

# A Grammar of Vaeakau-Taumako

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# A Grammar of Vaeakau-Taumako

by

Åshild Næss and Even Hovdhaugen

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## Preface

Although it was not the original plan, it is perhaps fitting that this book has ended up as a collaborative work. We have been working on the Vaeakau-Taumako language – back then known as Pileni – since 1997, when Even Hovdhaugen made his first exploratory field trip to Pileni island. On his return, he found one of his students in desperate need of a topic for an MA thesis, and so began a collaboration that would last for over a decade. We made a joint field trip to Pileni in 1998, and Åshild Næss' MA thesis on the language was completed later that year. It appeared in published form in 2000, and several papers on various aspects of the language followed.

An opportunity for further collaboration presented itself in 2002, when the research project “Identity Matters: Movement and Place”, of which Even was one of the initiators, received funding from the Norwegian Research Council. One of the aims of this project was to examine the language contact situation in the Reef Islands. Åshild, who joined the project in 2004, was to work on describing the Äiwoo language of the Main Reef Islands, while Even would continue work on Vaeakau-Taumako and produce, among other things, a reference grammar.

For the first couple of years, work proceeded according to this plan; but after our last field trip in late 2005, it became clear that deteriorating health would no longer permit Even to keep up the detailed analysis work and intensive writing required for a reference grammar. Åshild took over work on the manuscript in 2007, and has done most of the writing and a considerable portion of the analysis work in constant consultation with Even. Thus this book is a genuine joint work, and a happy conclusion to many years of collaboration which both of us have enjoyed immensely.

Most of our work on this grammar has been funded by the aforementioned “Identity Matters” project, NFR project no. 148717. The later stages of Åshild's work were funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) project “Breaking the Time Barrier: Structural Traces of the Sahul Past”, and the Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Oslo provided office space during this period of work. We gratefully acknowledge this support.

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From Even, a special thank you to the children of Nifiloli who came every morning at 6 o'clock with beautiful flowers which they put in empty beer bottles and placed on my working table, and who would drop in every evening to chat or to help with my work.

Oslo, March 2011

Åshild Næss

Even Hovdhaugen

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## Abbreviations

The abbreviations listed below follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>) where these apply.

### Grammatical glosses

ADMON	admonitive
AG	agentive marker
APPL	applicative suffix
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative prefix
CLASS	classifier
COLL	collective
CONJ	conjunction
COMP	complementizer
DEM	demonstrative
DES	desiderative
DIST	distributive
DU	dual
DY	dyad particle
EMPH	emphatic particle
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
GENR	general tense-aspect-mood marker
HORT	hortative
HYP	hypothetical particle
INCL	inclusive
INCP	inceptive
INTJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LDA	locative-directional-ablative
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizing suffix
NSP	nonspecific
OBL.PRO	oblique pro-form
OPT	optative
PERS	personal marker

PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	predicative possessive particle
PREF	prefix; gloss uncertain
PROH	prohibitive
PRON	pronoun
PRSC	prescriptive
PST	past
RECP	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
SG	singular
SP	specific
TOP	topicalizing preposition
TR	transitive suffix
VOC	vocative
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person

### Lexical categories

adj	adjective
adv	adverb
gn	geographical name
ln	local noun
n, cn	common noun
part	particle
pron	pronoun
prep	preposition
quant	quantifier
vi	intransitive verb
vsem	semi-transitive verb
vt	transitive verb

### Language, dialect and language family names

CEP	Central Eastern Polynesian
MAT	Matema variety of the Vaeakau-Taumako language
NUP	Nupani dialect of the Vaeakau-Taumako language
POc	Proto Oceanic
PPN	Proto Polynesian
TAU	Taumako dialect of the Vaeakau-Taumako language
VAE	Vaeakau dialect of the Vaeakau-Taumako language





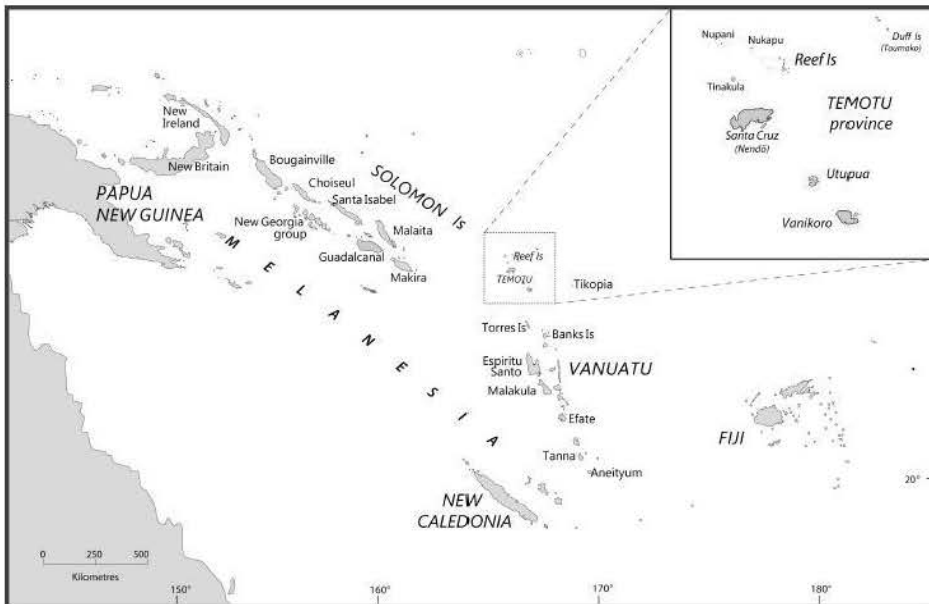
# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1. Language, location, and speakers

#### 1.1.1. The natural environment

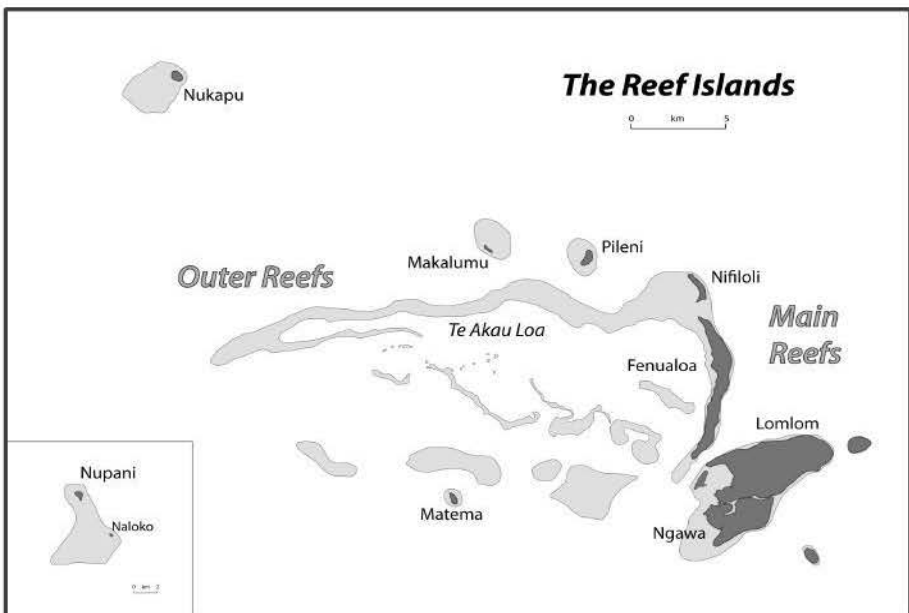
Vaeakau-Taumako (also known as Pileni, cf. 1.1.3), is a Polynesian Outlier language spoken in the Reef and Duff Islands in Temotu Province, the easternmost province of the Solomon Islands in the southwest Pacific. The Reef Islands are a chain of coral islands some 50 kilometres north of the largest island in the province, Santa Cruz; they are distributed around a large coral reef known in Vaeakau-Taumako as *Te Akau Loa* (“The Long Reef”), from which the group takes its European name, and which is a main source of food for the islanders. By contrast, the Duff Islands, located about 100 kilometres northeast of the Reefs, are high volcanic islands dominated by peaks and valleys.



Map 1. Location of the Reef and Duff Islands

## 2 Introduction

The Reefs group as a whole can be divided in two geologically: The eastern part consists of relatively larger and more closely spaced islands which have been uplifted to a modest height of at most about 30 metres above sea level, while the islands to the west are tiny, scattered, low-lying atolls. The Vaeakau-Taumako language is spoken on these small and marginal western islands where natural resources are few and land is scarce, known collectively as the Outer Reef Islands; only Nifiloli, the largest of the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking islands in the Reefs, is numbered among the Main Reef Islands. The southern end of Nifiloli is only about 800 metres distant from the northern tip of Fenua Loa in the Main Reefs, which is dominated by speakers of the Āiwoo language (cf. 1.4.2); the gap can be waded at low tide.

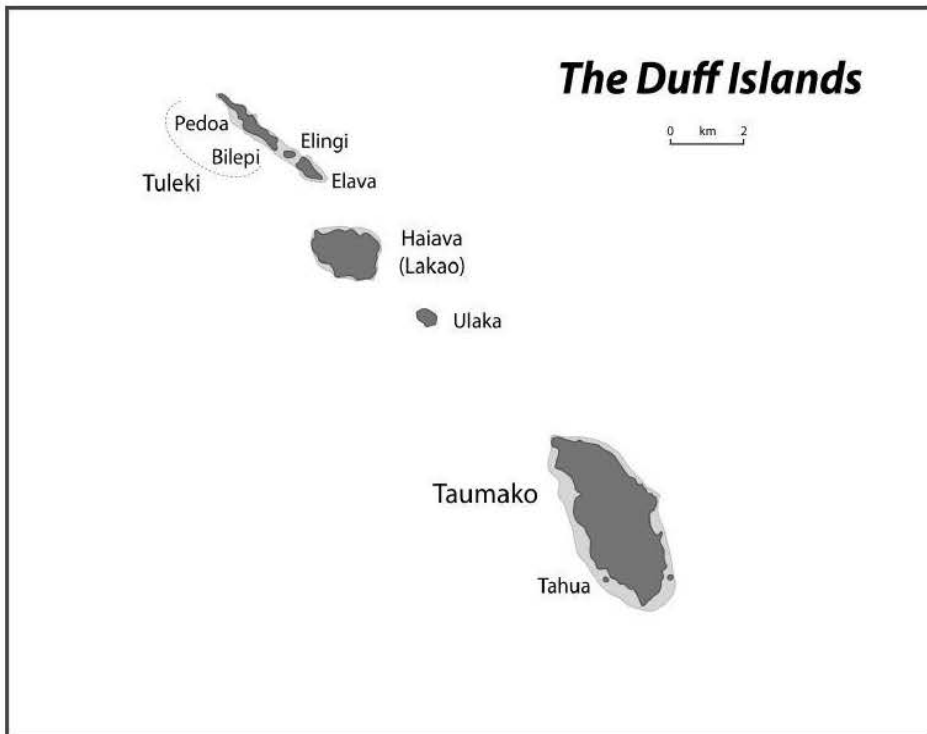


Map 2. The Reef Islands

In addition to Nifiloli, there are Vaeakau-Taumako speakers living more or less permanently on Pileni, Makalumu, Matema, Nukapu, Nupani, and the active volcano Tinakula to the west of the Reefs group. The land area of Nifiloli is about 0,5 km<sup>2</sup>, Pileni and Nukapu are about 0,25 and 0,35 km<sup>2</sup>, respectively, while the other islands are even smaller (with the exception of Tinakula, which is dominated by the classically cone-shaped volcanic peak and only periodically inhabited, though gardens are kept there, mainly by people from Nupani). Naturally, such small areas, with sandy soils of low fertility, can only support a very limited number of people. There is a lot of

mobility between the islands in the group, and so it is difficult to pinpoint the number of speakers on each island, but at the time of writing there were approximately 200 people living on Nifiloli, 120 on Pileni, 70 on Nukapu, 60 on Nupani, 50 on Matema, 20 on Tinakula, and 10 on Makalumu, a tiny islet west of Pileni.

The Duff Islands are rather larger, the main island, Taumako, covering some 10 km<sup>2</sup> and rising to about 300 metres above sea level. Only three of the Duff Islands – Haiava, Taumako, and the artificial islet Tahua – are currently inhabited, though oral tradition refers to settlements on several other islands (Hovdhaugen, Næss, and Hoëm 2002). Surveys give the number of inhabitants in the Duffs as around 4–500, but our personal experience suggests that this estimate is too low – the actual number may be as high as 800.



*Map 3.* The Duff Islands

In addition to the speakers living in the Reefs and Duffs, there are several settlements of Vaeakau-Taumako speakers on Santa Cruz island, and in the White River area on the outskirts of the national capital Honiara on Guadalcanal island. The 1999 census reported a total of 1,662 people giving either “Pileni” or “Taumako” as their first language (1142 for Pileni, 520 for Taumako; for a discussion of language names see 1.1.3 below). Given the scarcity

of resources in the home islands, many families choose to move temporarily or permanently to Santa Cruz or Honiara, in some cases also to Vanikoro and Utupua south of Santa Cruz. People who marry outside of the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking area often choose to move to their spouse's home island, where land and food resources are likely to be more plentiful.

There is a large degree of mobility between the different islands in the Reefs and Duffs, and between these islands and the Vaeakau-Taumako settlements on Santa Cruz and in Honiara. People travel to visit relatives for a shorter or longer period, to obtain an education beyond what is offered in the islands, to seek medical attention or carry out other errands, or to look for temporary or permanent employment. Given that the communications between Temotu Province and the rest of the country are extremely unreliable, any visit to other areas is likely to involve a time-span of several months. This is to a lesser degree also the case for travel between the islands in the area, since distances are great, the weather may make travel difficult or dangerous, and money for fuel for the few outboard engines found in the area is hard to come by. For all these reasons, it is common for people to spend months at a time away from their home island.

Fishing and subsistence agriculture are the main economic activities, with a particular emphasis on fishing in the Outer Reefs where fertile land is so scarce. Indeed, tree crops like coconuts and bananas form a crucial part of the diet in the Reefs. Where it is possible, root crops like sweet potato, yam and manioc are also grown; such crops, as well as breadfruit, are also bought from the larger and more fertile Main Reefs. Breadfruit in particular is an important staple, as it can be dried and stored for use in periods when other food is in short supply. The food situation in the Outer Reefs is always precarious, and the inhabitants are dependent on supplies from other islands for survival.

The situation in the Duff Islands is rather different. Though only covering a land area of about 15 km<sup>2</sup> in all, they are nevertheless much larger than the Outer Reefs, and have streams providing a reliable source of water for drinking and irrigation. By contrast, the only permanent source of fresh water in the Outer Reefs is a well on Matema; the other islands depend on rainwater collected in tanks.

Davenport (1968a: 143) states that the fertility of the soil in the Duff Islands is quite poor, with much of the land area being rocky or swampy; he considers that "always, Taumako has had to import some food to support itself". However, in our experience crops are at least adequate if not abundant in a reasonably good year, and indeed people in the Duffs are proud of the relative abundance of food in their islands compared to the Outer Reefs. Oral literature from the latter islands speaks frequently of famine and the search for food, whereas this appears to be a much less common theme in the Duffs. Breadfruit and bananas are among the most important crops, along with yams,

sweet potatoes, and manioc. Gardening is on individually owned and clearly delimited plots which may be passed on to children from either parent. Fruit-bearing trees are also the property of individuals, though not always the same individual who owns the land on which the tree grows.

Sources of cash income are extremely limited both in the Outer Reefs and the Duffs. Shark fins can be dried and sold to Chinese restaurants in Honiara; the traditional method of shark-hunting involves shaking a coconut-shell rattle in the water to lure the shark, then trapping it with a noose and clubbing it to death. Some copra is sold via the trade store on Pigeon Island in the Main Reefs, but as the islands are so small and people depend on the coconut trees for survival, very little of the yield can be spared. The Duff Islands are rich in *bêche-de-mer* which can sometimes be sold, but as there are so few reliable opportunities for shipping saleable products out of the islands, this too is a very occasional source of income. Money is needed for household utensils such as pots and knives, clothes, tinned fish, rice, and tobacco, and for school fees. These days the bride price, traditionally consisting of rolls of the red-feather currency characteristic of the Reefs-Santa Cruz area, is also paid mainly in cash.

### 1.1.2. Social organization

The amount of published anthropological information on the Reef and Duff Islands is very limited. The account in this section builds on our own casual observations and on Davenport (1968a, 1972).

Given the small size of the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking Reef Islands, there is usually no more than a single village on each island. In the Duffs, a large proportion of the population is concentrated on the small artificial islet of Tahua, on the reef flats off the shore of the main island, Taumako – this arrangement has allegedly come about as a means of escaping the mosquitoes that plague Taumako island (Davenport 1968a: 144–145). Taumako itself has two villages, Nghauta and Kahula.

Houses are constructed from sago-palm leaf panels on a frame of wooden beams. The basic type of house is simply a square construction built straight on the sand, although if enough materials are available all or part of the house may have a raised floor. A house is typically the residence of a single nuclear family. Traditionally, men would spend most of their time in the *holau* or men's house, while the family home was the domain of women. However, the men's house institution, once a central feature of social and political organization in the islands, has to a large extent been abandoned; most villages still have a *holau*, and young men do spend time there, but the building is also used for meetings and as a guest residence for male visitors. Recently some attempts are being made at reviving the men's house tradition.

Marriage usually takes place at the age of about 18–20 and is arranged by the families of the bride and groom. The man’s side pays a bride price to the family of the bride, and raising this bride price is a collective effort involving the entire extended family and creating complex bonds and obligations which ultimately involve a large part of the community. As noted above, the bride price traditionally consisted of red rolls of “feather money” made from the feathers of the scarlet honey eater (*Myzomela cardinalis*) (Pycroft 1935, Davenport 1964a: 63, 1972: 36); today, however, bride price is paid in cash. Although the bride price is meant as payment for transferring rights and responsibilities over a woman from her birth family to her husband’s family, her brothers retain a degree of authority and responsibility over her, and have a special responsibility towards her children.

Vaeakau-Taumako speakers claim to have a system of matrilineal clans, which is described for Pileni and Nifiloli in Davenport (1972: 72–74). Present-day speakers, however, are fairly vague about the details of this system when asked; it may have been adopted from the Main Reefs, where twelve clans are recognized, exogamous and each with a set of food taboos and associated myths. The clan system appears to be of little practical importance for the day-to-day life of the Vaeakau-Taumako speakers.

Kin terms in Vaeakau-Taumako are generally classificatory, that is, they refer not just to a strictly biological relationship, but to a socially construed relationship which classifies several kinds of strict biological relationship as socially similar and governed by the same obligations and restrictions. For instance, a person will use the term *mhana* ‘father’ not just about his biological father, but also about his father’s brothers, who are considered to stand in a similar social relationship with the person as does his father; conversely, a man will use the term *ataliki* ‘son (of male)’ not just about his own sons but also about the sons of his brothers.

For a few relationships, special terms of address exist; but in most cases, the term used to refer to a relative can also be used for addressing him or her. The exception is obviously taboo relationships, such as that holding between a man and his mother-in-law, who do not address each other directly.

The following kin terms exist in present-day Vaekau-Taumako (see also Davenport 1968a, 1972):

**Address terms:**

<i>apū</i>	‘grandparent’
<i>opa</i>	‘father, father’s brother’
<i>itē, atē</i>	‘mother, aunt, husband’s mother’
<i>soa</i>	‘brother (of male)’ (probably a borrowing from Tikopia)

**Reference terms:**

<i>tamana, mhana</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘father, father’s brother, mother’s sister’s husband’
<i>hinana, nhana</i>	‘mother, aunt (biological or by marriage)’
<i>ataliki</i>	‘man’s son, man’s brother’s son, man’s wife’s sister’s son’
<i>ahahine</i>	‘man’s daughter, man’s brother’s daughter, man’s wife’s sister’s daughter’
<i>tama</i>	‘woman’s son, woman’s sibling’s son, woman’s husband’s sibling’s son’ (also ‘child, boy’)
<i>taine</i>	‘woman’s daughter, woman’s sibling’s daughter, woman’s husband’s sibling’s daughter’
<i>thupuna</i>	‘grandparent’
<i>mokupuna</i>	‘grandchild’
<i>thokana</i>	‘older same-sex sibling’
<i>teina</i>	‘younger same-sex sibling’
<i>thuohine</i>	‘man’s sister, man’s female cousin’
<i>thungane</i>	‘woman’s brother, woman’s male cousin’
<i>ingoa</i>	‘mother’s brother’ (VAE also father’s brother)
<i>ilamotu</i>	‘man’s sister’s child’
<i>kave</i>	‘same-sex cousin’
<i>matua</i>	‘husband’
<i>pengi</i>	‘husband’
<i>nohine</i>	‘wife’
<i>mā</i>	‘husband’s sister, wife’s brother, man’s sister’s husband, woman’s brother’s wife’
<i>hungo</i>	‘in-law (in general); child-in-law’
<i>muni</i> (lit. ‘hide’)	‘man’s mother-in-law’
<i>nghovae</i>	‘parent-in-law’; <i>hinaku nghovae</i> ‘my mother-in-law’, <i>mhaku nghovae</i> ‘my father-in-law’

Davenport (1968a, 1972) reports a terminological distinction between cross-cousins and parallel cousins in Taumako but not in the Reefs, with sibling terminology used for parallel cousins, *kave* for same-sex cross-cousins, and *tungane-kave* and *tahini-kave* for different-sex cross-cousins of females and males, respectively. Whether these distinctions are maintained in Taumako today is not known to us.

The relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is, in theory, one of strict avoidance. Such restrictions are rigidly observed in the Main Reef Is-

<sup>1</sup> The terms for ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘grandparent’, ‘grandchild’, and ‘older same-sex sibling’ take obligatory possessive marking (cf. 6.2.2) and are given here in their 3SG form. The corresponding 1SG forms are *tamaku/mhaku*, *hinaku/nhaku*, *thupuku*, *mokupuku*, and *thokaku*.

lands, where a man and his mother-in-law cannot be in each other's presence, speak each other's name, or use any word homophonous with that name. In Vaeakau and Taumako, however, the restrictions are more relaxed, possibly as a result of the small size of the islands which in practice makes strict avoidance impossible. It is, however, strictly taboo for a man and his mother-in-law to be alone together.

Restrictions also hold between adult siblings of opposite sex. These cannot eat together and are not meant to look at each other's faces, although again these rules appear in practice to be treated with considerable flexibility.

### 1.1.3. The name of the language

The speakers themselves have no dedicated term to refer to their language; they will refer to it simply as *tatu leo* or *te leo a tatou* 'our language' or *te leo a Vaeakau/Taumako* 'the language of Vaeakau/Taumako'. Vaeakau is the name of the administrative district including the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking islands in the Reefs, while Taumako is the name of the largest of the Duff Islands, and is also often used for the island group as a whole.

In linguistic literature, the language has generally been referred to as Pileni, after Pileni island (e.g. Ray 1919, Elbert and Kirtley 1966, Hovdhaugen 2002, Næss 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2004a, 2004b). However, many speakers in the other islands resent the use of this term, finding it unacceptable that the name of just one island should be used for the language as a whole. In accordance with the speakers' wishes, we have therefore abandoned the use of this term, preferring the more general and neutral "Vaeakau-Taumako".

Previous work has often treated "Pileni" and "Taumako" as two distinct languages. There are indeed a number of differences between the varieties of the Outer Reefs and Taumako, both in phonology, vocabulary and morpho-syntactic structure. However, the varieties are readily mutually comprehensible and are perceived by the speakers themselves as "the same language"; accordingly, we will treat them here as dialects of a single language (cf. 1.4.1).

## 1.2. Language affiliation and history

### 1.2.1. Genealogical classification

Vaeakau-Taumako is a Polynesian Outlier language, a term which refers to languages spread by east-to-west "back-migration" from the core Polynesian areas (the "Polynesian Triangle", situated between Hawai'i to the north, New



Zealand to the west, and Easter Island to the east) after these were first settled from the west (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 116–117). The Polynesian Outliers are spoken mostly on small and remote atolls in the area between 4° N and 20° S latitude, and 155° E and 170° E longitude, i.e. in Island Melanesia and southern Micronesia.

Pawley (1967) classifies all known Outliers as belonging to a “Samoic-Outlier” subgroup of Nuclear Polynesian. This group is taken to be defined by sixteen shared features (Pawley 1967: 275–280), and consists of Samoan, Tokelauan, Pukapukan, East Futuna, Vaitupu and Nanumea, the latter two being dialects of Tuvaluan, as well as the Outliers Sikaiana, Luangiua, Takuu, Tikopia, Nukuoro, Kapingamarangi, Rennell-Bellona, Pileni (= Vaeakau-Taumako), Mae, West Uvean, Futuna-Aniwa, and Mele-Fila. Pawley proposes three tentative subgroups within this group, one comprising the northwestern Outliers Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi, one comprising Sikaiana, Takuu, and Luangiua, and another including the Vanuatu Outliers Mele-Fila and Futuna-Aniwa. No clear subrelationships can be assigned to the other languages, and Pawley suggests that a history of contact and borrowing may have obscured original genetic relationships, particularly in the case of the Outliers.

