to cure tiredness, toothache. *Etym:* POC *kurat, PNCV *kura-ti.
- ura** *n.* lobster. *Family Palinuridae.* *Etym:* POC *quraN, PNCV *'ura.
- ura vir** *n.* k.o lobster.
- ura roko** *n.* k.o lobster.
- ura laḡa** *n.* k.o lobster.
- ura lapatai** *n.* slipper lobster.
- ura val lese** *n.* lobster, cigale. *Family Scyllaridae.*
- ura ura** *n.* shrimp, prawn.
- ura masa** *n.* humpnose unicorn fish. *Family Acanthuridae.*
- ureia** *vt.* shake because of fear, shake a tree to get fruits to fall.
- ureura** *n.* islet, small island. *Etym:* PNCV *ure.
- uri** *n.* skin.
- urin mata** *n.* eyelid.
- urin singo** *n.* lips. *Lit:* 'skin of mouth'.
- urin tasi** *n.* sea surface.
- uria** *vi.* fall.
- uria** *vt.* walk with a walking stick.
- uro** *n.* grease, edible animal fat.
- urouro** *vi.* masturbate.
- ursai** *vt.* be busy, work on a lot of different things.
- uru** *vt.* pound taro or manioc with a long wooden stick to make a paste.
— *n.* taro or manioc paste.
- urur** *vi.* insist, desire, want, long for.
- usa** *vi.* rain.
— *n.* rain. *Etym:* POC *qusan, PNCV *'usa.
- usia** *vt.* ask. *Etym:* POC *qunsi, PNCV *usi.
- usu** *n.* k.o tree and its edible juicy yellow fruit. *Polynesian plum, Spondias*. The leaves are boiled with fish to remove the poison of the fish. The species **uspel** has bigger, sweeter fruits, shaped like an apple. *Etym:* POC *quRis, PNCV *uRi-si.
- uta** *n.* garden, that was made the current year. *Etym:* POC *qutan, PNCV *'uta.
- utalape** *N.* Espiritu Santo Island.
- uteia** *vt.* make a garden, dig, break the ground with a stick to plant vegetable.
- utu** *n.* louse. *Etym:* POC, PNCV * kutu.
- utun tasi** *n.* medusa, jelly fish. *Lit:* 'louse of sea'.
- utun ono** *n.* k.o insect leaving in the sand.
- utua** *vt.* fetch in a small recipient such as water in a **kurua** bamboo, in a bucket, or sand in a coconut shell. *Etym:* POC *qutup, PNCV *'utu-vi.
- utuia** *vt.* forbid.
- ututua** *vt.* wash clothes (with a brush).

V - v

- v** *vt.* say, want.
- v** *comp.* that, to. Part of the verb **varvara** 'say' used as complementizer after **ontavse**:
v̄a know, **usi**: ask, **vara**: tell.
v̄a *vi.* go. *Etym:* POC *pa, PNCV *va.
v̄a- *num.* multiplicative.

vadila *n.* testicles, scrotum.
vading pasa *n.* k.o shell fish.
vadivadi *n.* k.o aplap rolled inside a **matala** leaf.
vadu *n.* elder, man of importance, to whom you show respect.
v̄ae *n.* k.o black fish with white tail. *Etym:* PNCV *bwakaRe 'porcupine fish (Diodon)'.
v̄ae *n.* k.o beach hibiscus. *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. The type growing near the shore is used for house beams. The skin of the inland tree is peeled, drowned in the sea for a week, dried, then braided into grass skirts, ropes to tie up pigs, or weaved into baskets, but not mats. *Etym:* POc *paru, PNCV *vaRu.
vaevae *n.* coconut sheath.
vaisesea *adj,vi.* small.
v̄aite *quant.* one time, once.
v̄aitenge *num.* once.
v̄arua *num.* twice.
v̄atol *num.* three times.
v̄adumana *num.* many times, often, several times.
vaitina *adj,vi.* big, big ones.
v̄akar ese *n.* wrasse, blue bone fish. *Family Labridae*.
v̄akari *n.* bone.
v̄akarin lidi *n.* backbone, of humans, animals, and leaf.
v̄akaria *vi.* strong, fit, well built, of body.
vakea *vt.* grab someone by neck, strangle.
v̄ako *n.* k.o shell fish. *Tridacna gigas*, *family Tridacnidae*.
v̄akoia *vt.* wash one's feet, vegetables, anything which fell on the ground.
v̄akro *adv.* south of Ma'ŕea island.
v̄aktano *adv.* north of Ma'ŕea island.
val *vt.* go pass, go beyond.
val v̄a *adv.* little bit.
vala *vi.* pass.
valala *n.* k.o shell fish. *tectus dentatus*, *family Trochidae*.
valangur *N.* name of a station in Santo, close to Matevulu, where **pupu Moldovo Morris** comes from. Other stations include: **valangkara**, and **valangron**. *Etym:* a station is a village where the chief resides.
valao *vi.* run (of men, fish, turtle, lobster).

valap̄ita *n.* k.o rope of about 1cm thick that grow in groups and can be very long. This rope is used to fasten the roofs part: **valari'vi** and **rasa**.
valari'vi *n.* One or two long bamboo posts on the side of the roof, which are visible from inside.
v̄alasi *n.* line, descendance.
v̄alasi ap̄a *n.* killers, murderers, fighters.
valavoa *adj,vi.* big, big one.
valeo *N.* female name. Other names include: **vatarating**, **vatarul**, **vodas**, **vovaro**, **vovitu**, **vovrodal**, **vovroparo**, **voleo**, **volliu**, **vome**, **vomoliala**, **vopasa**, **vopua**, **vorwai**, **vosevui**, **vosike**, **vosupa**, **vosupeliu**, **vosurai**, **votarvalao**, **votavit**, **votulevanua**, **lima** etc.
valto *vi.* be quick, fast, hurry.
v̄alu- *prep.* to, from.
vam̄asa *n.* land (when one stands in the ocean), dry place.
van *n.* k.o breadfruit. Other types include: **pulan mas**, **rotia**, **vosvoke**, **vain**, **pulan tar**, **manlakon**, **puletina**, **pulan var**, **naongas**, **taltoro**, **eke**, **susuv**, **pulan malo**, **pulan vuno pua**, **pe malum**.
v̄ana *n.* women's genitals.
v̄anao *n.* k.o tree whose leaves are used to cook laplap.
vanara *n.* k.o edible seaweed. *Family Carophylliidae*.
vanatu *n.* long piece of wood against which a short piece of wood called **ruru** is rubbed to make fire.
vanatu- ni. kinship term used to refer to one's own female child, or the female child of the sister of the husband or the wife, or the female child of the brother of the husband, used by a maternal aunt and her husband, or a paternal uncle and his wife to refer to their niece, used by the parents-in-law to refer to their daughter-in-law.
vaniniu *n.* k.o palm tree.
v̄ano *vi.* walk, go. *Etym:* POc *pano, PNCV *vano.
v̄anua *n.* island. *Etym:* POc *panua, PNCV *vanua.
v̄anua vuro *n.* foreigner.