More recently, Marck (1999) reassesses the evidence for a Samoic-Outlier subgroup, arguing that there are difficulties with all the putative features defining this group. Instead, he divides Nuclear Polynesian into a number of further unclassified languages, among them the Solomons Outliers Rennell-Bellona, Tikopia, and Anuta, plus an Ellicean subgroup, which again branches into Samoic, Ellicean Outlier, and Eastern Polynesian. Vaeakau-Taumako is here included in the Ellicean Outlier group (Marck 1999: 112–114, Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 116).

As very little linguistic material has been available from most of the Outliers, and, as suggested above, there appears to have been a substantial amount of inter-Outlier contact and borrowing, it is hardly surprising that the finer details of the classification of Polynesian Outliers are still up for debate. As an example, noted by Hovdhaugen (2002), the fact that PPN \*s appears to be reflected as both *s* and Ø in Vaeakau-Taumako suggests a more recent layer of Polynesian loanwords in which \*s has been retained; Tikopia is suggested as a possible source of such loans. It is likely that a thorough examination of all the Outlier languages and their possible interrelationships must be carried out before a definite classification can be reached.

### 1.2.2. History

Vaeakau-Taumako’s status as a Polynesian Outlier implies that it is a relatively recent arrival in the area. There are five other Polynesian Outliers in the Solomon Islands: Rennell-Bellona in the province of the same name; Luan-

giua on Lord Howe Island, 270 km north of Santa Isabel; Sikaiana in Malaita Province; and Tikopia and Anuta in Temotu Province, some 300 km southeast of Santa Cruz.

Exactly when, and from where, Polynesians first arrived in the Reefs and Duffs area is not known. The Polynesian population in the Duffs was certainly well established by the time Pedro Fernández de Quiros' expedition visited the islands in 1606 (Kelly 1966). There are no local traditions concerning the origins of the original settlers, but oral traditions from other Polynesian Outliers in the Solomons all claim an origin in the nuclear Polynesian region – Tonga, Samoa, Futuna, Tokelau, and Tuvalu. This concurs with the linguistic evidence (Pawley 1966, 1967). For Tikopia, archaeologically and ethnographically the best-explored of the Polynesian-speaking islands in the area, the earliest Polynesian settlements have been dated to about A.D. 1200 (Kirch 2000: 144). In general, there appears to have been contact between the Solomons Outliers for a considerable time after they were settled; note that Quiros' 1606 expedition found Sikaianan prisoners-of-war on Taumako (Kelly 1966), and Sikaianan tradition tells of contact with Santa Cruz and the Outer Reefs (Donner 1987: 10–11). Oral traditions of Anuta speak of contact with Taumako (Feinberg 1998). Kirch and Yen (1982: 345) note that “cultural replacements, immigration from multiple sources, and a general diversity of external contacts are all likely possibilities for any Outlier sequence”.

It is likely that the Polynesians first settled in the Duff Islands, where natural resources are much more plentiful than in the Outer Reefs, and where there are permanent sources of drinking water. It is unclear whether the Duff Islands were already populated at the time of the Polynesian arrival. Archaeological examinations suggest a settlement date for the Duffs of about 1,000 BC (Leach and Davidson 2008: 295–296); this is so close to the archaeological dates from the Main Reefs and Santa Cruz (Spriggs 1997; Næss and Hovdhaugen 2007, 2010) that it is reasonable to assume that the first settlers in the Duff Islands arrived as part of the same Lapita<sup>2</sup> migration that colonized the Main Reefs.

If these early settlers were still living in the Duffs when the Polynesians arrived, no trace of them remains today. The fact that Vaeakau-Taumako speakers are physically indistinguishable from their non-Polynesian neighbours in the Main Reefs (in contrast to the people of Tikopia and Anuta,

---

<sup>2</sup> The “Lapita complex” is a cultural complex, characterized among other things by a particular style of dentate-stamped pottery, appearing in the archaeological record in the Bismarck Archipelago some 3,500 years ago and spreading out into the Pacific over the course of the following centuries. Early Lapita sites have been excavated in Santa Cruz and the Main Reefs, and dated to around 3,200 BP (Spriggs 1997: 129–136).

who are most often clearly identifiable as Polynesian in appearance) may be an indication that the original Polynesian settlers mixed to some extent with the pre-Polynesian population. However, if this is the case, this original population must have been linguistically assimilated fairly quickly, as there are few signs of any non-Polynesian linguistic influences in the Duffs. The islands have a handful of place-names of apparently non-Polynesian origin; and it is possible that the presence of voiced oral stops in Vaeakau-Taumako, unusual for a Polynesian language, may reflect the presence of an earlier language community which shifted to the newly arrived language. (For a discussion of the effects of language shift on the phonology of the target language, see e.g. Ross 1997: 245–247). However, as we have no knowledge of what such an earlier language may have been like, this cannot be verified; though it may be noted that the Main Reefs language Äiwoo, which might share an ancestor with this hypothetical original language if their speakers were part of the same Lapita expansion, has a full set of voiced oral stops.

Once established in the Duff Islands, the Polynesians would have been attracted to the nearby Reef Islands with their abundance of fish and other marine resources, far beyond anything offered by the fringing reefs in the Duffs. However, the Reef Islands were already populated, and their inhabitants were numerous and well versed in warfare; the Polynesians would likely not have been able to force their way onto the larger and more fertile islands. Instead, they gradually gained a foothold in the area by establishing settlements, probably meant initially as trading and fishing outposts, in the smallest and most marginal of the islands, at least some of which are likely to have been unpopulated. The name *Matema*, the most centrally located of the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking islands in the Reefs, most likely originates from Äiwoo *Mwa-Temââ* ‘reef of Taumako (people)’, meaning a section of reef where people from Taumako have fishing rights; this supports the hypothesis that access to fishing resources were a main motivation for the Polynesians to establish themselves in the Reefs (Næss and Hoydhaugen 2007, 2010).

The distribution of Vaeakau-Taumako and Äiwoo speakers in the Reef Islands has clearly changed within the last century or so, since early sources (Codrington 1885, Ivens 1918, Ray 1926) all refer to the Äiwoo language as “Nifiloli” or “Nufiloli” after Nifiloli island, which today is inhabited by Vaeakau-Taumako speakers. Ray (1919) also refers to the large island of Fenua Loa in the Main Reefs as having Polynesian speakers, whereas today this island is dominated by Äiwoo speakers, with only a small Vaeakau-Taumako community at the northern end facing Nifiloli. Nifiloli itself is known to have been depopulated for a period in the twentieth century due to disease, and re-settled from Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking islands. All this suggests a period of instability, perhaps of conflict over land resources, before the present-day settlement pattern was established.

The original arrival of the Polynesians, with their large ocean-going canoes and superior seafaring skills, is likely to have caused considerable social and economic upheaval in an area of scattered islands separated by vast stretches of open ocean. The Polynesians eventually came to form the backbone of an extensive trade network covering the entire Reefs-Santa Cruz region. Large sailing canoes known as *puke* were built in the Duffs, loaded with export goods such as smaller canoes, pigs, and sago flour, then sailed to the Reefs where both canoe and cargo were sold to the Polynesians there. The Reef Islanders then used the *puke* in trade voyages to Santa Cruz, Utupua and Vanikoro (Davenport 1968a: 146). This canoe-building and trade voyaging was the main economic specialization of the Polynesians in the area, and their major source of political power and social prestige. However, following restrictions by the British administration on interisland voyaging, considered too hazardous, and on the export of women, the Reef Islands' main contribution to the interisland exchange, the trade network gradually weakened and eventually collapsed in the first half of the twentieth century. When there was no longer any market for the sea-going *puke* canoes, they were no longer built, and interisland voyaging drastically diminished as a result; by the time Davenport visited the islands in 1960, only two *puke* canoes existed in the Reefs and Duffs area (Davenport 1968a: 177).

The decline of the trade network had serious consequences for social and political structure in Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking society. Political and economic power, and probably the whole of the local Polynesian identity, was inextricably intertwined with the Polynesians' role as shipbuilders, traders and navigators; Davenport (1968a: 178) notes: "With the passing of the *puki* [sic] went the major economic enterprise by means of which able and industrious Taumako men could gain prestige and wealth... Today there are few influential men, because there are few economic activities that require vigorous leaders to organize them". At present, political power is diffuse and strongly contested in many of the islands, and there is little impetus or initiative for economic activities, especially in Vaeakau, where resources are few and nothing has been able to replace the prestige and wealth that once came with the construction and navigation of the big Polynesian sailing canoes.

### 1.2.3. Vaeakau-Taumako and other Polynesian languages

Vaeakau-Taumako shows very regular sound correspondences with other Polynesian languages. The morphology is basically Polynesian, as is the core vocabulary, though some basic lexical items are unique to Vaeakau-Taumako, or shared between Vaeakau-Taumako and some other Polynesian Outliers of the Solomons and surrounding areas; e.g. *akahu* 'moon, month', *thaunga* 'house', *taveli* 'banana', *lavoi* 'to be good', *thapeo* 'to be bad'. Besides inher-

ited Polynesian words, Vaeakau-Taumako also has some more recent borrowings from other Polynesian languages, apparently mainly from Tikopia (Hovdhaugen 2002).

### Phonology

Vaeakau-Taumako has retained the Polynesian five-vowel system /i e a o u/. Changes due to vowel assimilation and elision appear to be quite recent, cf. 2.3.2–4. Except in word-final syllables, the opposition between long and short vowels plays a marginal phonological role in Vaeakau-Taumako. The Proto-Polynesian opposition between long and short vowels in non-final syllables has been lost in Vaeakau-Taumako; in general, such vowels are phonemically short, while lengthening in non-final syllables is used to express emphasis, or simply shows free alternation with short vowels (cf. 2.3.1.2).

Table 1. Consonant correspondences between Proto Polynesian (PPN) and Vaeakau-Taumako (VAT)

PPN	p	t	k	m	n	ŋ	f	v	s	h	q	l	r
VAT	p	t/s	k	m	n	ŋ	f	v	∅	∅	∅	l	l

The only semi-unique feature is the loss of PPN \*s, which is only attested in one other Polynesian Outlier, namely Anuta. Although the loss of [s] is a fairly common phenomenon in diachronic phonology, it is significant that the only two Polynesian languages showing this sound change are spoken in the same area.

The most characteristic feature of Vaeakau-Taumako phonology, the aspirated consonants, has various sources (2.4.2) and no direct parallels in other Polynesian languages; though several Outliers, as well as Tuvaluan, have oppositions between geminated and non-geminated consonants, between voiced and unvoiced stops, or non-phonemic aspiration processes, all resembling in some respects the opposition between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants in Vaeakau-Taumako.

The development of t > s/tʃ/ʃ \_i is also a common phonological change, and attested in several Polynesian languages, cf. Clark (1976: 20); it is also found in Vaeakau-Taumako's non-Polynesian neighbour Äiwoo, spoken in the Main Reef Islands (cf. 1.4.2 below). Again, it may be significant that besides the two Tongic languages Tongan and Niuean, this change is only attested in two other Outliers, Emae and Mele-Fila of Vanuatu. In Vaeakau-Taumako, the new [s] may further become [h] before an unstressed vowel: \*tikoga > \*sikoga > hikonga 'toilet'.

## Morphology

There are a few grammatical words in Vaeakau-Taumako that do not have obvious parallels in other Polynesian languages, e.g. the tense-aspect-mood particle *na* ‘irrealis’ or the interrogative pronoun *hinē* ‘who’. While \**na* ‘irrealis’ is reconstructed for POc (Ross 1988), similar forms are not known from other Polynesian languages (though note the Äiwoo verbal prefix *na-* ‘irrealis’).

The bound subject pronouns which procliticize to tense-aspect-mood markers (5.2.1.3) do not have parallels in other Polynesian languages that we are aware of. Possibly they are modelled on the Äiwoo prefixes marking intransitive subjects.

## Syntax

Vaeakau-Taumako differs from most other Polynesian languages in having a basic subject-verb-object (SVO) word order, though it shares this order with other Outliers such as Anuta, Sikaiana, and Futuna-Aniwa (Feinberg 1977, Donner 1987, Dougherty 1983). Also like Futuna-Aniwa, the preposition *e*, which in other Polynesian languages serve either as a marker of ergative case (e.g. Samoan, Tuvaluan) or a marker of the passive agent (Māori, Sikaiana) is used to mark a postverbal transitive subject (10.6.1, 13.2.4).

### 1.3. Previous work

Very little previous research has been done on the Vaeakau-Taumako language, and information about earlier states of the language is scarce. The first European to remark on the Polynesian character of the language was the Melanesian Mission’s Bishop Patteson, during a visit to Nukapu in 1857. The English amateur linguist Sidney H. Ray published a series of articles in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1919–1921 on “Polynesian Languages of the Santa Cruz Archipelago”, including a sketch of Pileni (Vaeakau-Taumako) grammar (Ray 1920), a collection of Pileni texts (Ray 1921a), and a vocabulary of the Pileni language (Ray 1921b). Needless to say, these short contributions are invaluable sources for the study of the history of the Vaeakau-Taumako language.

Elbert and Kirtley (1966) present seven stories collected during a one-month stay in Vaeakau, written down as the consultants told the story and then translated into English. The notes accompanying the texts mainly concern non-linguistic matters, but one of the authors was a well-known linguist, and the transcription may be assumed to be phonetically correct and reliable.

In a series of articles published from 1964 onwards, the anthropologist William Davenport presented the results of his extensive fieldwork in Santa Cruz, the Main Reef Islands, Vaeakau, the Duff Islands, Utupua, and Vanikoro (Davenport 1964a, 1964b, 1968a, 1968b, 1969, 1972). These articles are an important source of information on the culture and social organization of the islands.

Of more recently published work, Næss (2000a) is a sketch of Vaeakau-Taumako grammar based on about a month's fieldwork plus work with a visiting Vaeakau-Taumako speaker in Oslo. Næss (2000b, 2002, 2004a, 2004b) provide more detailed discussions of possessive marking, transitive structures, spatial deixis, and verb serialization.

## 1.4. Current language situation

### 1.4.1. Dialects and style levels

In spite of the frequent contact between the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking islands, there are clear dialectal differences. There are three main dialects: the Nupani dialect (NUP), the Vaeakau (excluding Nupani) dialect (VAE), and the Taumako (Duff Islands) dialect (TAU). NUP is the most archaic and considered the most prestigious, though it is spoken today only by a few elderly people; the speech of younger Nupani residents is strongly influenced by VAE. NUP is in some respects more similar to TAU than is VAE.

Dialectal differences are found in phonology, morphology, syntax, and especially in the lexicon, cf. Table 2 below. The dialects are, however, mutually comprehensible, and there are rarely any difficulties in communication between speakers of different dialects.

Table 2. Examples of lexical differences between Vaeakau-Taumako dialects

NUP	TAU	VAE
<i>fakautania</i> 'send'	<i>hatoria</i>	<i>huatoria, huatenia</i>
<i>lohiu</i> 'ship'	<i>lehiu</i>	<i>lehiu, lohiu</i>
<i>lailu</i> 'hair'	<i>lailu</i>	<i>lailu</i>
<i>mdaiu</i> 'point'	<i>mdaitu, mdatu</i>	<i>mdautu</i>
<i>motuia</i> 'to cut, to stop'	<i>motia</i>	<i>motia</i>
<i>fenā</i> 'to be like that'	<i>fenā</i>	<i>phenā</i>
<i>thanumia</i> 'to bury'	<i>thanumia, thamunia</i>	<i>thamunia</i>
<i>umaia</i> 'hit (with an instrument)'	<i>amui ai</i>	<i>umaia</i>
<i>akina</i> 'oblique pro-form'	<i>akinai</i>	<i>akinai</i>

This grammar is based on the Vaeakau dialect, primarily as it is spoken on Pileni and Nifiloli; this is a purely pragmatic decision stemming from the fact that most of our material comes from these two islands. However, characteristic features of the Taumako dialect, as well as the main features of the Nupani dialect and minor deviations in the Matema variety, are referred to throughout the text.

Matema is something of a residual problem. Davenport (1972: 28) states that there are two dialects in Vaeakau: the Nukapu-Pileni-Nifiloli dialect and the Nupani-Matema dialect. Davenport was not a linguist, and his rendering of place names and words in Vaeakau-Taumako is not always entirely reliable; we have not been able to establish any significant correspondences between Matema and the Nupani dialect in particular. We lack the data for a thorough description of this dialect, but data from individual speakers show interesting details in the Matema variety which differ from those of the other islands.

Matema is a tiny island which is very centrally located on the Great Reef; it has probably never had more than 80 inhabitants. It is the natural starting-point for journeys from the Reef Islands to Santa Cruz, and the first island to appear on the horizon when travelling from Santa Cruz to the Reefs. As such, it is likely to have played a significant role in the trade network. Davenport (1972: 60–64) notes that canoe crossings between Matema and the Main Reefs are frequent, as are trading voyages to Santa Cruz; he perceives Matema as more outward-oriented than the other Vaeakau islands, with close ties throughout the area through settlement, kinship, marriage and commerce. It is possible that this role as a hub of trade and interisland voyaging contributes to a distinct Matema identity which is reflected, among other things, through distinctive features of language.

Vaeakau-Taumako shows extensive stylistic variation, especially in phonology. The main distinction is between a colloquial and a more formal style. The colloquial style is characterized by the use of more “short” forms and by certain phonetic alternations such as the consistent use of [h] rather than [f] and of the intervocalic [r] allophone of /t/ (2.4.3.1, 2.4.6).

#### 1.4.2. Sociolinguistic setting

Although a very small language in terms of number of speakers, Vaeakau-Taumako is not likely to ever have had more, and is not immediately endangered in the strict sense of the term. It is still learned by children, and is the main language in most homes and in everyday life on all the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking islands. There are no linguistically or culturally distinct groups in the Duff or Outer Reef Islands themselves, although individual speakers of a number of other languages have married Vaeakau-Taumako



speakers and live in the islands. Such “imported” spouses are, however, expected to learn the language and follow local customs.

There are, however, a number of domains in which Vaeakau-Taumako is losing ground to other languages, primarily English and the national lingua franca Solomon Islands Pijin. Firstly, schooling takes place entirely in Pijin and English, and many teachers come from the Main Reefs or from other areas in the Solomons and do not speak Vaeakau-Taumako. Secondly, church service and worship, an important feature of daily life in the islands, is carried out in a mixture of English, Pijin and Vaeakau-Taumako, with the former clearly dominant. There is no Bible translation in Vaeakau-Taumako, and no copies of the Melanesian Mission’s 1918 prayer book appear to have survived in the islands; though some hymns have been translated or composed in Vaeakau-Taumako and are used in church (some of these have been published as Hovdhaugen and Tekilamata 2006).

The national media are all in English or Pijin. Though newspapers rarely find their way out to these remote islands, some people have radios which can pick up the transmissions of the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation; these are in English or Pijin.

Vaeakau-Taumako’s nearest linguistic neighbour is the Äiwoo language of the Main Reefs, which is only very distantly related to Vaeakau-Taumako. It is classified as belonging to the Temotu subgroup of Oceanic (Ross and Næss 2007), and likely descends from the language of early settlers who arrived in the Reefs-Santa Cruz area directly from the Bismarck Archipelago, the presumed homeland of Proto Oceanic, some 3,200 years ago (Spriggs 1997: 97). Today, Äiwoo has some 7–8,000 speakers in all, though this number includes settlements on Santa Cruz and in Honiara. As noted above, the physical distance between the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking islands and the Äiwoo-speaking islands is very small. Day-to-day interaction is nevertheless fairly restricted, and many Äiwoo speakers have never visited the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking islands. It is more common for Vaeakau-Taumako speakers to travel to the Main Reefs, to visit the trade store on Pigeon Island or buy staple crops from the larger islands. There is some degree of intermarriage, with probably more Vaeakau-Taumako women marrying into Äiwoo-speaking communities than vice versa; but as noted above, these are expected to learn and use the language of their new home community.

When people do meet, they communicate mainly in Solomon Islands Pijin, though with some degree of acknowledgement of the other party’s linguistic origins: The polite way of addressing or referring to someone from the other language community is with the word for ‘brother/friend’ in the addressee’s language, so that Äiwoo speakers refer to Vaeakau-Taumako speakers as *thokana* ‘same-sex sibling, friend (Vaeakau-Taumako)’, while Vaeakau-

Taumako speakers address Äiwoo speakers as *gisi* ‘brother, friend (Äiwoo)’. (We have only observed such exchanges between male speakers.)

Prior to the arrival of Solomon Islands Pijin in the area, interisland communication must have depended on pervasive bi- or multilingualism. Structural features in Vaeakau-Taumako which appear to have been modelled on Äiwoo (a type of contact-induced language change labelled *metatypy* by Ross 1996) suggest that Vaeakau-Taumako speakers for several generations were bilingual in Äiwoo and used it as an intergroup language. This is as may be expected given that the main social and commercial role of the Polynesians in the wider area was as traders and seafarers; clearly they would have benefited from being able to speak the language of their nearest customers. Interestingly, however, Ivens (1918: 239) claims that ‘The peoples speaking Polynesian never learn the Melanesian tongues, whereas those who speak Melanesian are nearly always bilingual.’ This does not sit easily with current linguistic evidence, as the pervasive structural borrowing into Vaeakau-Taumako from Äiwoo, on current understandings of how language-contact situations shape grammar, could not have come about without extensive bilingualism among Vaeakau-Taumako speakers. The statement is, however, interesting with respect to the present-day situation: Vaeakau-Taumako speakers in the Reef Islands today appear reluctant to admit to any knowledge of Äiwoo; they claim that it is too difficult and that they neither speak nor understand it. In our experience, however, many in fact speak it quite well, and will do so if the situation requires it. People in the Duffs, on the other hand, do not consider Äiwoo a particularly difficult language, and often report having learned it while going to school in the Reefs. Reversely, Äiwoo speakers readily claim to be able to speak Vaeakau-Taumako, but tend to speak it at a fairly basic level, with just enough proficiency to get by in casual conversation. It might be suggested that bilingualism is a particularly sensitive issue in the Outer Reef Islands, perhaps connected to their marginalized position as the smaller, poorer and less powerful group in the Reefs area. However, if Ivens’ comments have some substance, this attitude may go back to the times when the trade network was still in operation, when the Polynesians, far from being marginalized, were a driving force in the economic system of the entire area. An alternative hypothesis is that historically, it was in fact the Äiwoo speakers who were bilingual, and that the spread of their Äiwoo-influenced Vaeakau-Taumako variety into the native-speaker community is due to the numerical superiority of the Äiwoo speakers (Næss and Jenny n.d.).

One final potential threat to the Vaeakau-Taumako language must be mentioned: As all the Vaeakau islands, as well as Tahua where a large proportion of the Duff Islanders live, are very low, none reaching higher than a few metres above sea level, rising sea levels caused by global warming pose a very real threat to the inhabitants, and therefore to their language. The reduction in

available land resources resulting from such a rise in sea levels will inevitably force more people to emigrate to areas where they will be living close to and interacting with speakers of other languages, thus increasing the use of Pijin at the expense of their native Vaeakau-Taumako.

## 1.5. Data

The data used for this grammar has been collected over a period of eight years, from 1997 to 2005. The bulk of the fieldwork was undertaken by Hovdhaugen, who spent a total of about eleven months in the Reef and Duff Islands during this period, visiting Taumako and all inhabited islands in the Reefs except Nupani. In addition, he worked with Vaeakau-Taumako speakers, including speakers from Nupani, in Honiara for a month in 2004 and three weeks in 2005, as well as with speakers from Nupani in Lata on Santa Cruz in 2005. Næss spent a month on Pileni in 1998, and has spent several months in the Main Reefs working on the documentation of the Äiwoo language.

Access to information is a sensitive issue in the Reef Islands. Only certain individuals, usually older males of high social standing, have the right to speak on behalf of the community and to decide which kinds of information may be passed on to outsiders, and by whom. As a result, it is not possible for a visiting researcher to choose freely which types of linguistic material to collect, or which speakers to obtain such material from. Our data has been collected in close collaboration with local authorities, and we have been guided in this by the preferences of the community. At the same time, our long-term involvement with the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking community has meant that we have been allowed a higher degree of influence on data collection than might otherwise have been possible. Nevertheless, the final decision on which kinds of texts were suitable for recording, and which speakers were considered the appropriate source of a certain text, was always made by local authorities, quite simply because this was the only way for us to get access to any information at all.