- vanvana** *n.* offal, edible guts.
vanvana *n.* gear, equipment.
vanga *vt.* open one's mouth, gape. *Etym:* POC *(N)awa(N), PNCV *waga.
vangaia *vt.* open up the vagina before giving birth.
vangan *vt.* feed. *Etym:* POC *paNan, PNCV *vaga-ni.
vango *n.* egg yolk.
vao *n.* crowd of people.
vaororo *vi.* be foggy, be smoke, be smog.
vapeve *n.* k.o edible roots which grows like yam. Its plant bears fruits **vavae** which are edible too.
vapopo *n.* firefly, glow worm.
vaporporo *n.* wart on the skin.
var kat *vi.* ramble, talk to much, repeat, complain.
var voseia *vt.* ask permission.
varaia *vt.* tell, say. *Etym:* PNCV *vwara.
varango *n.* finger.
varangon palo *n.* toe. *Lit:* 'finger of the foot'.
varango parav *n.* middle finger.
varango patpoa *n.* thumb. *Lit:* 'head of finger'.
varango pilpil makov *n.* ring finger. *Lit:* 'finger that digs ashes'.
varango pipisu *n.* index finger, forefinger. *Lit:* 'pointing finger'.
varango vaise *n.* little finger.
varapilea *n.* female pig. Also used as an insult for a woman who sleeps around.
vararu *n.* k.o ghost crab, small crab leaving on the sand beach. *Etym:* PNCV *kaRuve (Ocypode).
varar poa *n.* k.o ghost crab which digs long holes.
varar tanmeapa *n.* k.o ghost crab with long legs.
varata *n.* twin.
varava *n.* (gen) female pig, sow.
varea *n.* outside. *Etym:* POC *pera, PNCV *vare'a.
vari *n.* root.
varnao *n.* forehead.
varo *n.* k.o plant which large leaves are used to cook laplap or to cover food. *Heliconia indica*.
- varpaka** *n.* rail of canoe.
vartuea *vt.* sprain one's joint.
varu *n.* metal, iron.
varua *n.* cardinal honeyeater bird.
varua- *ni.* female friend.
varvara *vi.* speak, say, talk.
varvari *adj.* small, small ones.
varvaro du *n.* k.o tree and its edible fruits.
varvar ono *n.* k.o tree and its non-edible fruits.
vasaia *vt.* clear a garden of weeds; clean a house; pull out with hands.
vasao *n.* landing site, passage for a canoe, a boat to land.
vasia *vt.* twist to loosen or fasten, screw, turn, spin.
vasvas *vi.* whirl, spin.
vasingo *n.* naughty, starting fights.
vasir *n.* sling.
vasiria *vt.* sling, hit by slinging.
vasisi *n.* mole on skin.
vaspevu- *n.* ankle.
vasu *n.* eyebrow.
vasua *vi.* open up, be separated (of skin and ripe nuts).
vatali *n.* banana (gen.). *Etym:* PNCV *vetali.
vataltalu *n.* garden that was made the previous year. *Etym:* POC *talu(n) 'fallow', PNCV *talu.
vatano *n.* ground, earth, soil. *Etym:* POC *(qa)tano(q), PNCV *tano.
vataolo *adj,vi.* different.
vatasi- *ni.* kinship term used by a girl to refer to her sister, used by a paternal aunt to refer to her niece, used by a wife to refer to her husband's brother's wife, or a husband to her wife's brother's wife, used by maternal aunt's children or paternal uncle's children to refer to their female cousin, used to refer to the sister of your grandfather.
vatavata *n.* old woman.
vatevate *n.* laplap boiled inside **pareke** leaves.
vati *adj.* bare.
vati *num.* four. *Etym:* POC *pati, PNCV *vati.
vatia *n.* strut linking the outrigger to the canoe.
vatle *n.* gizzard of fowl, of a fish. This body part is common to both fish and birds. As a result, both fish and birds are called **masi** in

- Ma'ŵea.
- ŵatneia** *vt.* remove the guts.
- ŵatua** *vt.* weave mat, baskets, hats, fans with pandanus leaves or coconut palms, weave bamboo walls. *Etym:* POc *patu(R)-i, PNCV *vatu.
- ŵaturia** *vt.* straighten up something, hold it straight.
- vava** *n.* 1) inside of the mouth, of man, clam. *Etym:* POc *papa, PNCV *vwavwa.
— *n.* 2) sea strait separating two islands.
- vavae** *n.* fruit of the **vapeve** root, eaten boiled.
- ŵa'waono** *n, vi.* traditional male outfit made of leaves.
- vavapu** *n.* k.o fish, emperor fish, red mouth fish. *Family Lethrinidae.*
- vavapu singo p̄arav** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Lethrinidae.*
- vavapu du** *n.* k.o fish. *Family Lethrinidae.*
- vavapu m̄ata vaitina** *n.* big eye emperor fish.
- ŵa'varo** *n.* charcoal, smoldering ember.
- vavei** *n.* 1) damsel fish, always travel in school. *Abudefduf sexfasciatus, family Pomacentridae.* 2) Polynesian starling bird.
- ŵa'via** *vt.* bake in stone oven. *Etym:* POc *papi.
- ŵa'vina** *n.* female, girl, woman. *Etym:* POc *papine, PNCV *vavine.
- vavo** *n.* egg white.
- vavru** *n.* k.o tree and its heart-shaped fruits, with edible seeds.
- vea** *vt.* curse, insult someone.
- veasi** *n.* wild man.
- ŵeia** *vt.* make, do. *Etym:* POc *pai, PNCV *v[a,e]i.
- vele-** *n.* tail.
- ŵen** *vi.* bring.
- venatu-** *n.* aunt.
- vere** *n.* k.o small bird with green feathers and red head, rainbow dove, crimson-crowned fruit dove.
- vere** *vi.* swear.
- ŵero** *n.* grated coconut after being milked.
- ŵervero** *vi.* dry, of a fruit usually juicy, like citrus or coconuts but not **pasura** papaya.
- vesu** *n.* white or black moth, about 5cm in length.
- ŵesul** *vi.* whistle, of birds and men.
- vete** *n.* song.
- vetua** *n.* truth.
- ŵe'ŵe marida** *vt.* follow the (local) Kastom.
- ŵe'ŵeo** *n.* pandanus.
- ŵia** *n.* k.o edible wild taro, boiled, pounded, then eaten with coconut cream. *Alocasia.* *Etym:* POc *piRaq, PNCV *via.
- ŵia roa** *n.* k.o unedible wild taro.
- ŵia loko** *n.* k.o edible wild taro.
- ŵia pulu** *n.* k.o edible wild taro used for **uru** paste.
- ŵia top̄ae** *n.* k.o edible wild taro from Ambae.
- ŵideria** *vt.* spread out, straighten.
- ŵidia** *vt.* take laplap out of fire, dig out megapode's eggs.
- ŵila** *n.* lightning. *Etym:* POc *p(w)ilak, PNCV *vila.
- ŵila** *adv.* quick, fast.
- ŵina** *n.* arrow.
- ŵineia** *vt.* shoot arrows with a bow. *Etym:* POc *panaq, PNCV *v[a,i]na-i.
- ŵine'vina** *vi.* arrow fishing.
- ŵintuia** *vt.* join two mats together by weaving their seams. *Etym:* PNCV *viniti.
- ŵinua** *n.* k.o tree. *Macaranga.* The leaves and inside bark can be red **ŵinua ara**, or white **ŵinua voko**. The red species grows in much bigger tree. Its wood is used to cut spoons **sila**.
- ŵinua** *vt.* wear a necklace, take a bride. Indicates a Kastom engagement.
- ŵira** *n.* flower. *Etym:* PNCV *vira.
- ŵirai kalato** *n.* medusa. *Cassiopea frondosa, family Cassiopeidae.*
- viria** *adj, vi.* black.
- viria** *vt.* throw an object.
- ŵiria** *vt.* braid leaves, rope, coconut husk, **ŵae** bark, hair (usually with three braids). *Etym:* POc *pijir-i.
- ŵiria** *vt.* poison.
- ŵirisia** *vt.* squeeze grated coconut to extract its milk, on top of food. *Etym:* POc *piri, PNCV *viri.
- viriu** *n.* dog.
- viro** *vi.* bloom, of banana flower.
- ŵiro** *n.* needle used to sew **talaua**.
- ŵiroa** *vt.* sew **talaua** leaves.
- ŵir'vir** *adj.* poisoned, as of a fish.