Our material consists of about 20 hours of tape-recorded speech including traditional stories and legends, songs, conversation, and elicited materials based on video clips shown to speakers on a laptop computer.<sup>3</sup> During work on the *Short Dictionary of the Vaeakau-Taumako Language* (Hovdhaugen 2006), several thousand example sentences were collected from groups of

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<sup>3</sup> The video elicitation tools were developed by the Language and Cognition Group at the Max Planck Institute of Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands (Levinson and Enfield 2001, Enfield 2003b, Majid 2004); we are grateful for the permission to use them.

consultants (dictionary committees) to illustrate the use of various words. Much valuable data was also obtained during daily conversations with people in the villages, and not least from visiting children who were eager consultants at all hours of the day and evening. The translation of the Ritual of the Holy Communion, done by John Tealikilava from Pileni, has been another valuable source of data.

Most of the recorded material was transcribed in the field with the help of native-speaker consultants. Some of this material has been published as Hovdhaugen, Næss, and Hoëm (2002) and Hovdhaugen and Næss (2006). In addition to the recorded texts, we have received about a hundred handwritten pages of traditional stories from Noel Hatu and Selwyn Skito in the Taumako dialect, and from Christian Tekilamata in the Nupani dialect. Our corpus also includes a collection of Christmas carols in the Nupani dialect, written by John Nieva† and Christian Tekilamata, and published as Hovdhaugen and Tekilamata (2006).

## 1.6. Typological profile

The typological characteristics of Vaeakau-Taumako reflect its status as a geographically marginal Polynesian language, located in an area where speakers of other, only distantly related languages predominate. While most of its lexicon and inventory of grammatical morphemes show cognates in other Polynesian languages, and many of its core properties are typical of Polynesian languages, it displays a number of structural properties which are unusual from a Polynesian perspective, and which may to some extent have arisen under the influence of other languages in the area, particularly Äiwoo.

In phonology, Vaeakau-Taumako has the standard Polynesian five-vowel system, but the quantity contrast typically found in Polynesian languages is marginal in Vaeakau-Taumako, generally relevant only in word-final position. Both oral and nasal stops, and the lateral *l*, show aspirated counterparts, and the contrast is phonemic, though considerable variation is seen in how the contrast is realized in speech. In general, a great deal of sometimes unpredictable alternation is a characteristic feature of Vaeakau-Taumako phonology.

Basic word order is SV/AVO, deviating from that found in most Polynesian languages, which tend to be verb-initial; however, the same order is found in several other Outliers, including Anuta, Sikaiana, and Futuna-Aniwa (Feinberg 1977, Donner 1987, Dougherty 1983). A basic accusative morpho-syntactic alignment can be established, though it is complicated by a number of ergative or ergative-like traits such as the indication of plurality of S and O by reduplication on the verb, and the use of the preposition *e* to mark transitive subjects which have been displaced from preverbal position (chapter 13).

S and A, but not O, may be marked by bound pronouns procliticizing to the verb's tense-aspect-mood marker; we are not aware of a similar system existing in any other Polynesian language, and it may have arisen under influence from Āiwoo, where intransitive subjects are marked by prefixes on the verb. Human, animate or otherwise salient participants may take the "personal marker" *a*, but this does not correlate with any syntactic relation.

There are two major lexical classes, nouns and verbs. As in most Polynesian languages, there is little bound morphology on either verbs or nouns. Reduplication is highly frequent, with a variety of functions, including forming plurals of some nouns and indicating plural of S or O with verbs. The so-called *-Cia*-suffixes, which have been described in various ways for different Polynesian languages, function in Vaeakau-Taumako as transitive suffixes added to a stem which may or may not have an independent use as an intransitive verb. With few exceptions, all formally transitive verbs must take a suffix. Some unsuffixed verbs, which we call "semi-transitives" may occur with a noun referring to an indefinite, nonspecific or generic object; structurally, these are incorporated into the verb-phrase nucleus, although not necessarily into the verbal lexeme itself (3.3.3, 9.3.3).

Tense, aspect and mood are indicated by preverbal particles. Most such tense-aspect-mood particles are mainly aspectual or modal in function, though a few appear to indicate mainly temporal notions (*ka* 'future', *na* 'past'), and several of the aspectual particles may receive temporal interpretations in the appropriate context.

The pervasive use of verb serialization (9.3.4 and chapter 15), both for modification within the verb phrase and for information structuring in the clause, may be another feature adopted from Āiwoo, which has different types of serialization which are structurally and functionally similar to those found in Vaeakau-Taumako. Verb serialization is not usually recognized as a property of Polynesian languages; though as Crowley (2002: 158) points out, this may be due to the scarcity of verbal inflectional morphology in these languages, which makes possible serialization constructions difficult to identify.

Another typological feature which is characteristic of languages of Melanesia, but highly unusual for a Polynesian language, is the extensive use of tail-head linkage in narrative discourse (18.3). Tail-head linkage is the repetition of the final phrase or clause of one sentence at the beginning of the next; in Vaeakau-Taumako, the repeated phrase is marked by the demonstrative *na*. Likely, the pattern has been adopted from Āiwoo, where tail-head linkage is very frequent, and where the marker of repeated elements is the distal deictic *-Cā*.

## Chapter 2

### Phonology

#### 2.1. Introduction

Compared to most other Polynesian languages, Vaeakau-Taumako has a relatively complex phonology. There are a number of phonological differences between dialects, a lot of dialect mixing, and a great deal of apparently free alternation in pronunciation. There are also phonological differences between style levels; for example, the drift towards *h* (2.4.7) is much more prominent in colloquial speech than in narratives. Speakers are well aware of the phonological variation in their language, and frequently have no strong preference for one pronunciation alternative over another.

Because the variation is so extensive, we cannot hope to cover every detail of Vaeakau-Taumako phonology in this chapter. We describe here the main patterns found in our material, with an emphasis on the colloquial register and the main dialectal differences.

#### 2.2. Syllable structure and stress

Vaeakau-Taumako syllables can have the following surface form: /V, V:, CV, CV:, CCV, CCV:/ (see also 2.3.1.2 below on vowel length and on the question of diphthongs). Most of the forms showing consonant clusters have an alternant where a vowel intervenes between the consonants: *batava* [<sup>m</sup>batava, <sup>m</sup>barava, <sup>m</sup>brava] ‘be nice, be good’, *kolomakina* [kalomakina, kholomakina, kolomakina, klomakina]<sup>4</sup> ‘forget’. In some instances there is no such alternative form, but in these cases the initial consonant of the cluster may optionally be omitted: *kngihū* [kŋ<sup>h</sup>u:, ŋ<sup>h</sup>u:] ‘agree’.

Monosyllabic lexical roots (nouns and verbs) all have long vowels; in other words the minimal form of a lexical word is V:, e.g. *ā* ‘what’, *ō* ‘rations, food for a journey’, *ō* ‘go.PL’. Grammatical words, on the other hand, may consist of a single short vowel, e.g. *a* ‘personal marker’, *e* ‘agentive preposition’, *i* ‘locative-directional-ablative preposition’.

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<sup>4</sup> *Kalomakina* is NUP. In VAE and TAU *klomakina* is the usual colloquial form.

All members of the two open lexical classes, nouns and verbs, have one main stress, which falls on the final syllable of the word if this syllable contains a long vowel; otherwise stress is on the penultimate syllable. In general, secondary stress will fall on alternate syllables counting back from the antepenultimate, e.g. *malamake* [ˌmalaˈmake] ‘morning’; but the internal structure of the word may influence secondary stress assignment, in that lexical roots and some affixes retain their own stress pattern in morphologically complex forms, e.g. *hakamemea* [ˌhakameˈmea] ‘be pregnant’ (*haka-* ‘CAUS’ + *memea* ‘child’).

Unstressed word-final /i/ and /u/ may in some cases be devoiced or dropped altogether. Such vowel elision appears in most cases to be emphatic: *Siaki* [siak, sak] ‘Leave it!’, *Kosi* [kos] ‘Finished!’ This is a fairly limited phenomenon restricted to a few lexemes; it may be influenced by the phonological pattern of Äiwoo, where /i/ and /u/ are regularly devoiced or dropped under predictable conditions. Stress assignment interacts with vowel elision in sometimes unpredictable ways: *nepulu* [neˈpulu, neˈplu:] ‘name of a dance from Santa Cruz’.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.3. Vowels

### 2.3.1. Basic vowel inventory

All three dialects of Vaeakau-Taumako show the common five-vowel system found in all Polynesian and many other Austronesian languages: /a, e, i, o, u/. All vowels may be long or short:

- |                                     |                               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) <i>a</i> possessive preposition | <i>ā</i> ‘what’               |
| <i>ke</i> hortative particle        | <i>kē</i> ‘different; away’   |
| <i>ki</i> ‘to, towards’             | <i>kī</i> ‘vagina’            |
| <i>o</i> possessive preposition     | <i>ō</i> ‘food for a journey’ |
| <i>u</i> 1SG clitic subject pronoun | <i>ū</i> ‘fart (vi)’          |

On the phonemic status of vowel length, see 2.3.1.2.

#### 2.3.1.1. Vowel quality

/i/ is a front, close, unrounded vowel, slightly more open than cardinal vowel 1.

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<sup>5</sup> By contrast, in Äiwoo, the interaction between vowel elision and stress is predictable; the form *nepulu* would here be pronounced [neˈpul<sup>w</sup>].

/e/ is a front, half-close, unrounded vowel, practically identical to cardinal vowel 2.

/a/ is an open front vowel, situated between cardinal vowels 4 and 5.

/o/ is a back, half-close, rounded vowel, slightly lower than cardinal vowel 7.

/u/ is a back, close, rounded vowel, almost identical to cardinal vowel 8.

Table 3. Vaeakau-Taumako vowel inventory

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

There is little allophonic variation in the pronunciation of the vowels. An /a/ is sometimes pronounced as /æ/ when both the preceding and the following syllable has a non-open vowel, e.g. *te hahine* [tehæhine] or [tehehine] (cf. 2.3.3).

Between vowels and before /a/ and /o/, unstressed /i/ and /u/ are realized as the semi-vowels [j] and [w]:

- (2) *atiao* [a'tjao] 'tomorrow morning'  
*a iau* [a'jau] a=iau 'PERS=1SG'  
*niadoa* [nja<sup>m</sup>doɑ] 'tree sp.'<sup>6</sup>  
*tiotaula* [tjo'atla] 'day after tomorrow'  
*uabelia* [wa<sup>m</sup>be'lia, ua<sup>m</sup>be'lia] 'aimlessly, without purpose or system'<sup>7</sup>  
*auā* ['auɑ, au'a:, a'wa:] 'prohibitive; don't'

This reduction of full vowels to semi-vowels may lead to a number of other phonological changes. In *liakina* [lja'kina, ljia'kjina, lie'kina, l<sup>h</sup>ie'kina, lje'kina, l<sup>h</sup>je'kina, l<sup>h</sup>e'kina] 'leave, drop', the sequence /lj/ may be pronounced as an affricate [dʒ], [dʒe'dʒina]. The appearance of [j] in a frequent pronunciation of *thaupē* 'lagoon' [thau'pe:, hau'pe:, hu'pe:, hjau'pe:, hju'pe:, hou'pe:, sau'pe:] has no known parallels elsewhere in the language.<sup>8</sup> The sequence /ui/ is pronounced as [wi] and treated as one syllable in certain words, e.g. *uiui* 'blue/green' ['wiwi]. *tui* 'write', on the other hand, is pronounced ['tui].

<sup>6</sup> Clearly a borrowing from Äiwoo, which has the classificatory prefix *ɲa-* for names of trees (Næss 2006a: 284).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Äiwoo *väbelia* 'scattered, all over the place'.

<sup>8</sup> This word may be a borrowing from Äiwoo *sopoi* 'salt water, sea water' or Natügu *dɔpwe* 'salt, sea'.



A /u/ between a voiced bilabial consonant (/b/ or /m/) and a vowel tends to lead to labialization of the preceding consonant, while the /u/ itself is pronounced as a semi-vowel or dropped altogether. Labialized /b/ and /m/ may be difficult to distinguish from their non-labialized counterparts, and tend in turn to lose the labialization:

- (3) *buela* [buela, <sup>m</sup>buela, <sup>m</sup>bwela, bwela, <sup>m</sup>bwela, bwela] ‘cooking pot’  
*mua na* [muana, mwana, m<sup>w</sup>ana, mana, mona] ‘there’  
*mua ne* [muane, mwane, m<sup>w</sup>ane, mane] ‘here’  
*mui* [‘mui, mwi:, m<sup>w</sup>ir, mi:] ‘at last’<sup>9</sup>  
*mui* [‘mui, mwi:, m<sup>w</sup>ir, mi:] ‘place’

The development [bu]/ [mu] > [bw]/ [mw] > [b<sup>w</sup>]/ [m<sup>w</sup>] > [b]/ [m] appears to be restricted to certain words. It is not attested in e.g. *mua* ‘front’, *muange* ‘first-born’, or *mui* ‘please’. Note also that /mu/ is pronounced [mo] in some words in NUP, cf. 2.3.4.5.

Two words show /u/ and /v/ in apparent free variation: *avange*, *auange* [avange, awange] ‘bring’; *lavethaki*, *leuethaki* [lewet<sup>h</sup>aki, lewetaki, levtaki, levt<sup>h</sup>aki, leut<sup>h</sup>aki, leusaki, l<sup>h</sup>ewesaki, lesaki, lavet<sup>h</sup>aki] ‘be close’ ([lavet<sup>h</sup>aki] is NUP, [lesaki, leusaki, l<sup>h</sup>ewesaki] is TAU, while [lewet<sup>h</sup>aki, lewetaki, levtaki, levt<sup>h</sup>aki, leut<sup>h</sup>aki] is VAE).

The semi-vowel realizations of /i/ and /u/ are asyllabic. At least two phonological processes clearly take the forms with semi-vowels as their input: As noted above, stress assignment in the form *uiui* ‘be green/blue (vi), tree sp. (n)’ is clearly based on the pronunciation [wiwi], as stress is assigned to the initial [wi] syllable; if the /u/ were a syllabic vowel, the expected pronunciation would be \*[ui’ui].

Also, the process of reduplication in Vaeakau-Taumako may target one syllable (*noho* ‘sit, stay, live’ > *nonoho*) or two (*noho* > *nohonoho*).<sup>10</sup> A word such as *liekili eki* ‘name of a dance’ conforms to the two-syllable rule only if we assume that it is based on the pronunciation [ljekiljeki].

<sup>9</sup> The long vowel in this and similar cases may be due to compensatory lengthening which regularly affects the remaining vowel of a word-final vowel sequence where one vowel is deleted or realised as a semi-vowel. A similar process is found in Äiwoo, where e.g. the morpheme sequence *-gu-i* ‘3rd person minimal transitive subject-3rd person augmented object’ is pronounced [gwi:].

<sup>10</sup> Reduplication involving three syllables (4.3) is rare and marginal.

2.3.1.2. *Vowel length and diphthongization*

## The phonological status of long vowels

Most Polynesian languages show a systematic phonological contrast between long and short vowels. In Vaeakau-Taumako, this opposition is contrastive mainly in word-final syllables. Short final vowels are always unstressed, and in some cases devoiced or dropped (cf. 2.2 above). By contrast, long word-final vowels are always stressed, and indeed tend to be characterized more by their stress than by an actual measurable length contrast. Thus the difference between the final vowels of *kulu* ‘breadfruit’ and *lepū* ‘rat’ is not so much an opposition between a short and a long vowel as between a stressed and an unstressed syllable: [‘kulu] vs [le’pu]. The pronunciation [le’pu:] is rarely heard in everyday informal speech. There are few minimal pairs distinguished only by vowel length/final stress: some of the attested examples are listed in (4):

- (4) *papa* ‘plank’            *papā* ‘district, ward’  
*tuna* ‘eel’                *tuṅā* ‘cook.TR’  
*unga* ‘hermit crab’ *unḡā* ‘send.TR’

When a word has a long final vowel, the penultimate syllable may, in a very few cases, also have a long vowel. These are the only cases of contrastive vowel length in non-word-final position.

- (5) *papa* ‘plank’  
*papā* ‘district, ward’  
*pāpā* ‘carry a child tied on one’s back’  
*pāpā* ‘vulva’

In all other positions, vowel length is either morphophonemically conditioned, has an emphatic or other discourse function, or else long and short vowels are in apparently free variation. Monosyllabic items with a short vowel are normally not lengthened, not even for emphasis. Monosyllabic items with a long vowel may be shortened in certain positions; for instance, *ō* ‘go.PL’ is shortened and de-stressed before directional verbs (*omai* ‘come here’). There are also sporadic examples of stress shift and shortening when this word is preceded by certain other items; the exact conditions are not clear: *ta* ‘1DU.INCL hortative pronoun’ + *ō* ‘go.PL’ > [‘tao] ‘Let’s go!’ Some mono-

syllables which from a diachronic perspective would be expected to have long vowels are short in current speech, e.g. *i* [i] ‘some’ (PPN \*qisi).<sup>11</sup>

Polysyllabic words quite commonly show alternations in vowel quantity in stressed (6) or pre-stressed (7) syllables. The forms with long vowels are in some cases emphatic, but frequently there is no discernible distinction in meaning or function between the two variants. The following are just a few examples:

- (6) *hake* [ˈhake, ˈhaːke] ‘otherwise’  
*Huanava* [haˈnava, haˈnaːva, fuaˈnava] place name on Pileni island  
*ila* [ˈila, ˈiːla] ‘wait’<sup>12</sup>  
*Kongo* [ˈkoŋo, ˈkoːŋo] place name on Taumako island
- (7) *kamai* [kaˈmai, kaːˈmai] ‘bring here’  
*lavoi* [laˈvoi, laːˈvoi] ‘be good’  
*uia* [uːˈia, uˈia] ‘change’

Even across word boundaries, a sequence of a long vowel followed by an identical short vowel may be reduced: *huatō oho* [huatoho] ‘paddle out to sea’. See also 2.5.4.

A frequent question in the analysis of quantity distinctions in vowels is whether a long vowel should be analyzed as a sequence of two identical short vowels. This question has been discussed for several Polynesian languages (e.g. Bauer 1993: 534–538, Besnier 2000: 613–614, Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 28–31), and the conclusions differ from language to language.

Analyzing long vowels in Vaeakau-Taumako as sequences of two short vowels would allow us to simplify the stress rules. Rather than saying that stress is on the word-final syllable if this syllable has a long vowel, otherwise on the penultimate syllable, we could say that stress always falls on the penultimate syllable of a word. The first formulation would represent the contrast between word like *hatu* ‘stone’ and *lepū* ‘rat’ as /ˈhatu/ vs. /leˈpuː/, while the second gives the analysis /ˈhatu/ vs. /leˈpuu/. The vowel sequence could then be simplified according to the principles given in 2.3.2. As it is usually the initial vowel of a sequence which is elided, a possible objection to such an analysis would be that it would lead to elision of the stressed vowel. How-

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<sup>11</sup> Note, however, that this form is long when used as the head of a noun phrase; cf. 7.3.3.4.

<sup>12</sup> But observe that *ila* ‘look’ only has the pronunciation [ˈila].

ever, given cases like *nepulu* [ne'pulu, ne'plu], where the stressed vowel does appear to be elided, this may not be a relevant objection.<sup>13</sup>

Morphophonological processes provide no conclusive evidence. The transitive suffix *-a* (8.2.2.3) added to a stem ending in *-a* results in a long vowel, suggesting that sequences of two identical vowels are realized as one long vowel: *tala* (vi) 'speak, talk' – *talā* (vt) 'tell, explain'; *anga* (vi) 'work, function' – *angā* (vt) 'work on, clean up' (cf. *vahi* [vi] 'break, be broken' – *vahia* [vt] 'break').

On the other hand, full reduplication, i.e. the repetition of two syllables of a root (4.3), appears to be able to treat long vowels either as a sequence of two syllables or as a single syllable: *tunā* 'cook' – *tnatnā* (*tuna-tuna-a*) or *tnātnā* (*tunā-tunā*); *vetā* 'untie' – *vetāvetā*. There seems, then, to be no conclusive linguistic evidence in favour of one or the other analysis; and the marginality of phonemic vowel length in Vaeakau-Taumako means that the question is of limited importance for an overall understanding of Vaeakau-Taumako phonology.

#### Vowel sequences or diphthongs?

A similar problem to that of interpreting vowel length applies to sequences of nonidentical vowels. Some two-vowel sequences, most notably those where the second vowel is narrow (*/i/* or */u/*), may sometimes be pronounced as a single syllable, i.e. as a diphthong. If the penultimate syllable of a word consists of a single vowel, stress may shift to the antepenultimate syllable, e.g. *kaoa* [ka'oa, 'kaoa] 'grass', *khainga* [kha'inga, 'khainga] 'party', *paua* [pa'ua, 'paua] 'giant clam shell' (PPN \**paasua*). In most cases this is an optional variant. There are a few cases of dialectal differences: *'lailu* (VAE) – *la'ilu* (TAU) 'hair'.

If vowel sequences such as those exemplified above were phonologically diphthongs, processes such as reduplication should be expected to treat them as a single syllable, in other words the fully reduplicated forms of words like *holau* and *khainga* should be \**holauholau* and \**khaingakhainga*. However, no such forms are found in our data, suggesting that Vaeakau-Taumako phonology does not treat such vowel sequences as diphthongs, even if they may be pronounced in speech as a single syllable.

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<sup>13</sup> Compare Äiwoo, where stress regularly shifts to the preceding syllable when a vowel in stressed position is elided, e.g. *nubo* ['nu<sup>m</sup>bo] 'die' vs. *i-nubo* ['i<sup>n</sup>nu<sup>m</sup>bo] 'he/she died' (*i-* perfective prefix).

### 2.3.2. Vowel sequences

Phonological sequences of two vowels are prone to change, and particularly to reduction, in Vaeakau-Taumako. Reduction of vowel sequences occurs both within words and across word boundaries.

The following vowel sequences are stable and show no variation:

- /eol/: *keo* ‘bird sp.’, *leoleo* ‘bird sp.’, *heolonaki* ‘delivery of twin babies’.
- /eul/: *keu* ‘fire’, *meu* ‘fall down (PL)’, *peu* ‘be stupid, act in a stupid way’.
- /oel/: *moe* ‘to sleep’, *hoe* ‘paddle’
- /oi/: *oi* ‘and’, *poi* ‘pig’, *toilo* ‘right (= opposite of left)’.
- /ou/: *outou* ‘your (2PL.POSS)’, *houka* ‘name of a tree’, *hou* ‘to be new’.
- /ue/: *ue* ‘name of various globefish’, *huetuao* ‘liana (TAU)’, *taveli huehu* ‘a type of banana’

Sequences of *i+V* are also stable, but in unstressed syllables the *i* in such sequences is pronounced [j]:

- /ia/: Observe the difference between the independent 3SG pronoun *ia* [i<sup>h</sup>ia], with inherent lexical stress, and the non-stress-bearing conjunction *ia* [ja] ‘and’, as well as *i a* [ja] ‘locative preposition’ + ‘plural collective article’.
- /iel/: *nienie* [nje<sup>h</sup>nie] ‘tree sp.’,<sup>14</sup> *ieia* [je<sup>h</sup>ia] ‘tear (paper, cloth, etc.)’.
- /io/: *io* [i<sup>h</sup>io] ‘flesh’, *iotakua* [jota<sup>h</sup>kua] ‘decide’.
- /iu/: *niu* [ni<sup>h</sup>iu] ‘coconut palm’, *iuloa* [ju<sup>h</sup>loa] ‘species of shark’.

Disyllabic words of the form *Cae*, *Cao*, *Coa* frequently have their vowel sequence reduced to a single long vowel:

- /ae/: *thae* [thae, the:] ‘reach’, *mae* [mae, me:] ‘refuse’
- /ao/: *mao* [mao, ma:] ‘be far away’
- /oa/: *toa* [toa, to:] ‘take’
- /ui/ may reduce to [i:] in all positions, including in polysyllabic words and across morpheme boundaries: *mui* ~ *mī* ‘thing, something’, *motuia* (NUP) ~ *motia* [motia, mutia] (VAE, TAU) ‘cut, stop’, *namuia* ~ *namia* (TAU) ‘smell (vt)’

Most vowel sequences involving /a/ plus another vowel (aV, Va) may be reduced to either [a] or V in unstressed position:

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Äiwoo *nyänyie* ‘casuarina’, lit. ‘fire-tree’.

- /æ/: *haeleakina* (TAU) [halekina, haelekina, haeleakina] ‘to care for’.
- /au/: *tauplemata* [tauplemata, taplemata, tuplemata] ‘a kind of small basket’.
- /ea/: *leleakina* [leleakina, lelekina, lelakina] ‘fly with something’
- /oa/: *valoamata* [valoamata, valamata, valomata] ‘religion’, *valoakina* [valoakina, valakina, valokina] ‘call’
- /ua/: *huatupulia* [huatupulia, hatupulia, hutupulia] ‘collect, pile up’, *mua-hau* [muahau, mahau, muhau] ‘feather money’.

In the word *maoha* [maofa, mafa, moha] ‘be scattered’ (PPN \*maofa), a similar reduction involving a stressed syllable is found; this is exceptional.

Monophthongization of *ua* to *o* is also frequent in the colloquial style: *huaholia* > *hoholia* ‘turn over’, *huatō* > *hoto* ‘paddle out to or back from sea’.

### 2.3.3. Vowel assimilation

A number of assimilations occur in vowel sequences, but not systematically or predictably. There are two main types of assimilation:

1. Rounding and raising of *a* to *o* when preceded or followed by *u*, i.e. *au* > *ou*, *ua* > *uo*: *maunga* [mauŋa, mouŋa] ‘mountain’, *maunu* [maunu, mounu] ‘bait’ (*mounu* is the normal form both in VAE and TAU); *huamua* [huamua, huomua] ‘first’. Note also *thuohine* ‘sister of a man’, from CEP \*tuafine, where the plural forms *vatuahine/vethuahine* do not show the assimilation.

2. Raising of *a* to *e* in the context of a high vowel. This includes both contact assimilation and distance assimilation. Firstly, *ai* > *ei*, *au* > *eu*, and *ua* > *ue* are common assimilations: *kaina* [kaina, keina, kina] ‘eat.TR’, *tanghaina* [taŋ<sup>h</sup>aina, taŋ<sup>h</sup>eina] ‘spoil, destroy’;<sup>15</sup> *taulia* [taulia, teulia] ‘follow’; *huahea* [huahea, huehea] ‘how, why’, *huathue* [hua<sup>h</sup>ue, hua<sup>h</sup>ue] ‘difficult’. Secondly, *a* very frequently raises to *e* when a close vowel appears in a preceding or following syllable. This assimilation is optional and characteristic of the colloquial style, though some forms with [a] are rarely heard, e.g. *ilaila* which seems to have been almost entirely replaced by *ileila*.

- (8) *hahie* [hahie, hehie, fahie, fefie, vahie] ‘firewood’  
*hahine* [fafine, fefine, hahine, hehine] ‘woman’  
*ileila* ‘see, look’, cf. *ila* ‘see, look’  
*mahila* [mahila, mehila] ‘knife’  
*talie* [talie, telie] ‘tropical almond, *Terminalia catappa*’  
*ai* [ai, ei] ‘there (oblique pro-form)’  
*hai tama* [haitama, heitama] ‘be pregnant’

<sup>15</sup> Possibly related to Äiwoo *vetängä* ‘be destructive’

- siai* [hiai, hiei, siai, siei] ‘no, not’  
*hua* [fua, fue, hua] ‘egg, flower, fruit’  
*auau* [auau] (VAE, NUP), [euau] (TAU) ‘species of fish’  
*ikalua* [ikalua, ikelua] ‘co-wives; two wives of the same man’  
*kanukanuia* [kanukanuia, kenukenua, kenkenuia, kankanuia] ‘decorate by painting’

If the assimilating vowel is in the initial syllable of a word, it may also be influenced by the final vowel of the preceding word. A close or half-close final vowel in this position increases the likelihood of a phonemic /a/ becoming [e]: one typically says *te hehine* ‘a/the woman’, but *a hahine* ‘the women’.

In one unique case the assimilation gives rise to a difference in function: the verb *taia* ‘hit, kill’ is used in the form *teia* when the object is singular, *taia* when the object is plural. This opposition is only found in our material in the speech of a few adult speakers, and even here there is variation.

- (9) a. *Te rai nei teia a nohinaku.*  
 te tai ne-i te-ia a nohine a-ku  
 SG person PFV-3SG hit-TR PERS wife POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘The man killed my wife.’
- b. *A ia koi taia a poi.*  
 a ia ko-i ta-ia a poi  
 PERS 3SG INCP-3SG hit-TR COLL pig  
 ‘He killed the pigs.’

Marginally, assimilation of *ua* to *oa* also occurs; this is basically the reverse of the assimilation of *ua* to *ue*, where the initial vowel becomes more open rather than the final vowel becoming more close: *mua* [mua, moa] ‘place’, *hualasia* [hualasia, hoalasia] ‘save’.

#### 2.3.4. Vowel alternations

Beyond the assimilation processes described in 2.3.3, Vaeakau-Taumako shows a considerable amount of alternation in the vowels found in given lexical or morphological items. Some of these vowel alternations are phonetically conditioned; in some cases the differences are dialectal, while in other cases there appears to be free variation, without any obvious phonological conditioning.

2.3.4.1. *a ~ o*

This is a sporadic alternation where the *a*-forms are basic, except in *kataha* – *kotaha*, where both forms are current and the *o*-form is considered to be the basic one. There is no systematic difference between the dialects, and no clear phonological conditions have been identified for this alternation.

- (10) *atanehi* [atanehi, otanehi] ‘orange (fruit)’ (cf. Äiwoo *vatinesi*)  
*imanga* [imanga, imonga] ‘small area’  
*iphanga* [ip<sup>h</sup>aŋa, ip<sup>h</sup>oŋa] ‘small thing, trifle, small area’  
*kaitala* [kaitala, koitala] ‘be tame’  
*kalomakina* [kolomakina, klomakina, kholomakina, kalomakina] ‘forget’  
 ([klomakina] is by far the most common form in TAU and VAE. [kalomakina] is NUP)  
*kotaha* [kotaha, kataha] ‘frigate bird’ (PPN \*kataha, CEP \*kootaha)  
*pangaiu* [paŋaiu, poŋaiu] ‘nose’ (TAU, VAE)<sup>16</sup>  
*takoto* [takoto, tokoto] ‘lie’  
*vakonaia* [vakonaia, vakonoia] ‘trick’

2.3.4.2. *i ~ e*

This alternation seems in most cases to be phonetically conditioned, usually triggered by the presence of an [a] or an [o] in an adjacent syllable. However, this cannot account systematically for the attested cases of alternation, and we have not been able to formulate a clear rule for this alternation.

The *i*-forms are the original ones diachronically, but in some words the *e* alternant is synchronically considered basic.

- (11) *ali* [ale, ali] ‘flatfish’ (PPN \*ali)  
*kaeha* [kaeha, kaiha] ‘flat coral stone’  
*kaenga* [kaenga, kainga] ‘village, place of living’ (PPN \*kaainga)<sup>17</sup>  
*kapia* [kapea, kapia] ‘lime’ (PPN \*kapia)  
*Nukili* [nukeli, nukili] place on Taumako  
*pakia* [pakea, pakia] ‘hit, kick’ (PPN \*paki)  
*pepio* [pepeo, pepio] ‘lie, not speak the truth’  
*silo* [selo, silo] ‘glass, mirror’ (PPN \*tilo)  
*sike* [hiki, hike, sike] ‘roll’  
*sike* [hike, hiki, sike, siki] ‘fall’<sup>18</sup>  
*vaole* [vaole, vaoli] ‘care for, look after, rule’

<sup>16</sup> NUP *iu*.

<sup>17</sup> *kāinga* is today obsolete in VAT and only used occasionally by old speakers on Taumako.

<sup>18</sup> The variants with *h*- are TAU.



2.3.4.3. *e ~ o*

This alternation is attested in six words, mainly in pre-stressed syllables. There is no clear pattern in the dialectal distribution. Diachronically, the *e* alternant is the original form for some words and the *o* alternant for others. We have not been able to determine any phonetic conditions for this alternation; possibly it is partly due to influence from Äiwoo, where a similar alternation is quite common (e.g. *singeda ~ singoda* ‘woman’, *beli ~ boli* ‘wrap’, *tevali ~ tovali* ‘refuse, reject’).

- (12) *haplengia ~ haplongia* ‘frighten’ (*ha-pole-ngia*, from *pole* ‘jump, start’)  
*huatenia ~ huatonia* ‘send’ (TAU *hatonia*, VAE *huatonia* or *huatenia*, NUP *fakautania*)  
*leka- ~ loka-* ‘come, go’ (PPN \*laka)  
*lehiu ~ lohiiu* ‘ship’ (TAU *lehiu*, VAE *lehiu/lohiiu*, NUP *lohiiu*, cf. Äiwoo  
*lââsuu*, Natügu (Santa Cruz) *lesu*)  
*leimata ~ loimata* ‘tear’ (PPN \*loqimata)  
*velo ~ volo* ‘spear (vi)’ (PPN \*welo), *veloia ~ voloia* ‘spear (vt)’

2.3.4.4. *u ~ i*

This alternation is attested in 7 words. The *u* alternants are diachronically the original forms; the *i* forms are mostly TAU.

- (13) *bekuma* [bekuma] (VAE, NUP), [bekima] (TAU) ‘kind of basket’<sup>19</sup>  
*lailu* [lailu] (VAE, NUP), [lailu] (TAU) ‘hair’  
*laukuku* [laukuku] (VAE, NUP), [laikuku] (TAU) ‘twig’  
*mdautu* [mdautu] (VAE), [mdaiu] (NUP), [mdaitu, mdatu] (TAU) ‘point, tip of point’  
*taulaitu* [taulaitu] (VAE, NUP), [taulaiti] (TAU) ‘seer, shaman’  
*plaplainu* [plaplainu, plaplaini, plaplani] ‘coral rock’  
*nimonimoilo* ‘be clever’ (NUP and VAE [numonumoilo] is considered childish and incorrect)

2.3.4.5. *Other vowel alternations*

Several other alternations are found only in one or two words. The following are attested in our corpus:

<sup>19</sup> Probably a borrowing from Äiwoo, which has the classifying prefix *be-* for baskets. The vowel alternation in this form may reflect the allomorphs *ki-/ku-* of the Äiwoo imperfective aspect prefix.

- *a ~ o ~ u*: *mokopuna* [makopuna, mokopuna, mukopuna] ‘grandchild’ (PPN \*mokupuna)
- *a ~ e ~ i*: *kanihia* [kanihia, kenihia, kinihia] ‘moray eel’
- *a ~ u*: *taku(a)* [taku, tuku, takua, tukua] ‘say (vt)’.

The *a*-forms in the latter example are diachronically the original ones (cf. PPN \*taku ‘mention, recite’) and are considered the correct ones in current Vaeakau-Taumako, but they are hardly ever used in the spoken language. In writing only the *a*-forms are acceptable, and *tuku(a)* is consistently changed to *taku(a)* by consultants when transcribing recorded texts.

- *i ~ o*: *momoili* [momoili, momoilo] ‘be clever’, *pihoulu* [pihoulu, pohoulu] ‘head’

For the alternation *o ~ u*, the examples fall into two groups. For *motia* [motia, mutia] ‘cut, stop’ (PPN \*motu), *phao* [phao, pao, pau] ‘drift, float’, *poka* [poka, puka] (= *po ke ā*) ‘what for’, and *malemo* [malemo, malemu] ‘drown’ (PPN \*malemo), the *u*-forms are only found sporadically; they are considered colloquial and are rejected by most consultants. There are no dialectal differences in the use of these forms. For *mui* [moi, mui] ‘please’, *muinange* [moinaŋe, muinaŋe] ‘but’, *munga* [moŋa, muŋa] ‘place’, and *mutne* [motne, mutne] ‘here’, the *u* alternants are considered the only acceptable forms in VAE and TAU. The *o*-forms are only encountered in NUP, and even there they alternate with the *u*-forms.

## 2.4. Consonants

### 2.4.1. Basic consonant inventory

Vaeakau-Taumako has the most complex system of consonant phonemes of all known Polynesian languages. This pertains both to the number of consonant phonemes (19),<sup>20</sup> and to the pervasive dialectal and idiolectal variation.

The dialectal differences are seen not so much in the number of consonant phonemes or in the overall structure of the system, as in the distribution of each consonant phoneme and their lexical frequency. The consonant phonemes of VAE and TAU are laid out in Table 4:

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<sup>20</sup> Vaeakau-Taumako is the only Polynesian language with an “average-sized” consonant inventory, as defined in Maddieson (2005: 10).

Table 4. VAE and TAU consonant inventory

	labial	dentalveolar	velar
Oral stop: unvoiced, unaspirated	p	t	k
unvoiced, aspirated	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
voiced	b	d	
Nasal: voiced, unaspirated	m	n	ŋ
unvoiced, aspirated	m <sup>h</sup>	n <sup>h</sup>	ŋ <sup>h</sup>
Lateral: voiced, unaspirated		l	
unvoiced, aspirated		l <sup>h</sup>	
Fricative: voiced	v		
unvoiced		s	h

/b/ and /d/ are low in frequency and occur mainly in loanwords. The occasional occurrences of a voiced velar stop [g] appear not to be phonemic.

The main phonological differences between the dialects are:

- /t<sup>h</sup>/ usually becomes [s] in TAU, although the pronunciation [t<sup>h</sup>] occurs there as well;
- /h/ is pronounced [h] or [f], and occasionally [ϕ], in VAE; these allophones are in free variation. The higher overall frequency of [h] is the main reason for our choice to label this phoneme /h/ rather than /f/. In NUP, on the other hand, the corresponding phoneme is /f/, which is fairly consistently pronounced [f], although [h] is occasionally heard, probably due to influence from other dialects. In TAU /h/ is consistently pronounced [h] except in the prefix *fele-* ‘desiderative; want’;
- /t/ is pronounced [r] in VAE and TAU between non-close vowels; in TAU also between a non-close vowel and a following /u/;
- NUP has unaspirated consonants in many words where VAE and TAU have the corresponding aspirated phonemes.

#### 2.4.2. Aspiration

Aspiration is a characteristic feature of Vaeakau-Taumako phonology. Phonetically, aspiration is usually strong and clearly audible. Nevertheless, Vaeakau-Taumako aspirated consonants present a rather confusing picture for phonological analysis. There is a lot of dialectal and idiolectal variation, and in most contexts the aspirated phonemes have an alternative unaspirated pronunciation. This is not a new phenomenon; Ray observed it as early as in 1920: “The use of *h* is peculiar as the aspirated and unaspirated sounds are interchanged: *khato* or *kato*, all; *phau* or *pau*, read; *shiai* or *siai*, not; *thama* or *tama*, father.” (Ray 1920: 77).

Not only may phonologically aspirated consonants lose their aspiration without any apparent conditioning factors; unaspirated consonants may also be aspirated for emphasis. Consultants sometimes find it difficult to decide whether the form with aspiration or the one without it should be considered the citation form of an item. In recordings, the same root or particle may show roughly a 50/50 distribution of aspirated and unaspirated consonants in the speech of a single consultant.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the opposition is phonemic, with minimal pairs like those in (14):

(14)	<i>pō</i> ‘night’	<i>phō</i> ‘grab, catch’
	<i>tai</i> ‘man, person’	<i>thai</i> ‘one’
	<i>kai</i> ‘eat.SG’	<i>khai</i> ‘eat.PL’
	<i>maku</i> ‘for me’	<i>mhaku</i> ‘my father’
	<i>no</i> imperfective aspect marker	<i>nho</i> ‘go.SG’
	<i>la</i> dual quantifier	<i>lha</i> 3DU clitic subject pronoun
	<i>tolo</i> ‘sugarcane’	<i>tholo</i> ‘creep, crawl’

While there are no restrictions on the distribution of unaspirated consonants, aspirated consonants, with a few exceptions, occur only in the onset of stressed syllables. In unstressed syllables, aspirated consonants occur in three circumstances:

- In plural independent pronouns (as well as in duals, where the aspirated syllable is stressed except in the 2nd person), either without a prefix or with the prefix *khi-* or *okhi-*: *lhatou*, *khilatou*, *okhilatou* (NUP *latou*, *kilatou/khilatou*, *okhilatou*) ‘they (3PL)’. An aspirated consonant cannot be the first member of a consonant cluster; if the vowel of the prefix *khi-* is dropped, aspiration falls on the following consonant: *khilatou* > *klhatou*, not \**khlhatou*.
- Emphatic aspiration tends to fall on the first available consonant of a word, e.g. *leuethaki* ‘be close to’ [l<sup>h</sup>ewe’saki], *pakhola* ‘giant, ogre’ [p<sup>h</sup>a’k<sup>h</sup>ola] (VAE), *kolomakina* ‘forget’ [k<sup>h</sup>oloma’kina].
- Finally, we see sporadic cases of analogical transfer from a form with an aspirated sound in a stressed syllable, cf. *tahea* [ta<sup>h</sup>hea, t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>hea] ‘to drift, float’, where the form [t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>hea] may be influenced by *thahe* [t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>e] ‘current in water’. A similar case is *vakhaphoa* [vak<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>oa, vak<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>poa] ‘to grab, snatch’ derived from *khapa* [k<sup>h</sup>apa, ‘kapa] ‘to reach out’ where the root *khapa* retains its aspirated consonant, while the [p<sup>h</sup>] in the stressed syllable also receives aspiration.

The historical origin of aspiration is clear in some cases, obscure in others. One transparent case is the elision of a vowel between an unvoiced fricative ([s], [h] or [f]) and an unaspirated nasal or lateral: *hulo* ‘run.PL’ > \**hlo* > *lho* (most commonly reduplicated: *lholho*), *folomia* (NUP) ~ *lhomia* (VAE, TAU) ‘swallow’. This process is also seen in loanwords, where the source does not necessarily conform to the phonological structure of Vaeakau-Taumako: *heleni* ~ *lheni* ‘money’ (Pijin *seleni*), *mhoki* ‘smoke’ (English *smoke*).

Another possible source of aspiration is the deletion of the vowel of a reduplicated syllable, resulting in geminate consonants, which subsequently become aspirated single consonants:

- (15) *kai* (SG) > *kakai* (PL) > \**kkai* > *khai* ‘eat’, cf. also the hybrid plural *kakhai kave* (SG) > *kakave* > *khave* (PL) ‘be transported, be taken away’, cf. the hybrid plural *kakhave*.  
*tangi* (SG) > \**tatangi* > *thangi* (PL) ‘cry’  
*mate* (SG) > \**mamate* > *mhate* (PL) ‘die’

In many cases, however, we can find no obvious origin for the aspiration, e.g. in cases like *athua*, *thua* ‘spirit, devil’ (PPN \**atua* ‘deity’), *makhona* ‘be strong’ (PPN \**makona* ‘satisfied after eating’), or the dual/plural pronouns *khitatou*, *khilatou* etc.

### 2.4.3. Stops

#### 2.4.3.1. Unvoiced stops

Vaeakau-Taumako has three unvoiced oral stops: /p/, /t/, and /k/.

/p/ is an unvoiced, unaspirated, bilabial stop. In the word *penu*, *penupenu* ‘things, remains’ the pronunciations [benu, benubenu, benbenu] are common in TAU. In the onset of a stressed syllable, /p/ may be aspirated for emphasis, e.g. *pela* ‘mud’ [pela, p<sup>h</sup>ela].

/t/ is an unvoiced, unaspirated, apicoalveolar stop. It may occasionally be aspirated for emphasis in word-initial position.

Between non-close vowels in all dialects, and between a non-close vowel and /u/ in TAU, /t/ is generally pronounced [r]. In casual speech, this pronunciation is near-obligatory, and for a number of words we do not actually have attested a form with [t]. Some examples of words commonly pronounced with [r] are *khata* ‘laugh’ [kara, k<sup>h</sup>ara, k<sup>h</sup>ata], *katoma* ‘nevertheless, regardless’ [karoma], *atu* ‘towards you’ [atu] in VAE and NUP, [aru] in TAU.

The process also operates across morpheme and word boundaries; *ngha tai* ‘the men’ is most frequently pronounced [ŋ<sup>h</sup>a rai]. In some words, an un-

stressed vowel preceding [r] (< /t/) may be dropped, resulting in a consonant cluster with [r] as the second member: *batava* ‘be nice’ [ˈbaˈtava, baˈrava, ˈbˠava],<sup>21</sup> *pitoki* ‘point’ [piˈtoki, ˈproki]. For *prokohia* ‘be lucky’, no form with *t* is attested.

Although there is no phoneme /r/ in present-day Vaeakau-Taumako, an increasing number of words with [r] are entering the language as borrowings from Solomon Islands Pijin, and we may eventually see the emergence of /r/ as a phoneme; this is likely to lead to a rephonemization of words with common [r] pronunciations such as *khata* to *khara*.

In a few words, an initial /t/ becomes /d/ when preceded by *ana/ona/na* ‘3SG.POSS’:

- (16) *taine* ‘daughter of a woman, virgin’:  
*taku taine* ‘my daughter’, *te taine a te hahine* ‘the daughter of the woman’, *ana daine* ‘her daughter’  
*tahito* ‘base, bottom, lower part of the trunk of a tree, beginning’:  
*te tahito o te puka* ‘the bottom of the puka-tree’, *na dahito* ‘its bottom, base’  
*teina* ‘younger sibling of same sex’:  
*toku teina* ‘my brother’, *na deina/na teina* ‘his younger brother’

There are also examples of /t/ > /d/ where the 3SG.POSS is understood, but not overtly expressed: *thokana* ‘his brother’, *na duokana* ‘his brother’, *John duokana o Pita* ‘John is Peter’s brother’, *a dokana e mua* ‘the first brother’. Cf. *taku thokana/thokaku/\*taku dokana/\*dokaku* ‘my brother’. The form *duma*, *nduma*, used in numerals above 10 (cf. 3.3.1.3), probably derives from *na tuma* ‘its ones’, which is the form found in Ray (1920: 86).

/t/ also changes to /d/ when vowel elision leaves it adjacent to a preceding /m/: *matangi* [maˈtangi, ˈmdangi] ‘wind’; *Matemā* [mateˈmaː, mdeˈmaː] ‘Matema island’. A word-initial consonant cluster /md/ may lead to assimilation of the nasal (m > n/\_d), which in turn may be reinterpreted as prenasalization of the oral stop: *mdavae* ‘toe’ > *davae* [ˈdavae]; *mdaone* ‘sandbank’ ~ *Daone* ‘name of a beach on Nifiloli’; *hamduplia* – *haduplia* ‘pour out, to pile up’.

/k/ is an unvoiced, unaspirated velar stop: *kuli* ‘dog’, *ake* ‘go up’. It may occasionally be aspirated for emphasis. In the word-initial consonant cluster /kɲ<sup>h</sup>-, the *k* is frequently dropped ([kɲ<sup>h</sup>] > [ɲ<sup>h</sup>]).

/p<sup>h</sup>/ is an unvoiced, aspirated bilabial stop. A few words in NUP and TAU have [f] where VAE has /p<sup>h</sup>/: *phenā* ‘be like that’ (VAE) ~ *fenā* (NUP, TAU); *phanu* ‘species of fish’ (VAE) ~ *faniu* (NUP, TAU).

<sup>21</sup> This is a somewhat complex example, as this word is a borrowing from Pijin *barava* < English *proper*. In other words, the source word has an /r/; but given that variants with [t] are attested in Vaeakau-Taumako we must assume that this is the basic form.

*/t<sup>h</sup>/* is an unvoiced, aspirated lamino-alveolar stop. In TAU it is commonly, though not obligatorily, pronounced as [s]. VAT has a phoneme /s/, though its frequency is low; the alternation [t<sup>h</sup>] ~ [s] is likely over time to dramatically change the phonological position of /s/ in TAU. At present, however, [t<sup>h</sup>] and [s] in this context must be analyzed as optional variants of a phoneme */t<sup>h</sup>/*, where the most frequent allophone overlaps entirely with another phoneme.

In a small number of words of high token frequency, */t<sup>h</sup>/* is pronounced [h] as an optional, but very common variant in TAU and VAE (though not in NUP); in these cases [s] is not a possible alternative.

- (17) *thai* [thai, hai] ‘be one’  
*thaila* [thaila, haila, heila, thaila:, haila:, heila:] ‘another one, other’  
*thatou* [thatou, harou] ‘we (1PL.INCL)’  
*thau* [thau, hau] ‘pair, group’  
*thaua* [thaua, haua] ‘we two (1DU.INCL)’

On the other hand, some words show several possible alternations: */t<sup>h</sup>/* may either be pronounced [t<sup>h</sup>], with the alternative pronunciation [s], or it may lose its aspiration and become [t], which subsequently in intervocalic position becomes [r], or in initial position of some words /d/ (a direct alternation */t<sup>h</sup>/ > /d/* is not possible): *thaunga* [t<sup>h</sup>aunga, taunga, saunga, raunga] ‘house’; *thokana* [t<sup>h</sup>okana, duokana, sokana, tuokana, tokana, dokana, dukana, hokana] ‘older sibling of same sex’.