- virvira** *n.* coconut palm weaved around roots digged out from the garden to carry them.
- visia** *vt.* knead, as of grated yam, or bread.
- visio** *n.* meat, flesh, muscle. *Etym:* POc *pisiko, PNCV *visiko.
- viso** *vi.* cluck, as of a young bird which is scared, or has lost its mother.
- vitu** *n.* month, moon.
- vitviti** *vi.* beat, of heart.
- viu** *n.* thin white skin on a citrus, or on a **mapa**.
- vivi** *n.* k.o fish. *Gomphosus caeruleus*, family *Labridae*.
- vivi** *vi.* pout, mope, pull a face, as of a baby about to cry.
- vleal** *vt.* hit on the back of the neck **ali-** to kill someone in one shot.
- vleia** *vt.* pick up, find.
- voatia** *vt.* stir, mix liquids.
- vodasia** *vt.* cover up laplap with hot stones.
- vodo** *n.* top and pointed part of a conch.
- voi** *vt.* become, change into, metamorphose into.
- vokalto** *n.* testicles.
- vokarkara** *n.* k.o bird which looks like a (sand) swallow.
- voko** *adj,vi.* white. *Etym:* PNCV *voqe.
- vola** *n.* k.o rope used to fasten roof parts: **talaua** on **rasa**.
- volia** *vt.* buy, hire, pay someone. *Etym:* POc *poli, PNCV *voli.
- volvol** *vt.* sell.
- volvolia** *n.* goods, things to be bought.
- vomae** *n.* emerald ground dove, green-winged ground dove, with green wings and brown body, eating ground seeds. *Chalcophaps indica*.
- vomapi-** *ni.* female grandchild.
- vono** *n.* bush.
vovono *n.* forest.
- vono** *vi.* blocked.
- vontai** *adv.* only, just.
- vopa** *n.* hole.
vopan kalsu *n.* nostril.
vopan poro *n.* hole inside an ear, inner ear.
vopan tae *n.* anus. *Lit:* 'hole of excrement'.
vopan maradi *n.* cave.
- vopalia-** *ni.* kinship term, used by a son-in-law to refer to his mother-in-law, or to the sisters of his parents-in-law, and vice-versa.
- vopaopao** *n.* black and white biche de mer. *Family Holothuridae*.
- vopatu** *n.* roof beam made of **paka** wood that is on top on the roof.
vopatau aulu *n.* roof part.
vopatu atano *n.* roof part.
- vorae** *n.* birth.
- voramme** *n.* first born.
- vorana** *n.* family, siblings.
- voratau** *n.* younger brother, last born. *Lit:* 'born behind'.
- vorovoro** *vi.* be born. *Etym:* PNCV *vora.
- vorovoro** *vi.* shine, of the sun.
- vorsala** *n.* coconut cream.
- vorvalivu** *n.* middle brother. *Lit:* 'born in middle'.
- vorvor** *vt.* take a sun bath.
- vos** *vi.* full, filled.
- vosa** *n.* abscess, boil.
- vosaia** *vt.* slap.
- vose** *n.* sister, used by males.
- voseia** *vt.* fit.
- vosi** *n.* edible breadfruit seed.
- voso** *n.* paddle. *Etym:* POc *pose, PNCV *vose.
- voso** *vi.* enough.
- voso** *vt.* grab or hold in hand.
- voso** *vi.* have a boil, a skin abscess.
- vosoro** *n.* lid.
- vosovoso** *vi.* clap one's hands, applaud, pound roasted breadfruit inside one's hand with a coconut palm.
- votaia** *vt.* castrate.
- vote-** *ni.* first born sister.
- voto** *n.* arrangement of flat stones on which pigs were killed in grade taking ceremony. *Etym:* PNCV *voda.
- votu** *n.* woman's genitals.
- vu** *n.* stem, trunk of tree.
- vua** *n.* fruit. *Etym:* PNCV *vwa.
- vua voko** *n.* k.o tree, similar to **eve**, used as timber.
- vuae** *n.* tree (gen).
- vues** *vt.* open up the leaf around the laplap, when the laplap is ready to be eaten.
- vuia** *vt.* dip.
- vulae** *n.* k.o tree to make canoes, furniture.
- vule** *vi.* climb up.

vules *n.* fire stick. Stick of wood which is half charcoal and half unburnt, used to relight a fire.

vulo *n.* hard stem inside breadfruit.

vulu *n.* hair, feathers, fur. *Etym:* POc *pulu, PNCV *vulu.

vulvulun m̃ata *n.* eye lashes.

vulungi *n,vi.* heat, hot, of weather.

vulura *vi.* goose pimple.

vulvule *n.* joint of the body, wrist, ankle.

vulvulua *vi.* be hairy, have lots of hair on one's body.

vun *vt.* poison fish, with the rope **asi tuva**.

vunatae *n.* root.

vunopua *N.* boat landing site, place name of Elsie Vopua's house.

vunopuma *N.* James Livo's village name.

vunusa *n.* coconut husk. *Etym:* POc *punut, PNCV *vunu-ti.

vunga *n.* tentacles, of the octopus.

vuras *n.* k.o tree, great timber, insect resistant.

vuro *n.* war.

vuro *n.* basket.

vuro *vi.* empty.

vurtia *vt.* devour, bite a big chunk.

vuru *vi.* cough. *Etym:* PNCV *vuru.

vuru *n.* testicle, used as a swear word.

vurui

vurui *n.* cough.

vurvur toa *n.* k.o plant.

vusa *adv.* on top of.

vusa *n.* young green coconut to drink, with a little flesh inside.

vuso *n.* heart. *Etym:* POc *qapuso, PNCV *vuso.

vuso raorao *n.* kidney.

vusoa *vt.* remove feathers of bird, pluck a fowl.

vusoa *vt.* clear up the bush to make a new garden, cut small bush around a tree where the yams are planted.

vusonga *vt.* show, demonstrate, teach.

vut *vi.* run, of a canoe or a boat.

vutle *n.* top, of a tree.

vutvut *n.* coconut branch that protects the coconut flowers and the **simra**.

vuvunia *adj.* poisoned, as of a fish with the rope **asi tuva**.

W - w

wae *n.* water. *Etym:* POc *waiR, PNCV *wai, *bei.

wae sarsar *n.* river.

wailu *n.* k.o yam imported from New Caledonia.
From: Bisl.

we *interj.* true, really.

weŋe *n.* pacific imperial pigeon. *Ducula pacifica*.
Etym: PNCV *kuiba.

weti *n.* vein.

Total number of entries: 1793

A - a

about	suri.	ant	adi (1); didiu; didiu patu waitina, see: didiu; didiu pat vari, see: didiu.
above	alaul; aulu.		
abscess	vosa; voso.		
accompany	tuleia (1).	anus	vopan tae, see: vopa.
afraid	ntao.	Aore	aure.
afternoon	talmalum.	April	maoto.
again	me-; mel.	arm	pili.
ago	nauese.	armpit	aŕe.
agree	masingo.	around	dal.
Ah!	aue.	arrow	vina.
ah	u.	arrow fishing	vinevina.
Ais	aese.	article	aite.
alive	maur.	ash	makoŕi.
all	evui; paparao.	ashamed	manan.
already	evuia.	ashore	oso.
Ambae	oŕae.	ask	usia.
anchor	apua.	aspect	lo-.
and	rar; ratol, see: ratol.	aunt	venatu-.
anemone	kiri; udun tasi.	awake	lleo.
angelfish	masi uduru, see: masi ara mata waitina; masirai.	away	puse.
		axe	matavono.
ankle	vaspevu-.		
another	mamaite.		

B - b

back	puru; taolo.	banana flower	povso.
backbone	vakarini lidi, see: vakari.	banana tree	suli.
bad	isati; satia.	banded rail bird	pilai vovono, see: pilae.
bag	tanga.	bang	ovuseia; rpaia.
bah	i.	banyan	paika.
bail	rasua.	bare	vati.
bait	peai.	bark	laoia; merenga; meru; ulo; vutvut.
bake	vavia.	basket	ala; kurua; ngado; polo; tara; virvira; vuro.
baked	ov, see: ovia.		
bald	pilo.	bastard	natui sala, see: natu-.
bamboo	pua (1); puai.	bat	karae; karae tong, see: karae; karae ara, see: karae; peperavutu.
bamboo leaf	palati.		
banana	dupa; dupa ara, see: dupa; dupa kaleasi, see: dupa; dupa masa, see: dupa; dupa paranga, see: dupa; mautu; sinei; vatali.	be born	voro.
		beam	rasa; sume mase.
		bear fruit	langa.
		beard	umi.

bearded	umia.	blue marlin	ado rupa, see: ado.
beat	dirong; seua; vītīiti.	blue tail copper-striped skink lizard	pokala.
because	ńatan.	blunt	petu.
become	voi.	boat	aka.
bed	pala.	body	epe; rape.
bee	otor.	boil	kua.
before	amma.	bone	vakari.
begin	tan.	bottom	poni.
behavior	posi.	bow	pa.ka.
behind	atau; kere.	box	kes.
belly	pange.	boxfish	taparpar.
belong	mar; no-; pula-; sa-.	boy	lamana.
belt	otot.	boy name	daldal.
bend	kunna; olo; pailua.	bracelet	panpan.
between	livua; madasi.	braid	viria.
biche de mer	asin poa non Tatatai; mene; purtun; vopaopao.	brain	tangavu.
big	lavoa.	branch	pere.
big lip fish	masi poa, see: masi ara mata vaitina.	breadfruit	peo; takala; van.
big one(sg)	valavoa.	breadfruit paste	savi.
big (pl)	vaitina.	breadfruit seed	vosi.
bile	ona.	break	kame; poloa; ravtia; tavasia; topeia.
bird	akalao; dipa; malao; masi; mosomoso; ovo; pa; tantanemas (1); taroa; vavei (2); vokarkara.	breasts	susu.
bird, cardinal honeyeater	varua.	breath	mapu.
birth	vorae.	breathe	marong.
bite	atati; atia; rutua; vurtia.	bring	ven.
bitter	ono.	broken	ravutu.
black	viria.	broom	tevi.
black and white	damdovo.	broom grass	pulpul tineran.
black bat	duria.	brother	soe-; tasi-.
bladder	tangan mermere, see: tanga mermer.	brown	llura.
blade	ani.	brush	sarovia.
blanket	lulumai.	bud	pa.
bleed	dae.	bunch	kalea.
blind	matasala; matasat.	bundle	oti; udungi.
block	oro.	burn	an; nov; rpasi; sulia; ti apu.
blocked	vono.	burp	masor.
blood	dae.	bury	tavun.
bloom	teria; viro.	bush	vono.
blow	sarako; sere; sipcia; soroa (1).	busy	roria; ursai.
blow nose	ngusa.	but	na.
blue	ese.	butterfly	pepe.
blue bone fish	vakar ese.	butterfly fish	masi pepe, see: masi ara mata vaitina; pepe.
		buy	volia.

C - c

cabbage	pareke.	close	atkum; kum; m̄arv̄itu; p̄alatia; pilto.
cackle	kotkotao.	cloud	dodo.
calf	madi.	cloudy	dodoa.
call	suksuksuk; tovia.	club	malmala.
can	adi.	cluck	v̄iso.
canoe	aka; madi.	cockroach	anan tam̄alas.
can't	leng.	coconut	m̄arm̄ari; piri; popo; taḡala; v̄ero; vusa.
capsized	m̄asaluva.	coconut branch	simra.
carry	alia; ovia; rako; rako; saḡelea; saḡesaḡe; saul; sepur; solotia; suna; taḡea; uia; uiui.	coconut crab	daiu.
carve	paḡia; rauna.	coconut husk	vunusa.
carving tool	paḡi.	coconut milk	oin m̄atiu, see: oi.
cast	avuria.	coconut sheath	vaevae.
castrate	votaia.	coconut skin	peas.
castrated	povoto.	coconut tree	m̄atiu.
cat	ariḡi.	coconut young	dimango.
catapult	talvava.	coiled	m̄apai.
catch	direa.	cold	m̄angadidi; ngadira; ngadirane.
cave	paranga; vopan maradi, see: vopa.	color	m̄asi.
centipede	novi na vatano.	colorful	m̄asm̄asi, see: m̄asi.
chambered nautilus shell	dudu.	combed fowl	sun sat, see: suni.
charcoal	v̄av̄aro; vules.	come	m̄a.
chase	luvia.	come out	avtai.
check	rio.	complementizer	ma.
chest	para.	conch	tavua.
chew	samuia.	conditional	mo-.
chief	supa.	cook	tunua.
child	natu-; navaisesea.	cooked	noa.
children	navari.	copra	kavura.
chin	ngurngur.	copulate	itia; itit, see: itia.
choke	don sakaia.	coral	lese; lese tutun, see: lese; malo pipi; malo pivi, see: malo pipi; malo tutun, see: malo pipi; p̄akap̄aka; puma; susu m̄an p̄aio; timoti.
chop	taraia.	corner wall	suosua.
church	iman tamlo lavao, see: ima.	corral	porlese.
circle	damolmol; taloa.	cough	vuru; vurui, see: vurui.
clam	malmalu.	count	tovoa; tovtovo.
clap	vosovoso.	court house	aḡal.
classifier (eat)	a-.	cover	lumeia; luputia; pureia.
clean	aroa; sara.	cover up	rosonga; vodasia.
clear	kiria; vasaia.		
clear garden	vusoa.		
climb up	vule.		
clitoris	tare.		

crab	adua; atou; atou ara, see: atou; aʻā; aʻā ara, see: aʻā; aʻālololo; eʻēvʻ; kurua; langalanga; pasuosua; saroa; simtung; vararu; varar poa, see: vararu; varar tanmeaʻā, see: vararu.	crowd	ʻāo.
crawl	arara; poa; salo.	crowned	pat sangavul.
crazy	langalenge.	crunchy	ngatngatur.
cream, coconut	vorsala.	crush	ledeia; lomoa.
creek	mormor.	crushed	ʻmakavkav.
crimson-crowned fruit dove	vere.	cry	kir ʻmeʻme; ngara; ngara; tang.
crooked	pailu, see: pailua.	cudgel	kaloa.
cross	late; si.	cup	lasa; puro (1).
crow	tarere.	curl	taltali.
		curved	pailil.
		cut	aʻpea; asia; dom ravtia; domea; durua; kiria.

D - d

dad	mama.	dirty	sana.
damsel fish	dun; vavei (1).	disease	arari (2); ʻmanʻmanu.
dance	karie; kovo; pole; pololioa; sava.	dislike	so.
dark	ʻmario; sisi.	distribute	silsile, see: silea.
daughter	vanatu-.	disturb	otia; otot.
day	ran; tal-.	dive	suvu; suv, see: suvu.
daydream	saproro.	diving	suvie.
dead	ʻmadue; ʻmata.	do what	iseveia.
deadman	taʻmatea.	dog	viriu.
deaf	porput; putu.	dolphin	kua.
deaf dumb	putput.	done	aia.
decade	ngavul.	door	matesala; sala.
December	eliʻmangadidi.	dove	vomae.
decorate	lakoia.	down	pale.
deep	pua.	downwards	taʻvalu.
defecate	deo; desia.	doze off	daudai.
deliver	laʻvlaʻv.	dragonfly	tiron wae.
denounce	ʻpakaia.	dream	pero.
descend	ʻmasura.	dress	saisai.
desire	urur.	drink	inua; inue; ʻma-; rapisu.
devil	apaleve; porpepe; tanuma.	drip	tura.
dew	eu.	drizzle	rikrikis.
different	vataolo.	drown	ʻmadun; ʻmepu.
dig	avua; avav, see: avua; eldoʻvo; uteia.	dry	koru; leo; ʻmasa; ʻverʻveroa.
dig out	saptia.	dual	r-.
dig up	elia.	duck	pasa.
dip	saroiā; vuia.	dust	piepia.
dirt	aroso.	dye	pulua.