Note that a frequent word such as *thuabe* [t<sup>h</sup>ua<sup>m</sup>be, t<sup>h</sup>ua<sup>m</sup>be:, tua<sup>m</sup>be, ta<sup>m</sup>be, t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>m</sup>be:] ‘big’ undergoes none of these alternations, except deaspiration (*th ~ t*), which is very common with */t<sup>h</sup>/*.

*/k<sup>h</sup>/* is an unvoiced, aspirated velar stop: *khī* ‘go off in a group’, *vakhahia* ‘burn, set fire to’. In TAU it is occasionally pronounced as an unvoiced velar fricative [x]. Like the other aspirated stops, it is frequently deaspirated in colloquial speech. In word-initial position in dual and plural pronouns, */k<sup>h</sup>/* typically becomes [h] in colloquial style, including in speeches, in TAU and VAE.

#### 2.4.3.2. Voiced stops

The voiced stops are low in frequency and mostly occur in borrowings. The phonological status of /d/ is questionable, as is the status of the voiced velar [g], cf. below. All voiced stops are optionally, but very frequently, prenasalized.

*/b/* is a voiced bilabial stop, usually prenasalized. It mainly occurs in word-initial position. Its status as a phoneme is unproblematic, as seen from minimal pairs like the following:

- (18) *bele* ‘church bell’ – *pele* ‘be many’  
*bobo* ‘bêche-de-mer’ – *popo* ‘be old’  
*bole* ‘be good, well’ – *pole* ‘tail’  
*bou* ‘a strong tree with heavy wood’ – *pou* ‘post’

Before /u/, and its allophone [w], /b/ has a labialized allophone [b<sup>w</sup>], cf. 2.3.1.1.

/d/ is a voiced apico-alveolar stop. It has a very low lexical frequency, and its phonemic status is marginal. If cases of [d] occurring as a result of the assimilation of /t/ to a nasal consonant or a 3rd person possessive pronoun (2.4.3.1) are disregarded, /d/ is attested in the following words:

- (19) *dahi* name of some small cone shells  
*dakidaki* ‘duck’ (< Pijin *dakidaki*)  
*daunga* ‘bundle of fruit’  
*deimī* ‘nipple’  
*dekina* ‘because’  
*dekivi* ‘species of shell’  
*depī* ‘betelnut palm’  
*dokopō* ‘species of fish’  
*domoto* ‘top of plant or tree’

As can be observed, nearly all of these are nouns, and most of them are probably loanwords; compare, for instance, the highly productive Äiwoo nominalizing prefix *de-* ‘thing, object, instrument’.

There is no voiced velar stop phoneme in Vaeakau-Taumako, but [g] occurs in [gina, negina], which are TAU variants of *dekina* ‘because’; in [gatoa], a variant of *katoa* ‘ten’; in NUP *nugo* ‘already’, and in borrowings from English and Pijin.

#### 2.4.4. Nasals

Vaeakau-Taumako has six nasal consonant phonemes: /m/, /m<sup>h</sup>/, /n/, /n<sup>h</sup>/, /ŋ/, and /ŋ<sup>h</sup>/. The aspirated nasals are also unvoiced, and it may be impossible in practice to determine whether aspiration or voicelessness is the primary feature distinguishing /m, n, ŋ/ on the one hand from /m<sup>h</sup>, n<sup>h</sup>, ŋ<sup>h</sup>/ on the other (cf. Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 115–116). However, the aspirated nasals pattern distributionally like the aspirated oral stops; compare e.g. *thatou* ‘1PL.INCL ~ *tatou* ‘1PL.INCL.POSS’ and *mhatou* ‘1PL.EXCL’ ~ *matou* ‘1PL.EXCL.POSS’.

/m/ is a voiced, unaspirated bilabial nasal: *matua* ‘husband’, *memea* ‘child’, *moko* ‘lizard, gecko’. It has a weakly labialized allophone [mw] be-



fore /u/, cf. 2.3.1.1. The word-initial consonant cluster /md/ tends to become assimilated to /nd/, which often leads to loss of the initial nasal phoneme, as it is reanalyzed as prenasalization (2.4.3.1).

/n/ is a voiced, unaspirated apico-alveolar nasal. Some grammatical particles in *n-* have aspirated variants in TAU and NUP: *na* (VAE) – *nha/na* (NUP, TAU) (< *tona*) ‘3SG pronominal possessive pronoun’, *na* (VAE) – *nha/na* (NUP, TAU) ‘that’, *ni* (VAE) – *nhī/ni* (NUP, TAU) ‘some’.

/ŋ/ is a voiced, unaspirated velar nasal: *ngata* ‘snake’, *ange* ‘go along’, *pengi* ‘husband’.

/m<sup>h</sup>/ is an unvoiced, aspirated bilabial nasal: *mhatou* ‘1PL.EXCL’, *mhī* ‘particular, same’.

/n<sup>h</sup>/ is an unvoiced, aspirated apico-alveolar nasal. It is only attested in a few words, e.g. *nhohenua* ‘mainland’, *nhomanue* ‘species of fish’ and contractions like *nha-* (from *hina* ‘mother’), *nho-* (from *hano* ‘go.SG’).

/ŋ<sup>h</sup>/ is an unvoiced, aspirated velar nasal: *nghaina* ‘feed, nourish’, *ngihi* ‘some’, *knghū* ‘agree’.

#### 2.4.5. Liquids

Vaeakau-Taumako has two liquid phonemes: /l/ and /l<sup>h</sup>/.

/l/ is a voiced alveolar liquid: *lele* ‘fly’, *aliki* ‘chief’, *lalo* ‘down, under’.

/l<sup>h</sup>/ is unvoiced, aspirated, and sometimes pronounced with friction, approaching [ʃ]: *lhatou* ‘3PL’, *lhekoto* ‘tree.sp’.

#### 2.4.6. Fricatives

No dialect of Vaeakau-Taumako has more than three fricative phonemes: /v/, /s/, and /h/ or /f/. However, the phonological analysis of the fricative phones [f, h, s] is rather problematic, due to extensive dialectal and idiolectal variation.

/v/ is a voiced labiodental fricative [v]. Before an unstressed vowel, its pronunciation is very close to the allophone [w] of /u/, and the two may overlap in some contexts: *levethaki* [levet<sup>h</sup>aki, lewet<sup>h</sup>aki, leut<sup>h</sup>aki] ‘be close to’.

In the sequence /ova/ there is a tendency to drop the /v/: *kovā* [kova:, koa:] ‘heron’; *ova* [ova] (TAU), [o:a, oa] (VAE, NUP) ‘parents, relatives’.

/s/ is a fairly marginal phoneme, and in many cases it is in free variation with [h]. The main reason for this situation is diachronic (Hovdhaugen 2002). PPN \*s has been lost in Vaeakau-Taumako; the same development can be seen in Anutan, but is otherwise unknown in Polynesian languages. Words with /s/ in VAE and NUP have three main sources:

- words borrowed from other Polynesian languages (*soa* ‘friend’, cf. Tikopia *soa*; *sula* ‘appear’, cf. PPN \**sula*; *siu* ‘be wet’, cf. Tikopia *sisiu*, Sikaiana *siu*);
- words of unknown origin, probably borrowings, though no source language has been identified (*sepe* ‘expose oneself indecently’, *sakapini* ‘be wrinkled’, *samalu* (TAU) ‘gossip’, *saposapo* ‘tobacco leaves’, *sā* ‘deck on puke canoe’);
- forms arising through the sound change  $t > s/_i$ , e.g. \**tiko* ‘defecate’ > *siko*; PPN \**tii* ‘shine’ > *sī*. In VAE and TAU, this /s/ has become /h/ in the onset of unstressed syllables, e.g. *hikonga* ‘toilet’, *mihi* ‘dream’ (< \**misi* < PPN \**miti*).

In TAU, /t<sup>h</sup>/ is frequently pronounced [s] (cf. 2.4.3.1), but [t<sup>h</sup>] is always a possible alternative. The [s] as an allophone of /t<sup>h</sup>/ may further change to /h/ in the onset of an unstressed syllable; cf. above and e.g. *thalia* ‘wait’ [t<sup>h</sup>alia, salia, halia].

Transitive verbs nearly all show a transitive suffix ending in *-a* (8.2.2). The exceptions are nearly all words beginning in /s/, e.g. *siaki* ‘leave, throw down’. In addition, there is a group of verbs meaning ‘put, arrange’, which are obviously related, but show some unusual alternations in both consonants and vowels, including some cases of *s ~ h*, as well as apparent derivational relationships which are difficult to analyze:

- (20) *sikuai* [hikuai, sikuai] ‘put away, put down’  
*sikuaikeina* ‘leave out’  
*sukuai* [hukuai, hukai, sukuai, sukai] ‘arrange, put in order’  
*sukuifo* ‘put down’  
*sukumai* ‘grant’  
*hakua* (TAU) ‘put’  
*hakuai* (TAU) ‘put’  
*hakulai* (TAU) ‘put’  
*hukua* [fukua, hukua, sukua] ‘put’ (*sukua* is NUP)  
*hukulai* [hukulai, hukulai, sukulai] ‘put, decide upon, leave’

The phonological status of the three fricative phones [s, h, f] is complex. In NUP there are two phonemes, /s/ and /f/, with little or no allophonic variation. There is no /h/ phonemically, though in current spoken language /f/ is sometimes pronounced as [h], probably due to influence from the other dialects.

In VAE there are two phonemes, /s/ [s, h] and /h/ [f, h]. [f] is used more or less consistently in certain words by older speakers, but there is variation across speakers in which words have [f]. [f] is more frequent among older speakers than among the younger, and more frequent among women than men. People under the age of 25–30 appear to make no distinction, and claim

[f] and [h] to be equivalent in all contexts. There is furthermore a tendency on Pileni and Nifiloli to use a bilabial fricative [ɸ] for /h/, conceivably a phonetic compromise indicating the total merger of the two variants. As noted above, /s/ is restricted to the onset of stressed syllables; in other positions it is being replaced by /h/. This occasionally happens even in stressed syllables, e.g. *hihia* [hihia, hisia, sisia] ‘spy’.

The situation in TAU is complex. As noted above, /t<sup>h</sup>/ has two allophones, [t<sup>h</sup>] and [s], where the latter overlaps with the allophone [s] of /s/. The [s] which is an allophone of /t<sup>h</sup>/ participates in the development *s* > *h* in the onset of a stressed syllable. /h/ in TAU is mostly realized as [h] by speakers of all ages; [f] is much less frequent than in VAE. However, TAU has a prefix *fele-* ‘want’ which is consistently pronounced with [f]. The basis for a phonemic opposition /h/ ~ /f/ is nevertheless weak, though there is at least one minimal pair: /fele/ ‘want’ ~ /hele/ ‘tree.sp’

Our limited material from the Matema variety shows sporadic examples of [t<sup>h</sup>] > [s] and [t] > [s], e.g. *satou* < *thatou* ‘we (1PL.INCL)’ (TAU has *hitatou* here), *soa* ‘take’ (*toa* in all other dialects).

In a few words, Vaeakau-Taumako shows the fricative dissimilation otherwise characteristic of East Polynesian languages, where the first of a series of two consecutive *h*-initial syllables changes its consonant to *v* (hVhV(CV) > vVhV(CV)): [*vaho*, *fafo*] ‘outside’ (PPN \**fafo*); [*vahie*, *hahie*] ‘firewood’ (PPN \**fahie*); *vahi* ‘break, be broken’ (PPN \**fati*); *vuhia* [*vuhia*, *vusia*] ‘pull’ (PPN \**futi*). However, this is not a productive rule, cf. *hahine* ‘woman’, not \**vahine*.

#### 2.4.7. The drift towards /h/

As will be apparent from the preceding discussion, a fairly large number of VAE and TAU consonant phonemes have [h] as a possible allophone, and several diachronic processes have had /h/ as their outcome. This “drift towards /h/” is seen in the following changes:

[f] > [h] (cf. 2.4.6)

[s] > [h]

[t<sup>h</sup>] > [s] > [h]

[t<sup>h</sup>] > [h]

[k<sup>h</sup>] > [h]

It is tempting to look for the explanation for this extreme phonological leveling in the concept of *esoterogeny*. Thurston (1987, 1989) proposes that language change may come about as a way of making one’s language less intelligible to outsiders, enhancing its value as an in-group language, an emblem of

in-group identity. One typical effect of esoterogeny is increased allophony (Thurston 1987: 55–60, 1989: 556). Vaeakau-Taumako's nearest linguistic neighbour, Äiwoo, has no /h/ phoneme nor any cases of [h] as a phonetic variant; thus the increase in the frequency of [h] in Vaeakau-Taumako does serve to make the language phonetically more different from Äiwoo.

Thurston's esoterogeny concept applies to the differentiation of closely related languages, so that languages which were originally very similar, perhaps mutually comprehensible, become less so over time. This is a somewhat different situation from that found in the Reef Islands, where Äiwoo and Vaeakau-Taumako are only very distantly related, and certainly not mutually comprehensible. As noted in the introduction, though, it is likely that in the past there was pervasive bilingualism among Vaeakau-Taumako speakers, as evidenced by the extensive structural borrowing from Äiwoo. It is not inconceivable that an esoterogeny-like process may have taken place here, as a result of the recent changes in social and economic structure. As described in 1.2.2, Vaeakau-Taumako speakers lost their main source of income and social prestige when the trade network in the area collapsed; it is conceivable that their language today functions as their main link to their distinct identity as Polynesians, and that consequently they strive to maintain it as clearly different from the language of the larger and more powerful neighbouring group.

#### 2.4.8. Consonant clusters

The following consonant clusters are attested in syllable onsets:

- /bl/: *nobleknghi* 'species of fish'
- /fk/: *fka*- 'CAUS' (NUP)
- /fl/: *flemoe* ~ *felemoe* 'be tired' (NUP, TAU)
- /fn/: *fnaia* 'shoot' (NUP)
- /fŋ/: *fngafngaina* 'feed habitually' (NUP)
- /kl/: *klevihi* 'conch shell'
- /kl<sup>h</sup>/: *klhatou* 'they (3PL)'
- /km<sup>h</sup>/: *kmhatou* 'we (1PL.EXCL)'
- /kŋ<sup>h</sup>/: *kngā* 'cry'
- /md/: *mdahala* 'wound'
- /ml/: *mlemle i talinga* 'conger eel'
- /mn/: *mnatua* 'remember'
- /mŋ/: *mngai* [mŋai, mŋi] 'until'
- /ŋk/: *ngkina* variant form of *dekina* 'because'
- /pl/: *plenguhi* 'gold-mouth turban shell'
- /pr/: *prohokia* 'be lucky'
- /tn/: *tna* 'that one'

- /tʌ/: *tlatlanga* ‘story’
- /vʌ/: *vlokina* ‘stretch out, push’

In addition, a couple of clusters are attested across syllable borders: /nb/ (*bonboni sika* ‘species of tree’), /ŋg/ (*tanga kamu* [tanjamu] ‘pocket, small bag for betelnut and lime’).

As is apparent from this list, at least one member of a cluster must be a nasal, lateral or fricative (or the [r] allophone of /t/, cf. 2.4.3.1). The initial segment is either a stop or a nasal; in NUP it may also be *f*. Such cluster-initial segments are never aspirated. The second segment is usually a nasal or a lateral, both of which may be aspirated. In addition there are a few cases of nasal+stop or *f*+stop.

Table 5. Attested consonant clusters

	b	d	k	l	lh	m	mh	n	ŋ	ŋh	r
p				pl							pr
b				bl							
t				tl				tn			
k				kl	klh		kmh			kŋh	
m		md		ml				mn	mŋ		
n	nb		nk						nŋ		
f			fk	fl				fn	fŋ		

## 2.5. Further phonological alternations

### 2.5.1. Metathesis

As in most languages, metathesis in Vaeakau-Taumako is restricted to a small number of vocabulary items. In some cases, the metathesized and non-metathesized forms are considered equivalent, in other cases there are dialectal differences, whereas for some pairs there are clear differences in style levels, with the metathesized form perceived as substandard or rejected by consultants altogether.

- (21) *kaukupenga* ~ *koupukenga* ‘tree.sp’  
*kupenga* ~ *pukenga* ‘net’  
*nimonimoilo* ~ *mnomnoilo* ‘be clever’ (*mnomnoilo* is very colloquial and considered substandard by most consultants)  
*tham(u)nia* (VAE and TAU) ~ *thanumia* (NUP and TAU) ‘bury’ (PPN \*tanu)  
*umaia* ~ *mueia* ‘hit’ (*mueia* is colloquial and substandard)  
*oiho* ~ *ioho* ‘go down.PL’

## 2.5.2. Stress and vowel quantity

As noted in 2.3.1.2, vowel length is only marginally phonemic, and often realized only through stress on a final syllable. There is an increasing tendency for stress to shift to the penultimate syllable, in conformity with the general rule of penultimate stress; and so a number of words which originally had final stress have developed a variant with stress on the penultimate syllable:

- (22) *hala* [ha'la:, 'hala] 'if'  
*kaia* [kai'a:, ka'ia] 'steal'  
*malū* [ma'lu:, 'malu] 'urinate'  
*melō* [mlo, me'lo:, 'melo] 'peace' (Āiwoo meloo)  
*Nola* [no'la:, 'nola] place name  
*ohā* [o'fa:, 'oha, 'ofa] 'scatter'  
*opo* [op'o:, 'opo] 'slip out, fall out'  
*palā* [pa'la:, 'pala] 'fin of fish'  
*takā* [ta'ka:, 'taka] 'chase, run after'  
*tauī* [tau'i, 'tauī] 'price'  
*taumi* [tau'mi:, 'taumi, ta'umi] 'fish with traps'  
*tautauha* [tautau'ha:, toto'ha:, tau'tauha, tou'touha] 'prayer, pray'

## 2.5.3. Loss of pre-stressed syllable: long vs. short forms

A common phenomenon in Vaeakau-Taumako, and one of which speakers are highly conscious, is the distinction between “long” and “short” forms of a word. The short forms are formed through the deletion or reduction of the initial syllable of the “long” or full form. This is particularly common if this syllable consists of a single vowel, which is deleted in the short form, though one also finds deletion of the vowel of a CV syllable, or, more rarely, the deletion of an entire CV syllable. Not all words have such reduced forms attested, though for some words it is near-obligatory, and for others the long and short forms are both frequent in use; in such cases consultants often give both forms when asked about a word.

The short forms are considered more informal and colloquial than the long forms, but the precise stylistic connotation varies from word to word. In cases like *prokī/pitoki* 'point (of land)' or *hangia/ahangia* 'open.TR', the long forms are hardly ever used in everyday language, whereas for a word like *plemata/tauplemata* 'type of small basket' the short form is very colloquial and rare in use. The same holds for the short forms *Kapu* and *Pani* of *Nukapu* and *Nupani*, two of the Vaeakau islands. On the other hand, *Pleni* and *Pileni* are both equally common, and the form *Matemā* is hardly ever heard; the short form *Mdemā* is the one commonly used.

Some commonly used short forms, with their long counterparts, are:

- (23) *ahiohoakina* – *hiohoakina* ‘return something’  
*akuakuhia* – *kukuhia* ‘weed’  
*anonohia* – *nonohia* ‘repair’  
*ileileilē* – *leleila* (repeated reduplication of *ila* ‘look’)  
*ohokia* – *hokia* ‘be lucky’

#### 2.5.4. Sandhi

The processes of reduction of vowel sequences, discussed in 2.3.2, also apply across certain word or morpheme boundaries. It is common within the verb phrase, for instance between a verb and a following vowel-initial directional verb or postnuclear modifying particle:

- (24) *huatō oho* > *hotoho* ‘paddle out to sea’  
*oloa oho* > *oloho* ‘push down’  
*ua atu la* > *uaila* ‘paddle out there to you’
- (25) *ua ala* > *uala* ‘paddle’  
*toa ai* > *toai* ‘take it there’

The process may function iteratively, as in *tukua ange* > *tukuange* > *tukange*. However, there are also instances of vowel reduction across morpheme boundaries which do not follow the patterns described in 2.3.2. Word-final *-a* before the directional verb *mai* seems consistently to be dropped (26), but some other cases may represent idiosyncratic exceptions (27).

- (26) *tukua mai* [tuku'mai] ‘tell me’  
*veveia mai* [vevei'mai] ‘put for oneself’
- (27) *phao ake* [pha'oke] ‘drift ashore’  
*sike oho* [sike'oho, sik'oho] ‘roll down’, but *sike ake* [siki'ake] ‘roll ashore’

## 2.6. Orthography

Vaeakau-Taumako has no official established orthography, and no consistent orthographic tradition. Very little written material exists in the language, and it is not taught systematically in schools.

Nevertheless, people who are literate in English and/or Pijin are generally able to write Vaeakau-Taumako quite well, although not always consistently. The language is used for written communication through notes and letters,

and for public announcements in the villages. Several people, ranging from old men to young girls, have written down traditional stories for us, without any apparent difficulties.

Some tradition of writing, then, does exist, though without much in the way of institutionalized support. The Norfolk Island-based Melanesian Mission printed a 28-page prayer book entitled *Atalatala tautaufaa ke tautafaai i tauña e tapu* in 1918, which was distributed in the islands. No copies of this book remain in the islands today, though some of our oldest consultants remembered it; it is quite likely that using this book helped people acquire some understanding of how their language could be written.

In recent years, the research project on which this grammar builds has published two collections of traditional texts which have been made available to people in the islands (Hovdhaugen, Næss, and Hoëm 2002, Hovdhaugen and Næss 2006). In the 2002 volume, *Pileni Texts*, the letter *g* was used to represent the velar nasal [ŋ], as is the established practice in a number of other Polynesian languages. However, this usage met with disapproval in the language community, particularly among the schoolteachers, and it was changed to *ng* in Hovdhaugen and Næss (2006).

The most typical indication of aspiration used by Vaeakau-Taumako speakers is to write an *h* following an oral stop (*ph, th, kh*), but nasals and the lateral tend to be written with the *h* preceding the aspirated consonant (*hl, hm, hn, hng*). We have chosen to always indicate aspiration by an *h* following the letter used for the corresponding unaspirated consonant, i.e. we write *lh, mh, nh, ngh* etc.

There is no systematic indication of vowel length in most speakers' writing, though in a few cases long vowels are indicated with a sequence of two identical vowels separated by an apostrophe, e.g. *o'o* [o:] 'go.PL'. In our orthography, word-final long vowels are written with a macron above the vowel sign, as is common in the orthographies of other Polynesian languages: *ā ē ī ō ū*. Vowel length is not indicated in non-final syllables except in the few cases where it is phonologically relevant.

The orthography used in this book, as well as in other recent publications (Hovdhaugen and Tekilamata 2006, Hovdhaugen and Næss 2006, Hovdhaugen 2006) is laid out in Table 6:



Table 6. Orthographic conventions

Phoneme/allophone	Letter	Example
[a]	A a	<i>ala</i> ‘road’
[b, <sup>m</sup> b]	B b	<i>boho</i> ‘fresh, new’
[d, <sup>n</sup> d]	D d	<i>dahi</i> ‘small cone shell’
[e]	E e	<i>eha</i> ‘big’
[f, $\Phi$ ]	F f	<i>folomia</i> ‘swallow’ (NUP)
[h]	H h	<i>hano</i> ‘go.SG’
[i, j]	I i	<i>ika</i> ‘fish’
[k]	K k	<i>kahu</i> ‘cloth’
[k <sup>h</sup> ]	Kh kh	<i>khoulua</i> ‘you two’
[l]	L l	<i>lavoi</i> ‘good’
[l <sup>h</sup> ]	Lh lh	<i>lhomia</i> ‘swallow’
[m]	M m	<i>mala</i> ‘garden’
[m <sup>h</sup> ]	Mh mh	<i>mhaku</i> ‘my father’
[n]	N n	<i>niho</i> ‘tooth’
[n <sup>h</sup> ]	Nh nh	<i>nhake</i> ‘go up’
[ŋ]	Ng ng	<i>ngata</i> ‘snake’
[ŋ <sup>h</sup> ]	Ngh ngh	<i>nghauta</i> ‘shore, village’
[o]	O o	<i>ono</i> ‘six’
[p]	P p	<i>pakeo</i> ‘shark’
[p <sup>h</sup> ]	Ph ph	<i>phaua</i> ‘count, read’
[s]	S s	<i>sili</i> ‘throw’
[t]	T t	<i>tangata</i> ‘man’
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	Th th	<i>thualele</i> ‘flying spirit’
[u, w]	U u	<i>ua</i> ‘rain’
[v]	V v	<i>valu</i> ‘eight’

## 2.7. Word division and the representation of examples

Determining what counts as a “word” in any given language is a notoriously challenging task – see Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002) for a recent discussion. In Vaeakau-Taumako, as in many languages, grammatical and phonological criteria for wordhood do not always coincide. Possibly as a result of this, there is an enormous amount of variation in the word divisions made by Vaeakau-Taumako speakers when writing their language.

Grammatical words are single meaningful units which may be moved around in the clause independently of other words, and which may not be interrupted by other material. Phonological words in Vaeakau-Taumako are defined mainly by stress; a phonological word has at least one main stress, which falls on the penultimate syllable if there are at least two syllables, and if the final vowel is short (cf. 2.2 above).

Articles, tense-aspect-mood particles, and bound pronouns are grammatical words, but not phonological words, as they do not have independent stress; accordingly, they are analyzed as clitics. The bound pronouns are considered clitics rather than affixes because they are not obligatory, and because they alternate with corresponding independent forms (Zwicky 1977: 3–4). Most prepositions are also clitics, though the disyllabic forms *kite*, *ite*, *kie*, *ie* of the spatial prepositions *i* and *ki*, as well as *mai* ‘from’, take stress on the initial syllable and must be considered independent words. Combinations of clitics may together form phonological words, e.g. a clitic pronoun plus tense-aspect-mood particle (*ko=ko* ‘2SG=INCP’, *lhau=e* ‘3DU=GENR’) or preposition plus article (*o=te* ‘POSS=SG.SP’, *ki=a* ‘to=PERS’).

In general, we indicate both phonological and grammatical word boundaries in writing, meaning that clitics such as articles and prepositions are written as separate words. However, we write the combination of clitic subject pronoun plus tense-aspect-mood particle as one word, because the subject clitics can only appear in combination with tense-aspect-mood markers; thus we consider them to be more tightly bound to their hosts than prepositions or articles, which can cliticize to a variety of different items. We also write the combination of article plus demonstrative (*tenē*, *tenā* etc.) as a single word; partly because this is the tradition in the orthography of Polynesian languages in general, and partly because the article in these forms can be phonetically reduced (*tna*, *tne*, *tla*) in a way that it cannot outside of this combination. Furthermore, we write as a single word those cases of verb serialization where one of the elements cannot occur on its own, e.g. *avange* (*av-ange*) ‘give-go.along’, *kāmai* (*kā-mai*) ‘bring-come’. We similarly write as one word compounds where one element lacks independent word status, e.g. *meitaine* ‘girl’, cf. *memei* ‘small’, *taine* ‘daughter of woman, virgin’.

In the examples in this grammar, the first line, in italics, represents a semi-phonetic transcription, using the orthographic principles presented in Table 6, but including the kinds of variation, contractions etc. described in this chapter, e.g. writing *r* for the cases where intervocalic /t/ is realized as [r], and indicating emphatic vowel lengthening. The second line represents a standardized phonemic transcription and is segmented into morphemes recognizing the following types of morpheme break: affix (-), clitic (=), and reduplicated syllable(s) (~). The third line contains morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, while the final line gives a free English translation.

## Chapter 3

### Word classes

#### 3.1. Introduction

Word classes are defined through their morphological characteristics and their syntactic distribution, often in combination with semantic heuristics (e.g. “nouns” typically refer to “entities”). The assumption underlying such definitions, namely that there is a one-to-one relationship between morphological categories and lexical classes (e.g. “tense” morphology applies to all and only “verbs”) is clearly an idealization, and in most languages a detailed examination of distributional properties is likely to lead to an almost infinite number of sub-classes. Nevertheless, it is clear that a number of distinctions can be drawn which are central to the organization of the grammar and lexicon of a given language.

The fact that a typical characteristic of Polynesian languages is the ability of lexical items to occur in both “nominal” and “verbal” contexts represents an additional problem. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992: 77) suggest for Samoan that there is no strictly lexical distinction between noun and verbs; rather, lexical words receive the status of noun or verb through their occurrence in nominal or verbal phrases. (This analysis, however, is rejected for the closely related language Tokelauan by Vonen 1997.)

Though no statistical count has been made, Vaeakau-Taumako lexemes seem rather less prone to “double” distributions in both nominal and verbal contexts; most lexical words have a predominant use either as a noun or a verb, according to the criteria given below, even if they do occasionally appear in both types of phrases. Consequently, we will classify lexemes as nouns or verbs based on this predominant distribution (cf. Næss 2000a: 12, 2004b: 226–227).

Vaeakau-Taumako has two major, open lexical classes: nouns and verbs. These may be further grouped into several subclasses: nouns divide into common nouns, temporal nouns, locational nouns, and mensural nouns (3.2); whereas verbs are subject to fairly subtle distinctions in transitivity (3.3). Closed classes include adverbs, adjectives, prepositions, conjunctions, and various types of particles.

### 3.2. Nouns

Nouns function as the heads of noun phrases; they occur with articles (3.9, 7.3.2), and may take possessive marking (5.2.2, 6.2.2). We may distinguish on distributional grounds between common nouns (3.2.1), temporal nouns (3.2.2), local nouns (3.2.3), and mensural nouns (3.2.4).

#### 3.2.1. Common nouns

Common nouns occur with articles marking specificity and number, e.g. *te* ‘singular specific’, *e* ‘singular nonspecific’ or *nga* ‘plural specific’ (cf. 7.3.2). They do not generally take the personal marker *a* (cf. 7.3.1).

- (1) a. *te tanga oku*  
       te       tanga o-ku  
       SG.SP basket POSS-1SG.POSS  
       ‘my basket’
- b. *e hahine kē*  
       e           hahine   kē  
       SG.NSP woman   different  
       ‘another/a different woman’
- c. *nga tai o mua ne*  
       nga tai   o       mua ne  
       PL.SP person POSS place DEM.1  
       ‘the people from this place’

The class of common nouns is an open one, and by far the largest of the subclasses of nouns. New or borrowed items will generally fall into this class, although it is not inconceivable that a new item with the appropriate semantics might be treated e.g. as a temporal noun (3.2.2).

#### 3.2.2. Temporal nouns

Temporal nouns are characterized by being able to form the nucleus of an adverbial phrase on their own, without articles or modifiers. They are distinct from temporal adverbs, however, in that they may also occur with articles and quantifiers, thus showing clear nominal behaviour:

- (2) a. *Huahiahi lhako kaikai.*  
 huahiahi lha=ko kai~kai  
 evening 3DU=INCP RED~eat  
 ‘In the evening the two of them ate.’
- b. *thai huahiahi*  
 thai huahiahi  
 one evening  
 ‘one evening’
- c. *a huahiahi osi na*  
 a huahiahi osi na  
 COLL evening finish DEM.2  
 ‘every evening’

In our corpus, the following nouns pattern in this way: *ahiahi* ‘evening’, *huahiahi* ‘evening’, *hualalathea* ‘afternoon’, *huamalamake* ‘early morning, dawn’, *malamake* ‘morning’, *nailane* ‘now, today, the present’, *thaiiao* ‘morning, tomorrow’. See also 11.4.3 on temporal adverbs.

A sub-class of temporal nouns require the oblique pro-form *ai* (cf. 5.2.3) following the verb of the clause in which they occur; these include *mgavaheha* ‘a long time ago’ (cf. *makavā* n. ‘time’) as well as *mui* ‘place’ when used with the meaning ‘until’ to introduce temporal clauses (14.4.2.5).

- (3) a. *A memea maua mgavaheha ne lavaki ai.*  
 a memea a maua makava-hea  
 COLL child POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS time-where  
 ne lavaki ai  
 PFV disappear OBL.PRO  
 ‘Our children disappeared a long time ago.’
- b. *Ko nohonoho na, mui ko tele ai.*  
 ko noho~noho na mui ko  
 INCP RED~stay DEM.2 place INCP  
 tele ai  
 run OBL.PRO  
 ‘He stayed a long time, and at last he left.’

### 3.2.3. Local nouns

Local nouns occur in prepositional phrases with the spatial prepositions *i* and *ki* without an intervening article; this distinguishes them from common nouns which require an article. Some nouns have a double function as common nouns and as local nouns; the nouns in the “Topography” group are typically

more commonly used as local nouns, whereas the “Village/Home sphere” terms are more commonly found as common nouns, but do have local uses. The “Distance” terms mainly function as intransitive verbs, but have a secondary use as local nouns.

Local nouns cluster into a number of rough semantic classes:

**Relative position:**

*lalo* ‘under, west’  
*lunga* ‘over, above, top of, east’  
*loto* ‘inside’  
*vaho* ‘outside’  
*mua* ‘in front of’  
*muli* ‘back, behind’  
*tua* ‘back, behind’ (also cn)  
*taha* ‘side, beside’ (also cn)  
*lothonuthonu* ‘midway between’  
*tukupotu* ‘outside, wall’ (also cn)

**Topography:**

*nghauta* ‘shore, village; inland from sea’ (also cn)  
*vanghauta* ‘inland’  
*mouku* ‘bush; inland from beach’ (also cn)  
*thangamouku* ‘bush’  
*thaupē* ‘lagoon’ (also cn)  
*veveithaupē* ‘beach, tidal zone’  
*moana* ‘ocean, sea beyond reef’ (also cn)  
*lauone* ‘sand, shore’  
*tuaone* ‘sandbank, sand’ (also cn)  
*nhohenua* ‘mainland’  
*velangi* ‘sky’ (also cn)

**Village/home sphere:**

*hale* ‘house’ (also cn)  
*thaunga* ‘house’ (also cn)  
*mala* ‘garden, plantation’ (also cn)  
*malae* ‘dancing circle’ (also cn)  
*thuluaua* ‘area surrounding the walls of a house, where the rainwater from the roof drips down’  
*makavā, mgavā* ‘passage’ (also an intransitive verb meaning ‘split, open’)

**Distance:***leuethaki* ‘close’ (also vi)*mao* ‘far’ (also vi)**Interrogatives:***hea* ‘where’ (also found with SG.SP *te*, but takes no other articles)*hekai* ‘where’ (also found with SG.SP *te*, but takes no other articles)*nehea* ‘where’**Terms for ‘place’, ‘area’:***hai* ‘place’*mui* ‘place’*mua* ‘place’*mangā* ‘place’

A large number of forms are based on *mua* or *mangā* in combination with demonstratives or other particles: *muane* or *manei* ‘here, this place’, *muana* ‘there’, *muala* ‘there’, *muahea* ‘where’, *mutne* ‘here’ (*mua-tenē*), *mangai* ‘place, small place’, *mangane* ‘here, this place’, *mngona* ‘his home, his place’ (probably *manga-ona*).

A few nouns have a similar distribution to the local nouns, but have temporal rather than local semantics. *langi* ‘day’, though normally occurring with an article or quantifier (4a), may take a preposition with no intervening article:

- (4) a. *i thai langi na*  
 i      thai    langi    na  
 LDA one    day    DEM.2  
 ‘the next day’
- b. *I langi ne taka o toa a hatu ia a laumea.*  
 i      langi    ne      tha=ka      o      to-a  
 LDA day    DEM.1    1DU.INCL=FUT go.PL take-TR  
 a      hatu    ia      a      laumea  
 COLL stone CONJ COLL leaf  
 ‘Today we (du.) will go and take stones and leaves.’

*Henua* ‘land’ may similarly take a preposition directly with no intervening article, but only in the collocations *henua pō* ‘night’, *henua ahiahi* ‘evening’, *henua ao* ‘dawn’:

- (5) a. *te henua o latou*  
 te henua o latou  
 SG.SP land POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘their land’
- b. *Lhaune thae mai i henua pō loa.*  
 lhau=ne thae mai i henua pō loa  
 3DU=PFV reach come LOC land night EMPH  
 ‘The two of them arrived at night.’

### 3.2.4. Mensural nouns

Mensural nouns describe amounts or measures, and are characterized by always occurring in construction with another noun. They are nevertheless nominal in nature, and though they may be said to refer to quantities, they are distinct from quantifiers (cf. 3.10 below): mensural nouns form compound nominals of which they are the heads, and they may themselves cooccur with articles or quantifiers such as *thai* ‘a, one’ or *lua* ‘two’: *lua aoa manga* ‘(a pair of) twins’, *thai kutulanga hahine* ‘a group of women’, *thai lolo niu* ‘a bunch of coconuts’, *thai nga luoko* ‘a group of dolphins’. Mensural nouns in our data include *aoa* ‘pair’, *daunga* ‘bundle of fruit’, *huatupulanga* ‘heap, pile’, *kutulanga* ‘group, gathering’ (also a common noun meaning ‘meeting’), *lolo* ‘bunch’, *nga* ‘group’, *ū* ‘bundle’.

### 3.2.5. A class of “personal nouns”?

In Māori, a distinct class of “personal nouns” is recognized, defined as those nouns which take the “personal article” *a* when used as subjects and following certain prepositions (Bauer 1993: 262). As described in 7.3.1, the morpheme we call the personal marker in Vaeakau-Taumako shows many similarities to the Māori personal article, raising the question of whether a class of personal nouns should be assumed for Vaeakau-Taumako as well.

Certainly, the set of items which most frequently occur with the personal marker can be defined in broad terms similar to the characteristics of Māori personal nouns: personal pronouns, proper names, and many kinship terms typically occur with the personal marker rather than with an article. However, two factors make it difficult to delineate a distinct class of personal nouns in Vaeakau-Taumako. Firstly, although the personal marker is vastly more frequent with certain lexemes than with others, it is never obligatory, meaning that we cannot establish a class of items which *always* take the marker under specifiable circumstances. Secondly, the marker may, in principle, be used on almost any noun, under certain conditions related to properties such as topicality, referentiality, and pragmatic salience (cf. 7.3.1). Together, these two



points mean that a class of personal nouns in Vaeakau-Taumako would have to be defined statistically, as including those forms which *most frequently* appear with the personal marker. However, there is no principled way of delimiting such a category, i.e. of determining when an item takes the marker frequently enough to be included in the class. Consequently, we have chosen not to assume a distinct class of personal nouns for Vaeakau-Taumako, although we recognize that there are clear differences in the distribution of nouns with respect to the personal marker *a*.

### 3.3. Verbs

Verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako function as predicates taking one or more arguments. They occur with tense-aspect-mood particles (3.16.1 and chapter 12). While verbs may occur with the singular specific article *te* to form nominalized clauses (7.5), they cannot take any other articles, and they differ from nouns in that the latter cannot occur with tense-aspect-mood particles.

There is no bound inflectional morphology which applies to all verbs. Some verbs are pluralized by reduplication, or by the unproductive affixes *la-*, *ve-*, *hua-*, or *he-...-aki* (cf. chapter 8). A few verbs have suppletive plurals: *hano* ~ *ō* ‘go SG ~ PL’, *lele* ~ *halei* ‘fly, jump SG ~ PL’, *vetheki* ~ *hulo* ‘run SG ~ PL’, *valo* ~ *haloki* ‘call SG ~ PL’, *emo* ~ *meu/huameu* ‘fall SG ~ PL’. There are no distinct dual forms of verbs; the plural forms, where they exist, are used with both dual and plural subjects.

The main subdivision in the verb class is between intransitive (3.3.1) and transitive (3.3.4), defined by morphological and syntactic properties: the presence vs. absence of transitive suffixes, the 3rd person singular suffix *-i*, and a direct-object noun phrase. A third category is in a sense intermediate between transitive and intransitive in that it lacks transitive morphology, but does occur with a noun referring to a patientive participant; these will be called semi-transitives (3.3.3). There are also “extended” intransitive and transitive verbs, which take an oblique-marked participant in addition to the core argument(s) (3.3.2 and 3.3.5), and verbs which take clausal complements (3.3.6).

#### 3.3.1. Intransitive verbs

##### 3.3.1.1. Stative intransitive verbs

Stative verbs are those referring to states rather than activities, e.g. *efa* ‘be big’, *mea* ‘be red’, *maha* ‘be heavy’. Stative verbs are distinguished from active verbs by the following distributional criteria:

- they do not take the prescriptive particle *me* (cf. 12.4.3);
- they do not occur with the prohibitive marker *auā* (cf. 16.2.1.1);
- when causativized, they form adverbs or intransitive verbs, never semi-transitives (though it is in some cases possible to form a causative transitive through the addition of a transitive suffix, e.g. *ali* ‘be visible’ – *hualia* ‘show’); *efa* (vi) ‘be big’ – *huaefa* (vi) ‘grow big’; *mā* (vi) ‘shameful, shy’ – *huamā* (vi) ‘be ashamed, do something shameful’, *lavoi* (vi) ‘good’ – *hualavoi* (adv) ‘slowly, carefully’. Causativization of numerals (3.3.1.3) produces forms meaning ‘do for the Xth time’.

### 3.3.1.2. Stative verbs denoting properties

Property concepts, expressed in many languages as a separate lexical class of adjectives, are mostly expressed in Vaeakau-Taumako by stative verbs. Some examples are *efa* ‘be big’, *likiliki* ‘be small’, *maha* ‘be heavy’, *kila* ‘be black’.

Used as attributive modifiers to nouns, property verbs may occur without tense-aspect-mood marking. This distinguishes them from the other main class of stative verbs, numerals (cf. 3.3.1.3), which require tense-aspect-mood marking in all instances. However, the ability to directly modify a noun without tense-aspect-mood marking is not exclusive to stative property verbs; it is also a possibility with active verbs, though much less frequent (cf. 7.4.1).

- (6) *Laruko kelia te umu efa la.* (NUP)  
 lhatu=ko kali-a te umu efa la  
 3PL=INCP dig-TR SG.SP earth.oven big DEM.3  
 ‘They dug a big earth oven.’

- (7) *hai hahine lavoi*  
 thai hahine lavoi  
 one woman good  
 ‘a beautiful woman’

In predicative constructions, property verbs behave like other verbs and may in principle take any tense-aspect-mood marker, though they are most frequent with general *e*:

- (8) a. *Te lepū ko longo oki, na leo e lavoi.*  
 te lepū ko longo oki na leo e lavoi  
 SG.SP rat INCP sing again 3SG.POSS voice GENR good  
 ‘The rat sang too, his voice was good.’

- b. *O lu sino ka lavo'i oki.* (NUP)  
 o lu sino ka lavo'i oki  
 POSS 2DU.POSS body FUT good again  
 'Your bodies will be healed (lit. will be good again).'
- c. *Siai loa la ne lavo'i oki.* (NUP)  
 siai loa la ne lavo'i oki  
 NEG EMPH DEM.3 PFV good again  
 'It was never good again.'

To form comparative expressions with stative verbs, the directional verbs *ange* 'go along' or, occasionally, *ake* 'go up' are used, sometimes in combination with reduplication of the stative verb:

- (9) a. *Hiai e tau atu mui po e tutuabe ange.*  
 siai e tau atu mui po e tu~tuabe ange  
 NEG GENR arrive go.out place COMP GENR RED~big go.along  
 'No, let us go to a bigger place.'
- b. *Na ne tuabe ake oki na, a hinana koi kaveange ki hai kumete poi tuabe ange oki.* (TAU)  
 na ne tuabe ake oki na  
 DEM.2 PFV big go.up again DEM.2  
 a hina-na ko-i kave-a ange  
 PERS mother-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG bring-TR go.along  
 ki thai kumete poi tuabe ange oki  
 to one bowl little big go.along again  
 'When (the eel) grew bigger, her mother moved it to an even bigger bowl.'

There is no specific superlative construction, though the emphatic particle *loa* (11.3.7) may be used to convey this function, i.e. 'the really big one' = 'the biggest':

- (10) a. *Uka avatu na ko te ika efa loa mau.* (NUP)  
 u=ka av-atu na ko te ika efa loa  
 1SG=FUT give-go.out DEM.2 TOP SG.SP fish big EMPH  
 m-a-u  
 BEN-POSS-2SG.POSS  
 'I will give the biggest fish to you.'
- b. *te thokalaua e kiko loa*  
 te thoka a laua e kiko loa  
 SG.SP same.sex.sibling POSS 3DU.POSS GENR small EMPH  
 'their smallest brother'

3.3.1.3. *Numerals*

Numerals in Vaeakau-Taumako are verbal and take tense-aspect-mood marking. They are characterized by being able to take the classifying prefixes *toka-* ‘human’ and *tau-* ‘general’ and the distributive prefix *taki-* (8.2.8). The numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows:

<i>tahi</i>	1
<i>lua</i>	2
<i>tolu</i>	3
<i>hā/fā</i>	4
<i>lima</i>	5
<i>ono</i>	6
<i>hitu</i>	7
<i>valu</i>	8
<i>iva</i>	9
<i>katoa</i>	10

A special term, *nongohulu*, exists for ‘ten humans’. This is an exceptional numeral because it may function either as a noun or a verb: *te nongohulu* ‘a group of ten people’, *lhatou e nongohulu* ‘they are ten’. The form *tokokato*, with the ‘human’ classifier *toko-* added to *katoa* ‘ten’ is also common.

20 is *katoa/gatoa e lua*, 30 *katoa/gatoa e tolu*, etc. Numbers between whole units of ten are constructed with *duma*: *katoa e lua duma e lima* ‘twenty-five’, *katoa e fā duma e ono* ‘forty-six’, etc. The form *duma* is rendered as *na tuma* ‘its ones’ by Ray (1920: 86); note that initial *t* in certain words tends to become *d* after a 3SG pronominal possessive, cf. 2.4.3.1. Similarly, the common form *gatoa* of *katoa* ‘ten’ in complex numerals may originate in *na katoa* ‘its tens’.

For the numerals from 11 to 19 the enumeration of tens is usually dropped, so that 11 is *duma e tahi*, 12 is *duma e lua*, etc. 100 is *vehiki*; 1000 is *tupuan-gahulu*. No larger numerals have been reliably attested.

Vaeakau-Taumako numerals are fully verbal and may in principle combine with any tense-aspect-mood particle, though they are most frequent with *e* ‘general’:

- (11) a. *A loma e tolu ne omai na.*  
 a loma e tolu ne ̄ mai na  
 COLL wave GENR three PFV go.PL come DEM.2  
 ‘Three waves came.’
- b. *Pepenange a loku ma maua ke lua ia ni ngau ke pele la.*  
 pe-pena ange a loku ma maua  
 RED~prepare go.along COLL bow BEN 1DU.EXCL.POSS  
 ke lua ia ni ngau ke pele la  
 HORT two CONJ PL.NSP arrow HORT many DEM.3  
 ‘Make us two bows and many arrows.’
- c. *Koi toa te ngata la koi hutuliange loa na lima ko lua loa.*  
 ko-i to-a te ngata na  
 INCP-3SG take-TR SG.SP snake DEM.2  
 ko-i hua-thū-lia ange loa na lima  
 INCP-3SG CAUS-stand-TR go.along EMPH3SG.POSS hand  
 ko lua loa  
 INCP two EMPH  
 ‘The snake had given her back her two hands (a woman who had had one hand cut off).’
- d. *Ne laka a ngarae ne lua na, ioko a nohine ana ko hai tama.*  
 ne laka a ngatae ne lua na  
 PFV pass COLL year PFV two DEM.2  
 ioko a nohine a-na ko hai tama  
 CONJ PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS INCP do child  
 ‘After two years his wife became pregnant.’

There does not appear to be a distinct form for ordinal numerals, except for *huamua* ‘first’, from *mua* ‘front’, and special forms indicating birth order within a family (*muange* ‘be the firstborn’, *thaoange* ‘be the second child’). Otherwise, ordinal constructions are formed by what appears to be relative clauses with the irrealis marker *na* (‘the one which is three’):

- (12) *A fatu na fā ne lau ite ia na koi vasia loa na lima tovale,*  
 a fatu na fā ne lau ite ia na  
 COLL stone IRR four PFV reach LDA 3SG DEM.2  
 ko-i vasi-a loa na lima tōvale  
 INCP-3SG break-TR EMPH 3SG.POSS hand left  
 ‘The fourth stone hit her and broke her left arm.’

*ia fatu na lima ne lau ite ia na koi tamatea loa a ia.* (NUP)  
 ia fatu na lima ne lau ite ia na  
 CONJ stone IRR five PFV reach LDA 3SG DEM.2  
 ko-i ta-mate-a loa a ia  
 INCP-3SG hit-die-TR EMPHPERS 3SG  
 ‘and the fifth stone hit her and killed her.’

The head of the relative construction may be omitted, giving the reading ‘the third one’ etc. In such constructions the sequence *na* + numeral may be directly preceded by a preposition, a distribution not normally found with tense-aspect-mood particles, though the use of what is probably the preposition *i* to introduce temporal adverbial clauses (14.4.2.4) shows a similar pattern. A possible alternative analysis would be that *na* in these constructions is not the irrealis particle, but the 3SG pronominal possessive pronoun. This, however, assumes a nominal behaviour of numerals which is not found in most other contexts. Numerals cannot appear with articles or other morphology characteristic of nouns; though the analysis of the forms *gatoa* and *duma* as possibly originating from *na katoa* and *na tuma*, cf. above, seems to indicate that numerals may in certain contexts take a 3SG possessive marker. Cf. 14.2.4 for another construction where identifying the form *na* as either the irrealis marker or the 3SG possessive pronoun is problematic.