E - e

earlobe	lason poro , <i>see: laso.</i>	enough	voso.
ears	poro.	erection	ranga.
earthquake	mi.	escape	ruva.
eat	anan; an , <i>see: anan; pusopuso.</i>	Espiritu Santo Isl.	utalape.
eel	dungdung doae; ese parav; marao sala , <i>see: marao; marao aros</i> , <i>see: marao; marao voko</i> , <i>see: marao; ngolngol; pilepango.</i>	evening	malmalum.
egg	otoli; simir vanatu-	every day	turvaite.
egg white	vavoke.	everyone	nidevu; nirevu.
eight	marvetol; rattolu.	everything	inatar; ineike.
eighty	mongavulu marvetolu , <i>see: mongavulu rua.</i>	everywhere	alere; parorua.
ejaculate	sira.	exactly	sivo.
elbow	su.	exchange	tileia.
elder	tamlesea; vadu.	excrement	tae.
elder brother	voramme.	explode	tipala.
embrace	raua.	extinguish	psi.
empty	savleia; vuro.	eye	mata.
encircle	rao.	eye lashes	vulvulun mata , <i>see: vulu.</i>
end	avona.	eye pupil	lolon mata , <i>see: lolo.</i>
		eyebrow	vasu.
		eyelid	urin mata , <i>see: uri.</i>

F - f

face	nao.	fertile	natua.
facing	sosong.	fetch	utua.
fall	sovi; uria.	fever	roso.
family	vorana.	few	atatai; ivisa.
fan	irivi; irivia.	fiber	papai.
far	asao; konativa.	fifth	alma.
fart	siri; sirtia.	fight	apapa; kavia.
fast	rro; toto.	fill	divuia; talia.
fasten	lasia; lioa; paua; turua.	fin	pakapaka.
fat	nini; uro.	finger	varango.
father	peve; tama-	finger, index	varango pipisu , <i>see: varango.</i>
feast	anana.	finger, little	varango vaise , <i>see: varango.</i>
February	rupu.	finger, middle	varango parav , <i>see: varango.</i>
feed	vangan.	finger, ring	varango pilpil makov , <i>see: varango.</i>
feel	rongoa.		
female	vavina.	finish	marsaia; pelia.
female pig	varapilea.	fins	tora.
fence	ara; peru.	fire	apu; paia; paipai , <i>see: paia; sile;</i>
fern	rata.		sot; suvia; talio.

firefly
first
fish

vapopo.
amma.
ado; ado mormor, *see: ado; ado mormor ango, see: ado; ado rupa, see: ado; ase roko; a'vie'via; dun; dun ango, see: dun; kala; lului m'asi; m'ale tinana; malese; m'asi; m'asi poa viria, see: m'asi ara m'ata vaitina; m'asi poa voko, see: m'asi ara m'ata vaitina; m'asi rai, see: m'asi ara m'ata vaitina; masin soso; m'ason; m'ason tasi pua, see: m'ason; m'ason ango, see: m'ason; m'ason viria, see: m'ason; m'ason ese, see: m'ason; m'ason roro, see: m'ason; m'ason tara, see: m'ason; m'atavot; m'er'mere; m'er tap'a, see: m'er'mere; novu; novu sangsangara, see: novu; novu tavun, see: novu; novu sala, see: novu; ngelo; p'akao; p'akao as, see: p'akao; p'akao singo ara, see: p'akao; p'akao si'vi, see: p'akao; panuta; papil; paras; patruda tete; pa'vi; peara; piopio; pipio; pira'v; poin kalan; polo; polo v'ae, see: polo; pol'vai; porkoroko; porkoroko tasi pua, see: porkoroko; porkoroko ango, see: porkoroko; poroi aso; pukpuk; pula; pumet; pumet tasi pua, see: pumet; pura; put nao pono; rav'ra'vin p'αιο; ro'oro'o'vo; rutu; sasan; se'v'se'vi; sulvatal; sum; sum elaru, see: sum; sum lako lako, see: sum; sum tan meov, see: sum; sum si'vi, see: sum; susulua; taka; taka sul, see: taka; taka ango, see: taka; taka madese, see: taka; tamalmala; tamalmala ara, see: tamalmala; tamalmala voko, see: tamalmala; tanaso; tanme ado; tapala; tapala arapus, see: tapala; tapareke; taparpar; tapato; tara; tar'pe kala; tartara; taut; tov nao m'asanga; um; um lapatai, see: um; um vul p'ilai, see: um; um ango, see: um; um rap'e v'atali, see: um;*

ura masa; v'ae; v'akar ese; vavapu; vavapu singo p'arav, *see: vavapu; vavapu du, see: vavapu; vavapu m'ata vaitina, see: vavapu; vavei (1); v'irai kalato; v'ivi.*
arari.
voseia.
li'ma.
lulu; lulu.
ap'ap'al.
tapepea.
sani; v'isio.
sala; saleia.
saloso.
tano.
sosolo; ta'ma; v'ira.
av; tete.
adi tete, *see: adi; didiu tete, see: didiu; m'adoa.*
taltal.
na.
v'aoororo.
piria.
m'apir.
p'ara; sopea.
follow the kastom v'e've marida.
inana.
p'al'p'ala.
pur palo.
sar palo-.
lape; suri.
utuia.
v'arnao.
v'anua vuro.
vovono, *see: vono.*
perpero.
mangae.
masanga.
v'ati.
a'v'ati-.
kou; kou vul sangarngara, *see: kou; kou umia, see: kou; kou siu, see: kou.*
suni.
arua-; soko.
friend (female) varua-.
ta.
pasuarvina.

fruit	sarua; sartol, see: sarua; vavae; vua.	full	duru; opul; vos.
fruit fly	anono.	fun	mánmána.
fruitful	sipei.	funeral service	ponga.
fuck	oria.	future	me.

G - g

game	tikel sir.	goat fish	um.
gape	vanga.	good	du.
garbage	pataua.	goods	volvolia.
garden	uta; vataltal.	goose pimple	vulura.
gasp	marong sevsevu, see: marong.	grab	sa'va; vakea.
gather	maimai.	grade	puru.
gaze	tiroi.	grandchild	mapi-; vomapi-.
gear	van'vana.	grandparent, grandchild	tupu.
gecko	roa.	grass	duvu.
genitals	pinga; takere; vana.	grasshopper	pi'ta; podio; tiletila.
get up	turtan.	grate	rosia.
ghost	tanmea'pa.	grater	paovi'; paov' talaua, see: paovi'; paov' kava, see: paovi'.
giant moray	pilepango.	grey	avra.
gills	poro.	grim	par ngisa.
girl name	valeo.	grimace	karaia.
give	silea.	groin	sanga.
gizzard	upupu; vatle.	grope	rasarasa.
glide	toroa.	ground	atano; vatano.
go	va.	grow	kunia; tovu; ulua.
go down	si.	growth	tovu.
go first	adia.	grr	ngurngur.
go home	sivo.	guts	tangavulu; van'vana.
go in	ru.		
go up	sa.		

H - h

hair	ilea; vulu.	hatchet	ka'ka'.
hairry	vulvulua.	hawk	mala.
hammer	leseia.	head	patu.
hammock	paoa.	healed	mavo.
hand	pili.	heap	duma; duma; tautau; tautau.
hand joint	lulu.	hear	rongoa.
handle	ara; pala.	heart	vuso.
hang	sev; sevuia.	heat	vulungi.
hard	kao; matua.	heavy	povon.
harvest	maururia.	heel	kere palo, see: kere.
hatch	diring; tar koso.	help	tuen.

here	konaro; noror, see: noro; ror; te.	hook	kauli.
here, this	aro.	hot	o'po.
heron	kakato.	house	ima.
hibiscus	saul.	how	isa'vai.
hidden	surai.	how many	i'visa.
hide	song; sureia.	how much	i'visa.
high tide	ua.	hum	ngutngut.
hinder leg	sari.	hunger	m'aru.
hip	saran asi, see: sara.	hunt	ruia; ruru.
his/her/its	-na.	hurricane	langlos; taron langlos, see: taro.
hit	losua; p'alaia; poloa; vleal.	hurricane season	adi (2).
hold	tauria; voso.	hurt	p'eretia.
hole	vopa.	husband	ta'manatu-.
hollow	tungu-.	husk	oso'ma.
home	aima.		

I - i

I	ka-; na-; nao.	insert	paleia; p'eia.
idea	dusdusei.	inside out	purlesia.
if	mo-.	insist	rru.
imitate	palaia, see: pal.	intersection	sala masanga, see: sala; saltavea.
in	na.	iron	kava.
in front of	nao.	island	v'anua.
inland	lolo; ta'valu.	island name	aputu.
in-law	palia-; vopalia-.	islet	ureura.
inner ear	vopan poro, see: vopa.	it/him/her	-a.
insect	dua; kakamarua; m'as'mas; o'vato; seasea; soso; tatavon; tikelsir; utun ono, see: utu.	its	-i.

J - j

January	supeliu.	juicy	oia.
jaw	ese; puse.	July	udura lavoa, see: udura.
jealous	ontatina.	jump	av laua; tio.
jellyfish	utun tasi, see: utu.	June	sarako; udura pono, see: udura.
jitter	dongaia.	just	pete-.
join	v'intuia.		
joint	vulvule.		

K - k

Kastom club	povuso.	kastom drum	p'ea.
kastom dance	seru.	kastom name	navkotarleo.

kava	ae; kiroko.	kiss	suma.
kebab	arara.	knead	siua; visia.
kick	ple.	knee	pau.
kid	ap̄irot.	knife	masa; petu; pua (2).
kidney	vuso raorao.	knot	ndia; pona.
killers	ʻvalasi ap̄a, see: ʻvalasi.	know	ontavseia.
kingfisher	sio.		

L - l

land	vaʻmasa.	limp	tion.
landing site	taitai, see: tai; vasao.	line	ʻvalasi.
laplap	auau; loko; matamata; puelol; tivlulu; vadivadi; vatevate.	line fish	aulia.
lasso	salia.	lips	urin singo, see: uri.
laugh	ʻmana.	listen	saleia.
laugh at	ʻmanateia.	little	ʻmallai; val ʻva.
lay eggs	otol.	live	lolo.
lazy	sirira.	liver	pepe.
leaf	lupluput; rai.	lizard	kala; pokala.
leaf midrib	lidi.	lizardfish	kala.
lean	teia; tipese.	lobster	ura; ura vir, see: ura; ura roko, see: ura; ura lap̄a, see: ura; ura val lese, see: ura.
leave	kuroa.	lock	pokalatia.
leaves	rau.	log	rape.
left	ʻmarao.	loincloth	tiʻvitiʻi; upu.
leftovers	taʻmalas.	long	parav; takerene.
leg	palo.	long mouth fish	ado.
level	palpalai (1); saraia.	look	kil; tiro.
lick	meia.	look after	ontaia.
lid	napnapai; vosoro.	lose	liu.
lie	kolaia; lopolipo.	lose hair	masapsaputu.
life	mauri.	lost	to.
lift	ratia; saua.	louse	utu.
ligature	i.	love	opoi.
light	lama; masalsala; sav.	Luganville	olotu.
lightning	vila.	lull	sueia.
like	opoi; polmoro.	lungs	marongi.
like this	pelmele.		
likewise	palai.		

M - m

make	veia.	man	ta-; tamlo.
make ready	takonai.	many times	ʻvadumana, see: ʻvaitenge.
male	uduru.	marbled snake eel	ididono.
Malo	antaʻmapo.	marriage	tultuleia.

marry	lai; tikoua.	month,	ʋitu.
mast	pue.	moon	ʋitu.
masturbate	urouro.	more	loso; sea.
mat	eṗe; eṗeng.	morning	rovo; tarlavua.
Matevulu	matevulu.	mosquito	ngerngere.
Maṗea	maṗea.	moth	ṗeṗe udu, see: ṗeṗe; vesu.
May	maoto.	mother	tina-
maybe	or.	mound	taponpono; tapu.
me	-ao.	mountain	patliu.
me and	kaṗar.	mourn	tangsia.
measure	ngava; tivonga.	mouth	vava (1).
meat	ʋisio.	mouth, beak	singo.
meet	sakaia.	move	dongaia; teria.
metal	varu.	mud	lipai.
mice	ngirngir.	mullet fish	ṗalavua.
middle brother	vorṗalivu.	muscle	ʋisio.
millipede	ṗalṗaltiai.	mushroom	aso; pepero.
mingled	keo.	mushy	purpurotong.
miss	seltia.	musket	soro.
moan	ngutu.	must	ria.
mock	loslos ṗakari.	my	-ku.
mom	tata.		

N - n

nail	masinpisu.	night time	tapong dodo.
nails	laku.	nightmare	perisati, see: pero.
name	ese-; solia.	nine	raṗṗati.
narrate	soraia; ululdun.	ninety	ṗarṗati.
naughty	ṗasingo.	nipple	ṗatan susu.
navel	puto.	nit	lisa.
neck	ali-; doṗi.	no	dere.
necklace	somi.	noisy	apanasa.
needle	ṗiro.	north of Maṗea island	ṗaktano.
negation	sopo-	nose	kalsu.
neighbor	natua-	nostril	vopan kalsu, see: vopa.
nervous	sisisea.	not have	ere.
nest	tao; tao.	not ready	damma.
net fishing	tara.	November	elavoa.
new	paro.	novice	ṗalṗala.
next	natu.	now	noro; nortovono.
nibble	rutu.	number	tungei.
nickname	sopen ese, see: sope.		
night	pongi; talapong.		

O - o

observe	nairoa.	orphan	parou.
octopus	ita; ita <i>vakari</i> , <i>see: ita.</i>	other side	tauna.
oh	o.	our	-da; -mam.
old	malaua; satvar; tamlesea.	our (two)	-marua.
old woman	maduodua.	outrigger	sama.
once	vaitē; vaitenge.	outside	panara; varea.
one	ai; aitenge; taite; taitenge; tea.	oven	moru.
only	na; vontai.	over	laua; livliv.
open	langai; tapara; vangaia; vasua; vues.	over there	altiva; atisa; atisi; konkonal, see: konale.
opened	malanga.	owl	peke.
or	te.	oyster	papar.
orange	moli.	Oyster island	malparav.
orchid	kapat.		
order	tuluia.		

P - p

paddle	sua; voso.	pig killing	place voto.
pail	rasua.	pigeon	wepe.
paint	pulu.	pile	apria.
palm	apasi-; lolon pili, see: lolo; talaua.	pillow	elunga.
palm tree	vaniniu.	pinch	isia; ledeia.
pandanus	veveo.	place	sara.
papaya	pasura.	place name	amsaran; kernaima; onda; piria; serseri; vunopua.
parrot	sivi.	plank	tapea.
pass	val; vala.	plant	anparpara ango; arapus; arapus ara, see: arapus; dadavoi; davoia; duvu davanave, see: duvu; ea; elung; kalato; kalato pong sangavul, see: kalato; kalato toto, see: kalato; kalato pua, see: kalato; maoto; mavuro; mele; natu; paltaua; pao; paopao (1); pei; pei papala, see: pei; pira; puaka; punopuna; rauia; raul; rivua; sadia; suvsuvu aspipi; tapetu; tariaka; tariaka ara, see: tariaka; tavea; varo; vurvur toa.
paste	uru.		
patience	saovia.	plaster	tapai.
pay	tava.	plate	rovo; salsala.
peace	nadnadi.	play	man; paopao.
peel	ngaria; palat; savia; sipēia.		
penis	asa-; laso; pungu-, see: pungu; soi.		
penis hole	sisi.		
permission	var voseia.		
pers name	karvarua; lepsileo.		
pick	kaulia.		
pick up	vleia.		
picture	nua.		
piece	sope.		
pierce	tua; tur dovo; turua.		
pierced	mapolo.		
pig	poa; rava; varava.		

plenty	dumana; tuana.	pour	ling.
plover bird	ṗilae.	pout	ṗiṗi.
pluck	posoa; vusoa.	pregnant	tiana.
plural	na-; re.	press	ineia.
point	ṗisua.	pretend	poṗeia.
poison	ṗiria; vun.	prick	sile.
poisoned	ṗirṗir; vuvunia.	proud	terterete.
poke at	sulai.	prow	patamme.
Polynesian starling bird	vavei (2).	prune	saṗsaṗe.
pool	ṗalṗala.	puffer fish	pura.
possess	doro.	pull	pao; raṗeia; rusia; suria; tai.
possessive	-n.	pull out	asai.
post	valariṗi.	punch	tuia.
pot	kuku.	push	pauia; saia; soaia; suria; tingoa.
potted rockcod	tapala.	put	sakaia; taua; ti.
pound	savi; uru.	put inside	sona.
pounding tool	tutu.		