- (13) *Te holinga nei ne hai ange ki na tolu ko sae oho ai ki na tauiva*  
 te holinga nei ne hai ange ki na tolu  
 SG.SP activity DEM.1 PFV do go.along to IRR/3SG.POSS three  
 ko thae oho ai ki na tau-iva  
 INCP reach go.vertically OBL.PRO to IRR/3SG.POSS CLASS-nine  
 ‘The same thing happened to the third [brother] and all the way to the ninth.’

*ko ia hiai na ko na tokokharo hai ne mulimulinoko.* (TAU)  
 ko ia siai na ko na toko-khato  
 TOP 3SG NEG DEM.2 TOP IRR/3SG.POSS CLASS-ten  
 thai ne mulimulinoko  
 one PFV last.born  
 ‘but not the tenth, the last one.’

Causativization of numerals produces forms meaning ‘do for the second time’, ‘do for the third time’ etc. (again, the term for ‘first time’ is *huamua/hokomua*; *huatahi*, the causative form of *tahi* ‘one’, means ‘together’):

- (14) *Ko te vasiāleo la ko valoki na fka lua ia na fkatolu.* (NUP)  
 ko te vasi-a-leo la ko valo oki  
 TOP SG.SP break-TR-voice DEM.3 INCP call again  
 na fka-lua ia na fka-tolu  
 IRR CAUS-two CONJ IRR CAUS-tree  
 ‘The voice called again a second time, and a third time.’

Distributive numerals (‘one by one’ etc.) are formed by the prefix *taki-*:

- (15) *Lhatou ko ahioki takitahi oki.*  
 lhatou ko ahio oki taki-tahi oki  
 3PL INCP return again DIST-one again  
 ‘They came again, one by one.’

### 3.3.1.4. Active intransitive verbs

Active intransitive verbs differ from stative intransitives in taking the full range of tense-aspect-mood particles, including prescriptive *me*, and in occurring with the prohibitive marker *auā*.

- (16) a. *Me lemai ki nghauta.*  
 me le-mai ki nghauta  
 PRSC go-come to shore<sup>22</sup>  
 ‘Please come to the village.’
- b. *Auā holua e ilange i ngha tai no hakeke na.* (TAU)  
 auā khoulua e ila ange i ngha tai  
 PROH 2DU GENR look go.along LDA PL.SP person  
 no hua-eke~eke na  
 IPFV CAUS-RED~surf DEM.2  
 ‘Do not look at the people who are surfing there.’

In principle, causativized active intransitives, without an additional transitive suffix, should be expected to form semi-transitive verbs (cf. 3.3.3). In practice, only a few examples of such causative semi-transitives occur in our data (see also 8.2.1.2):

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<sup>22</sup> The local noun *nghauta* refers to the shore as opposed to the sea, or to direction inland, i.e. the direction of the village when coming from the lagoon or the beach.

- (17) *Thai langi na ko a tangata katoa latou vakhona ika i a kupenga o latou.* (NUP)  
 thai langi na ko a tangata katoa  
 one day DEM.2 TOP COLL man all  
 lhatu=ko va-khona ika i a kupenga o latou  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-be.caught fish LOC COLL net POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘One day, all the boys were catching fish with their nets.’

Much more common are either intransitive causatives formed from active intransitives, as in (18a–b), or transitive causatives which include a transitive suffix, and where the corresponding semi-transitive is not attested:

- (18) a. *huahano* ‘expand’ (vi) from *hano* ‘go’ (vi):  
*Te hau ko huahano.*  
 te hau ko hua-hano  
 SG.SP rope INCP CAUS-go.SG  
 ‘The rope expanded.’
- b. *huatakoto* ‘leave traces’ (vi), from *takoto* ‘lie’ (vi):  
*Ona takapavae e huatakoto i te one.*  
 o-na takapavae e hua-takoto i te one  
 POSS-3SG.POSS footprint GENR CAUS-lie LDA SG.SP sand  
 ‘His footprints are showing in the sand.’
- c. *huatangia* ‘cause to make sound; blow a conch shell’ (vt), from *tangi* ‘cry’ (vi):  
*Te aliki la ko thū mai na, koi huatangia te kalea.*  
 te aliki la ko thū mai na  
 SG.SP chief DEM.3 INCP stand come DEM.2  
 ko-i hua-tangi-a te kalea  
 INCP-3SG CAUS-cry-TR SG.SP conch  
 ‘The chief stood up and blew the conch shell.’

### 3.3.1.5. *Directional verbs*

As described in detail in 5.4.1, the Vaeakau-Taumako directional morphemes *mai* ‘come’, *atu* ‘go out’, *ange* ‘go along’, *ake* ‘go up’, *iho* ‘go down’, and *oho* ‘go vertically, up or down’ behave formally like verbs. They may occur as independent predicates, though they are most frequently found serialized to another verb; their distribution in the verb phrase, preceding any verb phrase-internal adverbs, is characteristic of serialized verbs rather than of adverbs or modifying particles (9.3.5). Directional verbs differ from other intransitive verbs in that they cannot be causativized and do not take the transitive suffix *-ina* when serialized to a transitive verb (9.3.4).



## 3.3.2. Extended intransitive verbs

A few verbs require an oblique complement in the form of a prepositional phrase with *i* ‘LDA’ or *ki* ‘to’. Following the terminology of Dixon (1994: 122–123), such verbs will be called *extended intransitive verbs*.

- (19) a. *Ko kilatou ko kutea ake a tai noko simoki i a paipi i te popoulinga.* (NUP)  
 ko kilatou ko kute-a ake a tai noko simoki  
 TOP 3PL INCP see-TR go.up COLL person IPFV smoke  
 i a paipi i te po~pouli-nga  
 LDA COLL pipe LDA SG.SP RED~dark-NMLZ  
 ‘They saw people smoking pipes in the dark.’
- b. *E tai no sili i te bolo.*  
 e tai no sili i te bolo  
 SG.NSP person IPFV throw LDA SG.SP ball  
 ‘A person is throwing a ball.’

The use of *i* vs. *ki* to mark complements of extended transitive verbs is discussed in 10.6.2.

## 3.3.3. Semi-transitive verbs

Vaeakau-Taumako has a set of verbs which are formally intransitive in that they do not take transitive suffixes (3.3.4 and 8.2.2) and do not trigger the 3SG *-i* suffix on their tense-aspect-mood markers (12.5); nevertheless, they occur with what appears to be an object noun. Such verbs are typically used to refer to repeated, generic, or habitual events, and the object noun is typically nonreferential, or at least low in individuation. Compare semi-transitive (20a) with fully transitive (20b):

- (20) a. *Ko noho ne fana ika i thaupē na.* (TAU)  
 ko noho ne fana ika i thaupē na  
 INCP stay PFV shoot fish LDA lagoon DEM.2  
 ‘He was shooting fish in the lagoon.’
- b. (*Ko ia ne ıla atu na ko te kovā ne tū i te mui o na thokana la.*)  
 (He saw a heron standing on his brother’s grave,)  
*e, koi fanaia.* (TAU)  
 ē ko-i fana-ia  
 yes INCP-3SG shoot-TR  
 ‘so he shot it.’

Similar structures are common in Oceanic languages, and have been described in a variety of ways. The term “semi-transitive” was introduced by Sugita (1973) in a description of the Micronesian languages Chuukese, Pohnpeian, Kosraean, and Marshallese, to describe a class of verbs which appear to be formally intransitive, but occur with object nouns. Sugita notes that a semi-transitive structure is not necessarily equivalent to object incorporation, a term which is often employed for superficially similar constructions. A strict definition of incorporation considers the verb plus incorporated noun to form a single phonological and grammatical word. Mithun (1986: 32) defines noun incorporation as a process whereby “a noun stem is compounded with a verb stem to yield a more specific, derived verb stem”. Miner (1986) distinguishes between *incorporation*, where the incorporated constituent “becomes phonologically part of the verb, by whatever criteria for this the language in question provides” (Miner 1986: 244), *loose incorporation*, where the incorporated constituent becomes part of the verb by some criteria, but not by others; and *noun stripping*, whereby constituents – typically direct objects – “are rendered indefinite – modifiers, determiners, number affixes, etc. are ‘stripped’ away – and enter into closely-knit units with their verbs, but stop short of actually being incorporated” (Miner 1986: 243).

In understanding the behaviour of semi-transitive verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako, it is essential to distinguish between verbal lexemes on the one hand, and a verb-phrase nucleus on the other. Objects of semi-transitive verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako can be shown to be incorporated into the verb-phrase nucleus (cf. 9.3.3), but not necessarily into the verb as a lexical entity; as described in 9.3, verb-phrase nuclei can include a number of elements other than the verb itself. Thus the verb plus object constitutes a grammatical unit, but not necessarily a phonological one; the formal relationship is similar to that holding between the verbs in a nuclear-layer serial verb construction (9.3.4, 15.2). This might be considered a case of “loose incorporation” in Miner’s terms.

As far as phonological criteria are concerned, some combinations appear to show a tighter phonological cohesion than others. Most cases of semi-transitive verb+object take an individual main stress on each word, and so clearly form two distinct phonological words. However, a number of combinations typically show a single main stress and so appear to constitute a single phonological word, e.g. *phiki lima* [p<sup>h</sup>iki'lima] ‘shake hands’, *vuhi ika* [vu'hika] ‘fish with a line (lit. pull fish)’. This appears to indicate a tendency towards the lexicalization of certain highly frequent combinations, to the point where they may perhaps be analyzed as involving genuine object incorporation, in the sense of a single verbal lexeme (*phikilima*, *vuhika*) which has an object noun incorporated into its morphological structure. This is further

supported by the fact that *phiki lima* can be causativized as a whole, with a causative prefix preceding the sequence and a transitive suffix following it:

- (21) *Lhatu ko huaphikilimana ange lhaua la.*  
 lhatu=ko hua-phiki-lima-na ange lhaua la  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-hold-hand-TR go.along 3DU DEM.3  
 ‘They made the two shake hands.’

Margetts (2008) argues for a distinction between incorporation and what she calls transitivity discord. The term “discord” builds on the assumption that transitivity, as a structural property, can be defined independently on the level of the verb and on the level of the clause. When verbal morphology indicates that a verb is intransitive, but the clause shows an overt object noun, there is discord in transitivity status between the verbal and clausal levels. Objects of such discord clauses, Margetts argues, “are syntactically independent, constitute noun phrases, and can be modified in various ways” (Margetts 2008: 42). Not all types of modifiers are permitted; Margetts suggests that modifiers that promote the individuation of the object noun, such as numerals, singular-marked modifiers, or determiners indicating definiteness or specificity, are less likely to be acceptable, while e.g. possessive morphemes or plural lexical modifiers should be compatible with discord objects.

Examples of semi-transitive objects with modifiers are rare but not completely absent from our material. In general, a modified object, even if it is nonreferential, will appear with a fully transitive verb, suggesting that modifying semi-transitive objects may be problematic:

- (22) a. *Kō loa tutuhia lakau e laloa ala.* (NUP)  
 ko ō loa tu~tuhi-a lakau e laloa ala  
 INCP go.PL EMPHRED~cut-TR tree GENR long.PL HYP  
 ‘(They) went to cut long sticks.’
- b. *Atiao, malamake na, ko hano tuhia ni tupu ike ke lua.* (TAU)  
 atiao malamake na ko hano tuhia  
 tomorrow morning DEM.2 2SG.HORT go.SG cut-TR  
 ni tupu ike ke lua  
 PL.NSP shoot tree.sp HORT two  
 ‘Tomorrow morning you must go and cut two big *ike*-trees.’

However, examples like (23) are occasionally encountered:

(23) *Lhaua ne khai kahika e laefa e leu na.*

lhaua ne ka~kai kahika e la-efa e leu na  
 3DU PFV RED~eat Malay.apple GENRPL-bigGENRripe DEM.2  
 ‘They ate apples which were big and ripe.’

The most common modifiers found with objects of semi-transitive verbs are benefactive phrases, but these could be analyzed as modifying the verb phrase rather than just the semi-transitive object, i.e. ‘[catch fish] for us’ rather than ‘catch [fish for us]’. As noted in 10.4, the use of benefactive phrases as adjuncts to verbs is particularly common with verbs referring to the acquisition of food, and it is with such verbs that we typically find benefactive phrases following semi-transitive objects:

(24) a. *Atiao malamake saeao ko alahake ko ua la o vuhi ika maraua.*

atiao malamake thaeao ko alah-ake ko  
 tomorrow morning dawn 2SG.HORT wake-go.up 2SG.HORT  
 ua la o vuhi ika ma taua  
 paddle DEM.3 to pull fish BEN 1DU.INCL.POSS  
 ‘Tomorrow morning you must get up and paddle to catch fish for us.’

b. *Hano hehē kaikai ma laua.*

hano hehē kaikai ma laua  
 go.SG work.hard food BEN 3DU.POSS  
 ‘Go and find some food for us.’

There are sporadic examples of what appears to be lexical modifiers:

(25) a. *Henga poi nabu ala!* (TAU)

henga poi nabu ala  
 search pig fat HYP  
 ‘Look for fat pigs!’

b. *Au mua o faki niu boho mo tatou ala.*

au mua o faki niu boho mo tatou ala  
 come just to pick coconut young BEN 1PL.INCL.POSS HYP  
 ‘Come and pick some green coconuts for us.’

c. *Latukō ki o popo meme ika ma fafine o Naloko.* (TAU)

lhatu=ko ō ki o pho~pho meme ika  
 3PL=INCP go.PL to to RED~grab baby fish  
 ma a fafine o Naloko  
 with COLL woman POSS Naloko  
 ‘She went to catch small fish with the women from Naloko.’

However, *niu boho* ‘green coconut, drinking coconut’ (25b) is a semi-lexicalized expression, and it is unclear to what extent this actually counts as syntactic modification. *meme ika* in (25c) is an instance of compounding rather than modification. *poi nabu* ‘fat pig’ in (25a), then, appears to be the only clear example of a lexical modifier used with an incorporated object.

There are also a few examples of conjoined nouns functioning as semi-transitive objects. These seem in our corpus largely to be restricted to one highly specific context, namely descriptions of the collecting of the various items needed to bake food in an earth oven:

- (26) *Lakoho lako tō fatu ma fefie ma laumea.* (NUP)  
 lha=ko oho lha=ko tō fatu ma fefie  
 3DU=INCP go.vertically 3DU=INCP take stone CONJ firewood  
 ma laumea  
 CONJ leaf  
 ‘They went and took stones and firewood and leaves.’

The single attested example of a semi-transitive object taking possessive marking is all the more intriguing as it involves the collocation *phiki lima*, a combination which, as noted above, in other contexts shows a high degree of phonological integration:

- (27) *La hahine e tokolua ko hulokatu, ko thū ko phiki o la lima.*  
 la hahine e toko-lua ko hulok-atu  
 DEM.3 woman GENR CLASS-two INCP run.PL-go.out  
 ko thū ko phiki o la lima  
 INCP stand INCP hold POSS 3DU.POSS hand  
 ‘Two women go and shake hands.’

To summarize, the evidence is somewhat inconclusive. It is possible to modify a semi-transitive object, but actual examples are rare. On the other hand, some instances of semi-transitive verb plus object show a high degree of phonological and morphological integration, and appear to come close to object incorporation proper. Possibly these different constructions represent points on a cline of grammaticalization, from discord constructions in the sense of Margetts (2008) at one end to genuine object incorporation at the other. We will use the term “incorporation” in this grammar strictly to refer to the property of Vaeakau-Taumako verb-phrase structure whereby a semi-transitive object is incorporated into the verb-phrase nucleus, with no implications intended as to where on this cline a specific instance of semi-transitive verb plus object is to be located.

## 3.3.4. Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs take the 3SG subject suffix *-i* on their tense-aspect-mood marker (12.5) and occur with a direct object argument. With a very few exceptions, transitive verbs show an overt suffix *-Cia*, *-a*, or *-(i)na*. These suffixes function not just as formal markers for transitivity, but are *transitivizing* in that they may be used to derive transitive verbs from intransitive or semi-transitive verbs; however, there are suffixed transitive verbs which do not appear to have an intransitive or semi-transitive counterpart in current language, indicating a certain degree of lexicalization of the verb+suffix sequence. The form and distribution of the suffixes will be discussed in more detail in 8.2.2.

About a dozen verbs show transitive syntactic behaviour without an apparent transitive suffix. Some of these are bound roots which only occur in nuclear serialization with a directional verb (cf. 5.4.1), while others show what appears to be an accreted oblique pro-form *ai* (cf. 5.2.3); this makes it difficult to determine whether or not the verb root in isolation would show a transitive suffix. This is the case for *au-/av-* ‘give, bring’, where the forms *aumai* ‘bring (to me)’, *avatu* ‘give (to you)’, *avange* ‘give’, *avake* ‘bring up, bring ashore’, *avoho* ‘bring down’ provide no conclusive clues to whether these lexicalized collocations may have originated from a stem with or without a transitive suffix. However, the existence of the form *avakē* ‘put away, remove’ suggests that the original form is *ava* (+ *kē* ‘away’), where the final *-a* could be interpreted as a transitive suffix.

Other transitive verbs which obligatorily combine with a directional verb include *kamai* ‘bring’, *halatu* ‘clean’, *huakake* ‘try to lift’, *neveiangē* ‘flirt with, proposition’ (possibly from *neveia* (vt) ‘do [a job]’), *nhinange* ‘start, switch on’, and *umai* ‘give, bring’. *Sukua/hukua* ‘put, arrange’ occurs in a number of complex, formally transitive forms with no apparent suffix: *sukuai* (and the reduplicated *susukuai*, *sukusukuai*) ‘arrange, put together’; *sukumai* ‘grant (a wish or prayer)’, *sukuifo* ‘put down.’

Another two transitive verbs end in *-ai*: *amuiai/mui* ‘hit’, *hakulai/hukulai* ‘put; decide upon’. As the examples below show, *amuiai/mui* typically (though not obligatorily) occur with a prepositional phrase referring to the instrument of hitting, whereas a location where something is being put is implicit and frequently referred to with *hakulai/hukulai*; it seems plausible that *ai* here originates from the locative-directional pro-form *ai* (5.2.3) referring to the instrumental or locative phrase. Note, however, that in (28b–c) and (29a, c) the verb precedes the instrumental phrase, contrary to the usual distribution of *ai* as an anaphoric form referring back to a preceding phrase:

- (28) a. *Te tai koi pikia te hama, koi amuiai.*  
 te tai ko-i phiki-a te hama  
 SG.SP person INCP-3SG hold-TR SG.SP hammer  
 ko-i amuiai  
 INCP-3SG hit.with  
 ‘A man picked up a hammer and hit (something) with it.’
- b. *Noi amuiai te hinga la i te mahila, koi motia.*  
 no-i amuiai te hinga la i te mahila  
 INCP=3SG hit.with SG.SP thing DEM.3 LDA SG.SP knife  
 ko-i motu-ia  
 INCP-3SG break-TR  
 ‘He hit that thing with a knife and broke it.’
- c. *A iau ne muiai i te lakau na lae.*  
 a iau ne muiai i te lakau na lae  
 PERS 1SG PFV hit.with LDA SG.SP tree 3SG.POSS forehead  
 ‘I hit him on the forehead with the stick.’
- (29) a. *Koi hukulai hai lakau i lalo o te halele o te hale. (TAU)*  
 ko-i hukulai hai lakau i lalo  
 INCP-3SG put one tree LDA under  
 o te halele o te hale  
 POSS SG.SP extension POSS SG.SP house  
 ‘He put a stick under the extension of the house.’
- b. *Hukulai ki lalo!*  
 hukulai ki lalo  
 put to under  
 ‘Put it down!’
- c. *Koi hukulai a buka ana.*  
 ko-i hukulai a buka a-na  
 INCP-3SG put COLL book POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He put down his books.’

*hetakoto* ‘store, place’ is presumably a causative derivation from *takoto* (vi) ‘lie’, but is unusual in that it has no transitive suffix; it nevertheless shows formally transitive behaviour, e.g. the 3SG suffix *-i* on its tense-aspect-mood marker (12.5).

The verbs *blohie* and *molahie* both refer to encouragement or motivation for the performing of a task; *blohie* ‘encourage’ takes the person encouraged as the object, while the object of *molahie* is the task to be performed:

- (30) a. *Te aliki nei bloblohie na nei haia ona anga.*  
 te aliki ne-i blo~blohie na  
 SG.SP chief PFV-3SG RED~encourage DEM.2  
 ne-i hai-a o-na anga  
 PFV-3SG do-TR POSS-3SG.POSS work  
 ‘The chief encouraged him to do the work.’
- b. *A iau e molofie te anga.*  
 a iau e molohie te anga  
 PERS 1SG GENR motivated SG.SP work  
 ‘I am well motivated to do the work.’

Finally, the verb *siaki* ‘throw, split, leave’ has a corresponding attested form *siakina*, but this is said to be obsolete, and *siaki* is used transitively.<sup>23</sup>

- (31) a. *Koi siaki a ia i mua na.*  
 ko-i siaki a ia i mua na  
 INCP-3SG throw PERS 3SG LDA place DEM.2  
 ‘He left him there.’
- b. *A iau ko kavea koi siaki i thaupē.*  
 a iau ko kave-a ko-i siaki i thaupē  
 PERS 1SG INCP bring-TR INCP-3SG throw LDA lagoon  
 ‘I brought it and threw it into the lagoon.’
- c. *Lhatune siaki ai a bisopu na.*  
 lhatu=ne siaki ai a bisopu na  
 3PL=PFV throw OBL.PRO PERS bishop DEM.2  
 ‘They left the bishop there.’

### 3.3.5. Extended transitive verbs

Vaeakau-Taumako does not have ditransitive verbs in the strict sense of verbs with three core arguments. However, a number of verbs take an oblique-marked participant in addition to a direct object noun; these will be called *extended transitive verbs* (Dixon 1994: 120–122).

<sup>23</sup> Donner (1987: 24) includes *tiaki* ‘leave’ among the verbs in Sikaiana which can occur without a *-Cia* suffix even when the verb has a postverbal agent phrase marked with the preposition *e*; in this Outlier language, unlike in Vaeakau-Taumako, the *-Cia* suffix and the postverbal *e*-phrase normally only occur together.



(32) *Lhako nongia ange ki a tai mua na te kila.*

lha=ko          nongi-a   ange   ki a   tai   i   mua   na  
 3DU=INCP   ask-TR   go.along to COLL person LDA   place DEM.2  
 te          kila  
 SG.SP   axe

‘They (two) asked the people of that place for the axe.’

The oblique complement is rarely obligatory, since a directional verb serialized to the verb in question often provides sufficient information concerning the identity of the recipient; only when additional specification is required is an overt oblique complement necessary. Contrast (33a–b):

(33) a. *Hualia mai mua thaunga ona.*

hua-ali-a                  mai   mua   thaunga   o-na  
 CAUS-visible-TR   come just   house   POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Please show me his house.’

b. *Hualia ange te buka ki te huali!*

hua-ali-a                  ange   te   buka   ki te   huali  
 CAUS-visible-TR   go.along SG.SP book to SG.SP teacher  
 ‘Show the book to the teacher!’

Because the oblique complement is not obligatory, it is difficult to distinguish between extended transitive verbs and verbs which take an optional locative complement. Note, however, that locative prepositional phrases and oblique complements do pattern differently under left-dislocation, cf. 13.4.

### 3.3.6. Verbs with clausal complements

A number of verbs do not allow a direct object noun phrase, but may take a complement clause which is either nominalized (7.5, 14.2.2) or marked with the irrealis particle *na* (14.2.3–4). Such verbs are formally intransitive, and in many cases also have simple intransitive uses (34a); in some cases they allow an oblique nominal object either with the preposition *i/ki* (35b, cf. 10.6.2) or with the complementizer *po* (3.13, 14.2.5).

(34) a. *Te ua ko huetū.*

te   ua   ko   hua-thū  
 SG.SP rain   INCP CAUS-stand  
 ‘The rain began.’

- b. *A tai ko huarū oki lhatuna ahio ki o latu kaekaenga.*  
 a tai ko hua-thū oki lhatu=na ahio  
 COLL person INCP CAUS-stand again 3PL=IRR return  
 ki o latu kae~kaenga  
 to POSS 3PL.POSS RED~village<sup>24</sup>  
 ‘People started to go back to their homes.’

- (35) a. *A ia e mae na avanga ne ki Pileni ne.*  
 a ia e mae na avanga ne  
 PERS 3SG GENR refuse 3SG.POSS marry DEM.1  
 ki Pileni ne  
 to Pileni DEM.1  
 ‘He refuses to get married here on Pileni.’