Q - q

quarrel	ngasi.	quiet	ṗalum; tamata.
quick	valto; ṗila.		

R - r

raft	polopolo.	reef heron	kakato.
rail	varṗaka.	reefcrest parrot fish	ase roko.
rain	usa; usa.	remove	aia; nneria; raun; ṗidia.
rainbow	nuenue.	remove guts	ṗatneia.
rainbow dove	vere.	resemble	pal.
rainy	taron usa, see: taro.	respect	ololo.
raise	koi.	return	tapula.
ramble	var kat.	rib	kakao.
rat	ariṗi ngirngir.	right	ṗatua.
ray	oṗae karae, see: oṗae; oṗae raorao aka, see: oṗae; oṗae tavun, see: oṗae.	ring	pungu.
reach	tikelia.	rinse	kumkum.
ready	langlang; sea.	rip	dirisia.
really	oi.	ripe	loa; ṗene.
recognize	rong voseia.	ripped	ṗadara.
red	ara.	rippled rockskipper fish	pipio.
red bass	tapareke.	rise	taravun.
red bellied fusilier fish	pumet.	river	wae sarsar, see: wae.
red fish	ṗasi ara ṗata vaitina.	road	sala.
reef	malo.	roar	sare.
		roast	tunua.
		roll	llua; podia.

roof	masakarkara; vopatu.		vaitina, see: asi; mēmelu; povis;
roof part	masaliopoa; vopatau aulu, see:		turu; valaḗita; vola.
	vopatu; vopatu atano, see: vopatu.	rotten	dovo; soso.
root	lodolodo; ḗaura; pevis; tasoa;	rough	tasia.
	vapeve; vari; vunatae.	rub	amutia; ananai; nnia; rasa ono.
rope	asi; asi vatu, see: asi; asi turniu,	rubbish	koso.
	see: asi; asi tuva, see: asi; asi mata,	rummage	rasua; sualai.
	see: asi; asi povis, see: asi; asi rau	rump	ponsa velena.
		run	dum; valao; vut.

S - s

sail	aḗani.	select	saraia.
sail fin tang fish	māsi popoi uduru, see: māsi	self	asea.
	ara māta vaitina.	sell	volvol.
saliva	lalao.	semen	sira.
same	palpalai, see: palpalai.	send	sorai.
sand	ono.	separate	asaseia; rea.
sand swallow	vokarkara.	September	elada; māraḗa.
sap	pulu.	serve	pilia.
sardine	taniḗa.	settle	latlateia.
say	-v; varvara.	seven	mārvērua; ravērua.
scale	arari.	seventy	mongavulu marverua, see:
scar	mātara; saran sola, see: sara.	sew	mongavulu rua.
scarab	taparur.	shadow	silḗia; ḗiroa.
scold	lalia.	shake	tiroi.
scorpion fish	novu sangsangara, see: novu.		dildileia; dinga; pule; tapair (1);
scraper	ari; karkar.		tapair (2); tartara; ureia.
scratch	arosia; karte; ngadiria, see:	shaky	tiala.
	ngadiri; sara.	shallow	renge.
sculpture	taḗasi.	shark	ḗaio; ḗaio tavun, see: ḗaio; ḗaio
sea	tasi.		sala, see: ḗaio.
sea cow	puai.	sharp	an.
sea shore	alao.	sharpen	savīa; tiua.
sea snail	alili; ḗaika.	s/he	i-; mo-; nna.
sea snake	mārao; tatakulas.	shell	ango; dudu; keru; mātalaḗa; ḗiri;
sea urchin	sangarata, see: sangara.		puro (1); puro (2); tantaneḗas (2);
sea weed	rau tasoa.		tovatū; vading pasa; ḗako; valala;
sea worm	asin po; eli.		vodo.
search	alali; asoa.	shell out	singa.
seat	sakele.	shellfish	lisa.
seaweed	duvun avua, see: duvu; vanara.	shift	sartai.
second	arua-.	shine	taḗilo; voro.
secret	leo ma rasureida, see: leo; siksikit.	shiver	katkat.
see	onea; onono.	shoot	saḗsaḗe; soroa (2).
seem	dav.	shoot arrow	ḗinea.

short	peturu.	some	maike; tea.
short tempered	dom petur.	somersault	ti maliu.
shoulder	dalo; pai.	something	inaite.
shout	ulo.	sometimes	te pong, see: tea.
show	rere.	song	vete.
shrimp	ura ura, see: ura.	sore	ńmasi; ńmatapa; porta; sola.
sibling in law	tau-.	sorry	dońo.
sick	sao.	soul	tanme.
sickness	sao.	sound	roro; roro; tang purpur.
side	rańia; rańrańi; ravsai; tańalu.	south of Mańea island	ńakro.
sing	kevu; kovo.	spear	sari; saria; sarsar, see: sarsar.
sing (birds)	ulo.	spear fish	sarsar.
sister	vatasi-; vose; vote-.	spider	para.
sit	ńmasaroi; sakeleia.	spit	asuria; lito; litovia, see: lito.
sitting	toa.	split	ńavua; petea; songoa.
six	ńmarańa.	spoil	kalan; komoa.
sixth	ńmarńe.	sponge	ńmeńe.
skin	solia; uri; ńiu.	spoon	sila.
skin mole	vasisi.	sprain	kuea; sokoria; ńartuea.
skinny	paranga.	spread	karia; tiua; ńideria.
skull	pangori.	sprout	sakira.
sky	tailang.	spur	sadi.
slap	vosaia.	spy	rioia.
sleep	kalvaia; suruvu.	squat	sarsarai.
sleeping	suruvia.	squeeze	idia; pir; ńirisia.
slice	nińeia; puea.	squid	ita manaka, see: ita.
slide	savsarete.	squirrelfish	ńmasara.
sling	vasir; vasiria.	stab	tua.
slipper lobster	ura lapatai, see: ura.	stable	reserese (1).
slippery	latu.	stand	laru.
slug	takalńemeia.	stand up	tur.
small (pl)	varvari.	star	masoa.
small (sg)	vaiseia.	starfish	lińa koru.
smart	ńalanglang.	start a fire	keia.
smash	tea.	startle	orvai.
smashed	tańeke.	stay	linao; to.
smell	poi; pon.	steal	ańanao.
smoke	asuni.	steephead parrot fish	put nao pono.
snail	siso.	stem	asari; madoni; patui; vu; vulo.
snake	mata.	step in	savaia.
snake eel	ididono.	stern	patatau.
sneeze	singai.	stick	alali; el; elriv; kao; laoro; mape; osoa; ńakutia; paras; parasia; rkata; sulai; tapato; ur lao.
snore	ngoro.	sticky	pulpul.
snort	porong.	still	pa.
snot	dińi.	sting ray	ońae.
soak	duna.	stink	danga.
sob	ńarong teptepu, see: ńarong.		
softened	momo.		

stir	arvulesia; voatia.	sun	ńmatamaso.
stone	dila; maradi; maradsul.	sunny	taron rivue, see: taro.
stool	sea.	sunrise	avav.
stop	tingsia.	surf	oloa; olo, see: oloa.
story	ululdunia.	surface	urin tasi, see: uri.
straight	dońdońi-; ńmaso.	swallow	donoa.
straighten	ńaturia.	swamp	pili.
strait	vava (2).	swear	vea; vere.
strip	sereia.	sweat	ńmaono; ńmańaone, see: ńmaono.
strong	ńakaria.	sweep	teńi.
strut, canoe part	vatia.	sweet	arata.
stubborn	paingure.	swell	pono; purotura; rai.
stuck	rai.	swim	karu.
suck	rińa; rumma; sińiria.	swing	matulei; matultulai.
sugar cane	tovu.		

T - t

tail	vele-.	thick	purunga.
take	laia; lańia.	thid	atoli.
talk	sese.	thigh	mako.
tall	ńarav.	thin	ńanińniń; tapepea.
tamed	ńalńalea.	thing	inao; inele.
tan	vorvor.	things	inelere; inoror.
tangle	didi.	think	dovoso; duseia.
taro	pete.	thirsty	ńadou.
taste	ńalti; ńe rongo, see: ńeia.	thirty	mongavulu tolu, see: mongavulu
teach	vusonga.		rua.
tear	tesia (1); tesoia.	this	maro; nele.
tears	oin ńata, see: oi.	thorn	ngadiri.
teeth	ngisa.	thorny	ngatngatir.
tell	varaia.	those	malere, see: male.
ten	sangavulu.	thousand	tara.
tentacles	vunga.	three	tolu.
termite	ruturutu.	three spot crab	adua.
testicles	kalo; vadila; vokalto.	three times	ńatol, see: ńaitenge.
testicule	vuru.	throat	dondona.
that	male; -v.	through	dońea; dońo; mas.
thatch	eluba.	throw	romasia; tiu; viria.
the	le.	thumb	varango patpoa, see: varango.
their	-ira.	thunder	patu; pirpir.
then	ro.	tibia	lotu.
there	aine; ale; atu; konaine; konale;	tickle	ililia.
	konatisi; konatu.	tide	ńadi; reserese (2).
these	maror, see: maro; nelere, see: nele.	tie	lisia.
they	ra-; rarua; ratol.	tight	latia; ńakaia.
they them	nira.	timber	tapea.

time	sora; taro; ʔa-	ʔanao; ʔarʔaro du; ʔarʔar ono, <i>see: ʔarʔaro du; vavrui; ʔinua; vua</i>
tired	lum; lumo.	voko; vuae; vulae; vuras.
to	ʔalu-	tree , tree ʔae.
today	napar.	tree Malay apple aʔia.
toe	varangon palo, <i>see: varango.</i>	trespass asia.
together	pulua; raruorua.	trial paucal tol-
toilet	asʔa.	triggerfish sum elaru, <i>see: sum.</i>
tomb	durua; pua; turua.	trochus lale.
tomorrow	inoʔi; iuese.	troll pasangiengia.
tong	kalatia.	true? we.
tongs	kalat.	trumpet fish ado mormor, <i>see: ado; ado</i>
tongue	meme.	mormor ango, <i>see: ado.</i>
too	ruprup.	trunk puturi.
tooth	udu; udu kerpapa, <i>see: udu; udu</i>	truth leo vardu, <i>see: leo; vetua.</i>
	nao, <i>see: udu.</i>	tuberculosis sao paranga.
top	tiu; vusa; vutle.	tuna saltavles.
traditional male outfit	ʔaʔaono.	turn kilao; posia; ser; surtapaovia.
transitive	-i.	turtle avua; avua ʔepeʔe, <i>see: avua; avua</i>
transport	rangaia.	mʔas, <i>see: avua; avua kalo, see:</i>
trap	soro.	avua.
tree	adi; amasina; aokarae; aom; apu; aru; atapolo; dodor; dumdumdolao; eʔe; lakrusa; laku; mʔalaus; mʔalevo; malida; mapa; mʔapar; mariu; masa; mʔatala; mʔeu; ngangae; olas; oroto; ortango; ʔalako; ʔaura; ʔeo tamauta; ʔirʔiri; ʔisu; pua voko; pulu; ravarava; samalao; saria; savi; si; sinor; tapokara; tavoa; tavoat; toro; totorae; udura; ura; usu;	Turtle island mallao. tusk mʔarada; tutu. Tutuba island tutuva. twenty mongavulu rua. twice ʔarua, <i>see: ʔaitenge.</i> twin ʔarata. twist vasia. two rua.

U - u

uh	na; ne.	untangle ululia.
uncle	sapuri-; sope; taʔna vaise, <i>see:</i> taʔna-	unwillingly putan.
under	mallu.	uproot savtia.
underneath	ru.	upside down liliu.
unicorn fish	mʔasan wili.	urchin amasai mʔavuro; sangara.
unmarried	paramal.	urinate mʔere; mʔeresia.
unripe	paro.	us -da.

V - v

vagina	tangara.	vein	weti.
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very **talsea.**
village name **nalapa; naopono; saoroi;**
valangur; vunopuma.

voice **leo.**
vomit **lua; luesia.**

W - w

wait **saovía; tangate.**
walk **ao; nono; uria; v̄ano.**
walk by **kot.**
walking stick **tiona.**
wall **sasaoro; sip̄a.**
wander **kotkot.**
want **taraua; -v.**
war **vuro.**
warm up **rotonga.**
wart **vaporporo.**
wash **kureia; loso; papa; sov̄ia; ututua;**
v̄akoia.
wasp **atatmata.**
waste **sama.**
water **oi; wae.**
wattled honeyeater bird **tantanēmas (1).**
wave **navo; patolapa; sangria; tiutiu.**
we **da-**
we excl **kāmam; ki-**
we incl **ida.**
we some **kāmatol.**
we three **datol.**
we two **darua.**
we 2 **kāmarua.**
we.all **idevui.**
wear **saria; tiala; upu.**
wear hat **sun.**
wear necklace **v̄inua.**
weave **v̄atua.**
web **keo.**
wedding **laia.**
weed **ulia.**
well **momos.**
wet **aira; airasia; m̄eu.**
whale **salaor vava.**
what **sa.**
when **ingese; se taro, see: se; tal savai.**
where **āp̄e.**
which **se.**
which one **se marai, see: se.**
whip **masa; tuvasia; ulasia.**

whirl **vasvas, see: vasia.**
whisper **nasa.**
whistle **v̄esul.**
white **para; voko.**
white man **tām̄auta.**
who **ise.**
whose **sava-**
why **matai sa; sursa.**
widow **patnao-**
wife **m̄arau-**
wild **ila.**
wild kava **p̄alioa.**
wild man **veasi.**
wild pandanus **poro.**
wild taro **v̄ia; v̄ia roa, see: v̄ia; v̄ia loko, see:**
v̄ia; v̄ia pulu, see: v̄ia; v̄ia top̄ae,
see: v̄ia.
wild yam **pir vovono, see: piria.**
wilted **m̄aia.**
wind **adua; adua sivo, see: adua; adua**
tavonav, see: adua; duel m̄aladua;
dueliu; lang; m̄aladua; marae;
paia; sivonai adua; sivonai tolao,
see: sivonai adua; talia.
wing **āpa.**
winter **taron udura, see: taro.**
wipe **osia.**
wish **imte.**
with **tuan.**
woman **vatavata.**
woman's genitals **p̄ile; votu.**
womb **tava.**
wood **ruru (1); vanatu.**
wood lice **lulu.**
work **sasa; sasa.**
work hard **avis.**
worm **silet; ules.**
wounded **solo.**
wrasse **v̄akar ese.**
wrinkled **u.**
write **ulia.**

Y - y

yam	dam; pevu; piria; p̃isu; sinai; wailu.	you-few	kamtol.
yawn	atmaomao.	young	ñalaul; ulvo.
year	siao.	younger brother	voratau.
yellow	ango.	you(pl)	kañim.
yellow fever	merlasa.	your	-m.
yes	io.	your(pl)	-ñim.
yesterday	nanoñi.	you-sg	nno.
yolk	vango.	you2	-mruo.
you	ko-; -o.	you-2	kamrua.
you-all	ki-		

Total number of entries: 1263