- b. *Koe mae katoa loa i lhatou.*  
 ko=e mae katoa loa i lhatou  
 2SG=GENR refuse all EMPHLDA 3PL  
 ‘You are refusing all of them.’

For more discussion of the kinds of verbs which take complement clauses, see 14.2.

### 3.3.7. Verbs occurring in several syntactic frames

As noted in 13.3.2, it is possible to omit overt syntactic arguments which are retrievable from context, so that e.g. a transitive verb may occur in discourse with zero, one, or two overt argument noun phrases.

- (36) a. *Koi toa.*  
 ko-i to-a  
 INCP-3SG take-TR  
 ‘(He) took (it).’
- b. *Koi toa te pua.*  
 ko-i to-a te pua  
 INCP-3SG take-TR SG.SP betelnut.kernel  
 ‘(He) took the betel nut.’

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<sup>24</sup> The noun *kaenga* refers to a place where people live, and may translate in various contexts as ‘village’, ‘island’, or ‘country’. We have chosen the gloss ‘village’ as this is the translation which is most frequently appropriate in our data.

- c. *A ia koi toa te alo ona.*  
 a ia ko-i to-a te alo o-na  
 PERS 3SG INCP-3SG take-TR SG.SP canoe POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He took his canoe.’

As transitivity status is in most cases overtly marked on a verb through the presence or absence of a transitive suffix, there are few genuinely “labile” or “ambitransitive” verbs, in the sense of verbs alternating between two or more syntactic frames with no apparent expectation that an omitted argument is retrievable from context. However, occasional examples of such verbs do occur, showing several different types of alternation.

#### Intransitive – semi-transitive

The verbs *kai* ‘eat’ and *inu* ‘drink’ are frequent both in an intransitive and a semi-transitive syntactic frame; their use as fully transitive verbs requires the addition of a transitive suffix (*keina* ‘eat.TR’, *inumia* ‘drink.TR’). Such “verbs of consumption” indeed typically show similar types of alternation cross-linguistically (Næss 2007: 54–55, 126–127).

- (37) a. *Ioko ia hiai po no hano kai i nghauta.*  
 ioko ia siai po no hano kai i nghauta  
 CONJ 3SG NEG COMP IPFV go.SG eat LDA shore  
 ‘And he did not come home to eat.’
- b. *Hārou ne hate kai niu ma ika ne.*  
 thatou ne that=e kai  
 1PL.INCL DEM.1 1PL.INCL=GENR eat  
 niu ma ika ne  
 coconut CONJ fish DEM.1  
 ‘We all eat coconuts and fish here.’
- (38) a. *Lhatuno inu na, lhatuno ō ake na ki Nohono o utuutu vai na i Nohono.*  
 (MAT)  
 lhatu=no inu na lhatu=no ō ake na  
 3PL=IPFV drink DEM.2 3PL=IPFV go.PL go.up DEM.2  
 ki Nohono o utu~utu vai na i Nohono  
 to Main.Reefs to RED~draw water DEM.2 LDA Main.Reefs  
 ‘In order to drink, they had to go to the Main Reefs and draw water there.’
- b. *A mhena no inu vai.*  
 a mhe-na no inu vai  
 PERS man-DEM.2 IPFV drink water  
 ‘The man is drinking water.’

The verb *tupu*, used intransitively, means ‘grow’; however, it also has a semi-transitive use meaning ‘turn into’:

- (39) a. *Thai langi na koi kutea thai uli teve ko tupu ake i fafo o te fale umu ona.*  
(NUP)

thai langi na ko-i kute-a thai uli teve  
one day DEM.2 INCP-3SG see-TR one sucker teve  
ko tupu ake i fafo o te fale umu  
INCP grow go.up LDA outside POSS SG.SP house earth.oven  
o-na  
POSS-3SG.POSS

‘One day she saw a *teve* shoot growing up outside her cookhouse.’

- b. *Lhako tupu peka loa.*

lha=ko tupu peka loa  
3DU=INCP grow flying.fox EMPH

‘The two (a brother and sister) turned into flying foxes.’

#### Extended intransitive – semi-transitive

The verb *sili* ‘throw’ has both extended intransitive and semi-transitive uses. It is possible that the phrase *sili thaula* (40b) ‘drop anchor’ must be considered a lexicalized expression; we have no attestations of this verb used semi-transitively with other objects.

- (40) a. *E tai no sili i te bolo.*

e tai no sili i te bolo  
SG.NSP person IPFV throw LDA SG.SP ball

‘A person is throwing a ball.’

- b. *Lhatuko sili thaula.*

lhatu=ko sili thaula  
3PL=INCP throw anchor

‘They dropped anchor.’

#### Intransitive – transitive

The verbal demonstrative *phelā* has an intransitive use meaning ‘be like that’ as well as a transitive use meaning ‘say’, typically with a complement clause. Introducing direct speech appears to be a common function of verbal demonstratives (Dixon 2003: 73, 101–2; see also 5.3.4).

- (41) a. *i te langi phelā*  
 i te langi phe-la  
 LDA SG.SP day like-DEM.3  
 ‘on a certain day’
- b. *Phelā mai po a koe e lavoi.*  
 phe-la mai po a koe e lavoi  
 like-DEM.3 come COMP PERS 2SG GENR good  
 ‘Tell me if you are all right.’

### Extended intransitive – transitive

The verb *tahaia* ‘cut’ occurs in several syntactic frames. When used in an intransitive or extended-intransitive construction it means ‘cut accidentally’, whereas in a fully transitive frame it means ‘cut deliberately’. This association between non-intentionality and lowered formal transitivity is by no means unusual; see e.g. Hopper and Thompson (1980), Næss (2007: 82–83, 94–95). Note also the alternation between the intransitive use with the patient as subject and an optional instrumental oblique (42a), and the extended intransitive where the agent is the subject and the patient takes oblique marking as an indication of the accidental nature of the event (42b):

- (42) a. *Tuku vae ko tahaia (i te hatu).*  
 t-o-ku vae ko tahaia i te hatu  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS leg INCP cut LDA SG.SP stone  
 ‘My leg got cut; I accidentally cut my leg (on a stone).’
- b. *Te tangata ko tahaia i na vae.*  
 te tangata ko tahaia i na vae  
 SG.SP man INCP cut LDA 3SG.POSS leg  
 ‘The man accidentally cut his leg.’
- c. *Te tangata koi tahaia na vae.*  
 te tangata ko-i tahaia na vae  
 SG.SP man INCP-3SG cut 3SG.POSS leg  
 ‘The man deliberately cut his leg.’

Note that the form is invariant across all three examples, including what appears to be a transitive suffix *-ia*. It is tempting to analyze it as such in (42c), which is clearly formally transitive, as shown by the 3SG suffix *-i* on the tense-aspect-mood marker; however, the other two structures are formally intransitive, but take the same form of the verb. To our knowledge, this is the only verb in Vaeakau-Taumako which patterns in this way.

## Transitive – extended transitive

The verb *nongia* ‘ask’ (cf. 3.3.5) may occur with a single object argument referring either to the addressee or to the request. Note that when this verb is used in an extended transitive frame, it is the request that is the direct object, while the addressee is coded as an oblique (example 32 above):

- (43) a. *A iau ne nongia atu a koe.*  
 a iau ne nongi-a atu a koe  
 PERS 1SG PFV ask-TR go.out PERS 2SG  
 ‘I asked you.’
- b. *Hano o nongia laupita.*  
 hano o nongi-a laupita  
 go.SG to ask-TR betel.leaf  
 ‘Go and ask for some betel leaves.’

## 3.4. Adjectives

It is not common in descriptions of Polynesian languages to include a distinct class of adjectives; in general, property words in Polynesian languages behave like stative verbs (cf. 3.3.1.1 above). However, Vaeakau-Taumako has a small and probably closed class of lexical words which function to modify nouns and which are clearly distinct in their distributional properties from either verbs or nouns; it seems reasonable to label this class “adjectives”. Note that small, closed classes of adjectives are not at all unusual crosslinguistically (Dixon 1982); Vaeakau-Taumako’s neighbour Äiwoo has two plausible candidates for adjectives identified to date, while To’aba’ita of Malaita has a single adjective meaning ‘small’ (Lichtenberk 2005).

Adjectives in Vaeakau-Taumako directly precede the noun, following the article if there is one, and take no tense-aspect-mood or other inflectional morphology. The following adjectives have been identified: *memei* ‘small’,<sup>25</sup> *mhi* ‘particular, different from others’, *mua* ‘small, a little’, *mui* ‘small, a little’, *tamai* ‘small’,<sup>26</sup> *tua* ‘last’.

Note that most of these items have very similar meanings ‘small, a little’. Adjectives referring to size are among the most common in languages which

<sup>25</sup> Possibly derived from the noun *meme* ‘baby’, *memea* ‘child’; cf. Lichtenberk (2005: 138–40), who suggests that the adjective *kali/kaala/kasi* ‘small’ in To’aba’ita was originally a noun meaning ‘child’.

<sup>26</sup> Probably related to *tama* ‘child’, cf. note 25.

have small, closed sets of adjectives (Dixon 1982: 55). Adjectives in Vaeakau-Taumako are discussed in 11.2.

### 3.5. Adverbs

The term “adverb” is typically applied to a rather heterogeneous set of items including both lexemes modifying the meaning of the sentence as a whole, and lexemes modifying the meaning of verbs or verb phrases.

Verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako are most frequently modified by lexemes which also occur as independent verbs, cf. 9.3.4. However, there is a small set of items which have as their main function to modify verbs or clauses, and which do not have an independent verbal use; we will label these “adverbs”. Vaeakau-Taumako adverbs can be further divided into manner adverbs (e.g. *phī* ‘much, very’, *hualavoi* ‘slowly, carefully’, *huatahi* ‘together’), and clausal adverbs (e.g. *matea* ‘maybe’, *amuli* ‘later’, *huaphili* ‘always’).

Manner adverbs in Vaeakau-Taumako have a complex distribution; they may appear either within the verb phrase, modifying the nucleus, or directly following the verb phrase and functioning to modify this phrase as a whole. By contrast, clausal adverbs have a relatively free distribution. The properties of adverbs are discussed in more detail in chapter 11.

### 3.6. Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Vaeakau-Taumako distinguish singular, dual and plural number and first, second and third person; there is a further distinction in the first person dual and plural between inclusive (“we” = “you and I”) and exclusive (“we” = “I and someone else”). Possessive pronouns in addition distinguish between “a-type” vs. “o-type” possession (5.2.2.1).

There are five types of pronouns in Vaeakau-Taumako: personal independent, personal proclitic, hortative, emphatic coreferential, and possessive. (For the forms often described as demonstrative pronouns, see 5.3.2.) The 3rd person pronoun *nga* (5.2.1.6) behaves formally like an independent pronoun, but does not enter into a person-number paradigm like the other types. The use and distribution of the different classes of pronoun is discussed in chapter 5.

### 3.7. Prepositions

Vaeakau-Taumako has only prepositions, no postpositions. Prepositions precede nouns and form prepositional phrases, which may serve a number of syntactic functions: arguments of predicates (*e, ko, i, ki*), possessive or benefactive modifiers of nouns (*a, o, ma, mo*), or adverbials with spatial or temporal reference (*i, ki, mai*). Prepositions and prepositional phrases are discussed in chapter 10.

### 3.8. Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Vaeakau-Taumako are spatial-deictic forms which make a three-way distinction between *ne* ‘here, near speaker’, *na* ‘there, near hearer’, *la* ‘there, away from both speaker and hearer’. As indicated by these translations, the origins of the system is speaker-based, referring to the participants of the speech situation; but there is some indication that the system is shifting towards a distance-based organization, with *ne* meaning ‘here, close by’, *na* ‘there, some distance away; neither very near nor very far’, and *la* ‘there, far away’ (Næss 2004a: 96).

The distribution of demonstratives is unique in that they:

- may form the nucleus of a noun phrase, alone or in combination with an article; in the latter case the vowel of the demonstrative is often lengthened;
- may be used as postnuclear modifiers in noun phrases or verb phrases;
- may occur as the final element of phrases of any type, serving to mark the phrase border and link the phrase to the surrounding stretch of discourse (cf. chapter 18).

The functions and distribution of demonstratives are discussed in 5.3 and chapter 18.

### 3.9. Articles

Articles are grammatical morphemes which encode distinctions of definiteness and/or specificity, and of number. Articles in Vaeakau-Taumako mark mainly specificity and singular/plural number; there is also a plural collective article. The following articles are found in Vaeakau-Taumako:



*e/he* singular nonspecific  
*te* singular specific  
*ni* plural non-collective, nonspecific  
*ngha/nangha* plural non-collective, specific  
*a* plural collective, specific

The semantics and distribution of the articles are discussed in detail in 7.3.2.

### 3.10. Quantifiers

Quantifiers refer to distinctions in quantity, but unlike articles do not encode distinctions of definiteness or specificity. Crosslinguistically, the class of quantifiers is often taken to include numerals, which refer to quantities; but Vaeakau-Taumako has a class of quantifying morphemes which is distributionally distinct from numerals (the latter being verbal, cf. 3.3.1.3), and we will restrict the use of the term “quantifier” to this class (cf. 7.3.3).

Like articles, quantifiers precede the noun, and articles and quantifiers do not co-occur; but they are formally distinct in that quantifiers may head a noun phrase and take various modifiers (cf. 7.3.3). The following quantifiers have been identified in Vaeakau-Taumako:

*thai, hai* ‘one’  
*i* ‘some’  
*nanghai, nghi, nanghi* ‘some’  
*lua* ‘two’  
*lui* ‘two, a few’

### 3.11. Conjunctions

Conjunctions occur between coordinated elements, which may be noun phrases, verb phrases, adverbial phrases, or clauses. They do not take any kind of inflectional or derivational morphology, with the possible exception of the element *-i* in *oi, iokoi*, which may be related to the 3SG suffix *-i*, at least historically (cf. 17.3.5). Conjunctions are discussed in chapter 17.

### 3.12. The subjunction *o*

*O* is the only clear example of a subjunction in Vaeakau-Taumako. It is homophonous with the conjunction *o* ‘and, or’, but differs from it in distribution

in that it introduces a subordinate purpose clause whose verb cannot take a tense-aspect-mood particle and may therefore be considered non-finite. The use of *o* is treated in 14.4.5.2.

### 3.13. The complementizer *po*

The complementizer *po* has a number of uses distinguishing it from both conjunctions and the subjunction *o*:

- it precedes complement clauses of a number of verbs, most notably verbs of speech, perception and cognition;
- it can introduce a clause modifying a nominal head, and so functions as a kind of relative marker;
- it is used to mark reported or second-hand information, even when no overt speech verb is present;
- it introduces clauses of purpose, intention or desire, which are either non-finite (i.e. lack a tense-aspect-mood marker) or marked with the hortative particle *ke*.

The various uses of *po* are described in detail in 14.2.5 and 14.4.5.1.

### 3.14. The personal marker *a*

The personal marker *a* has properties in common with both prepositions and articles, and therefore cannot be satisfactorily categorized with either; accordingly, we consider it to belong to a class of its own. Its unique distributional properties are:

- it may combine with specific articles and with quantifiers, but may also precede a noun directly;
- it is incompatible with the agentive preposition *e*, and only marginally acceptable with the topicalizing preposition *ko*.

The personal marker is discussed further in 7.3.1.

### 3.15. Interjections

Vaeakau-Taumako has a number of interjections. Most are exclamations of surprise or disapproval, e.g. *kē*, *ekē*, *lekē* which express surprise (*lekē* may be

analyzable as *le-kē* ‘go-away’, which would make this expression very similar to English *Get out of here!*), *ī* expressing surprise, *is* or *ish* [iʃ] expressing disapproval or disgust, *oiē* expressing mild surprise, *noloko* and *oitoi* ‘Oh dear!’, and *ō* which typically indicates pleasure at something unexpected. Other interjections include the hesitation filler *ē*, *ae* or (more commonly) *ē* ‘yes’, and *kaea* ‘please’.

### 3.16. Particles

The term “particle” is typically employed for words which do not fit readily into established word-class categories (Crystal 1997: 279–280). Particles are non-inflecting words (though see 12.5) which occupy a fixed position in the clause or phrase. We use the term in this grammar for monomorphemic, invariant words whose distribution distinguishes them from the other word classes established for Vaeakau-Taumako.

#### 3.16.1. Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) particles

Tense-aspect-mood particles are preverbal grammatical morphemes which encode distinctions in tense, aspect, and mood. Vaeakau-Taumako has the following tense-aspect-mood particles: *a* ‘optative’, *e* ‘general’, *ka* ‘future’, *ke* ‘hortative’, *ko* ‘inceptive’, *koi* ‘continuous’, *me* ‘prescriptive’, *na* ‘past’, *na* ‘irrealis’, *ne* ‘perfective’, *no/noko* ‘imperfective’. The distribution and semantics of the tense-aspect-mood particles are discussed in chapter 12.

#### 3.16.2. Modifying particles

Modifying particles are postnuclear elements which in many cases may modify the nucleus of either noun phrases or verb phrases, though they are generally most frequent in verb phrases. This makes them distinct from adverbs, which modify verbs, verb phrases or clauses, but never nouns; they are also distinct from verbs, which may modify both nouns and verbs, in that they take no tense-aspect-mood marking or other morphology. Modifying particles in Vaeakau-Taumako include *ala* ‘hypothetical’, *hua* ‘just’, *kē* ‘really’, *ko* ‘completely’, *loa* ‘emphatic’, *mua* ‘just’, *mui* ‘a little’; they are discussed in 11.3.

#### 3.16.3. Other particles

Other particles in Vaeakau-Taumako include the associative particle *i* (6.3.5), *tau* ‘of, from, belonging to’ (6.3.6), the dyad construction particle *thau*

(7.3.5), the predicative possessive particle *ni* (5.2.2.4), the admonitive particle *na* (16.2.1.2), and various discourse particles (18.5).

# Chapter 4

## Reduplication

### 4.1. Introduction

Reduplication is a morphophonological process whereby an affix to a lexical root takes a phonological shape identical to whole or part of that root. Reduplication may have derivational or inflectional functions, forming either new words (e.g. nouns from verbs) or new word forms, where the reduplication may indicate a variety of pragmatic, semantic or grammatical functions such as emphasis, aspect, plurality, etc.

Reduplication is extremely frequent in Vaeakau-Taumako and has a variety of functions. As in other Polynesian languages, there are two main types of reduplication:

*Partial reduplication* is the repetition of a single syllable of a root, as in *noho* ‘sit, stay’ > *nonoho*. In Vaeakau-Taumako, the vowel of a partially reduplicated syllable may, in most cases, be optionally lengthened (*nōnoho*).

*Full reduplication* is the repetition of two consecutive syllables of a root, which for a disyllabic root means the repetition of the entire root: *noho* ‘sit, stay’ > *nohonoho*. Full reduplication usually does not involve the lengthening of either of the reduplicated syllables.

A fully reduplicated form may be further subjected to partial reduplication: *noho* > *nohonoho* > *nōnohonoho*. Lengthening of the partially reduplicated syllable seems to be obligatory in such cases. Partial or full reduplication may be repeated once or twice: *noho* ‘sit, stay’ > *nōnoho* > *nōnōnoho* or *noho* > *nonoho* > *nononoho* > *nonononoho*; *kau* ‘swim, bathe’ > *kaukau* > *kaukaukau*. Such repetition of partial or full reduplication, or the combination of partial and full reduplication, either indicate a strong degree of emphasis, a plurality of actions, or that something is happening very fast:

- (1) *Koi huatatatahaiatu i te thoka na.*  
ko-i        hua-ta~ta~taha-ia        atu    i        te        thoka na  
INCP-3SG CAUS-RED~RED~side-TR    go.out LDA SG.SP door DEM.2  
‘He moved (the bodies) quickly one after the other away from the door.’

Besnier (2000: 620) makes an explicit distinction between *reduplication* and *repetition* in Tuvaluan. He defines reduplication as a morphophonological

process, while repetition is “better characterized as a discourse process”. His criteria include stress assignment, where reduplicated forms are assigned stress as a single lexeme, whereas repeated lexemes each have independent stress; iteration, where reduplication is said to apply only once, whereas repetition may apply iteratively; and constraints on forms undergoing reduplication, such that only bimoraic roots may undergo full reduplication, whereas repetition lacks such constraints.

While the distinction can no doubt be made for Vaeakau-Taumako as well, the border between the two is somewhat more blurry, since Vaeakau-Taumako clearly allows iteration of reduplication, as illustrated by example (1) above: *huatatatahaia* is clearly a single grammatical word, with a single set of grammatical affixes, and must therefore be analyzed as the result of reduplication rather than repetition. But other criteria do serve to distinguish reduplication from repetition. Firstly, since reduplication, by definition, forms one grammatical word (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002: 29), repeated sequences of lexical stem plus grammatical affixes must be considered repetition, not reduplication. Secondly, full reduplication can involve no more than two syllables, meaning that the doubling of a word form of three syllables or more must be analyzed as repetition rather than reduplication. By both these criteria, then, a sequence such as *vakhonoia vakhonoia* in (2) is a case of repetition, not reduplication:

- (2) *Lhatukoho loa lhatuko vakhonoia vakhonoia a ika i te lau na.*  
 lhatu=ko    ō    oho            loa            lhatu=ko    va-khona-ia  
 3PL=INCP go.PL go.vertically EMPH    3PL=INCP CAUS-be.caught-TR  
 va-khona-ia            a    ika    i    te    lau    na  
 CAUS-be.caught-TR COLL fish    LDA SG.SP leaf.net DEM.2  
 ‘They went down and caught lots of fish with that coconut-leaf net.’

With a few exceptions, notably the emphatic particles *hua* and *loa*, reduplication is restricted to common nouns and verbs. A number of these show both partial and full reduplication, as exemplified in Table 7, where many of the gaps may be accidental:

Table 7. Reduplication patterns

root	partial reduplication	full reduplication	repeated reduplication
<i>huia</i> ‘wash’	<i>huhuia</i>	<i>huihuia</i>	<i>huhuhuia,</i> <i>huhuiahuia</i>
<i>kai</i> ‘eat’	<i>kakhai, kakai, kākhai</i>	<i>khaikhai</i>	
<i>kau</i> ‘swim’	<i>kākau</i>	<i>kaukau</i>	<i>kākaukau</i>
<i>lilia</i> ‘tie’	<i>lilihia</i>		<i>lilililihia</i>
<i>noho</i> ‘sit, stay’	<i>nonoho, nōnoho</i>	<i>nohonoho</i>	<i>nōnohonoho</i>
<i>peu</i> ‘be stupid’	<i>pepeu</i>	<i>peupeu</i>	
<i>tele</i> ‘move fast’	<i>tētele</i>		<i>tletetele</i>
<i>thunu</i> ‘cook’	<i>tutunu, tūtunu</i>	<i>thunuthunu,</i> <i>thunthunu</i>	
<i>tuakia</i> ‘clean fish’	<i>tutuakia</i>	<i>tuatuakia</i>	
<i>tuhia</i> ‘fell (trees)’	<i>tutuhia</i>		<i>tutututuhia</i>
<i>tuhia</i> ‘collect’	<i>tūtuhia</i>	<i>tuhituhia</i>	<i>tutututuhia</i>

There are many cases of reduplication where the unreduplicated root is not attested on its own, e.g. *tukutuku* ‘spider’, *popoto/potopoto* ‘short’, *tekitekia/tetekia* ‘decorate’, where there is no \*tuku, \*poto, or \*tekia in the current Vaeakau-Taumako lexicon.

The rules for reduplication can in most cases be stated with reference to nominal or verbal roots, i.e. uninflected forms which cannot be further segmented into meaningful elements. However, in some cases reduplication operates on the word level after certain processes of vowel deletion or assimilation have applied, cf. 4.2.

#### 4.2. Partial reduplication

The reduplicated syllable must have the form CV; that is, syllables of the form V or VV are not involved in partial reduplication and are simply ignored by the process, cf. below. The reason for this is likely that given the patterns of reduction of vowel sequences discussed in 2.3.2, the vowel sequence resulting from reduplicating a vowel-only syllable is liable to be reduced, so that the final outcome is zero, or at least phonologically marginal: VV > VVV > VV or VCV > VVCV > VCV.

In general, partial reduplication targets the first CV syllable of a root, counting from the left; in other words, the initial syllable is reduplicated if it has the form CV, but if it has the form V, reduplication will target the second syllable. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, see below.

There is a complex relationship between reduplication and aspiration. On the one hand, reduplicated consonant-initial syllables are one of the diachronic sources of aspiration, cf. 2.4.2. On the other hand, in some cases a syllable with an initial aspirated consonant may lose its aspiration when reduplicated:

- (3) *khā* ‘burn’ > *kākākā* ~ *khākhā* ~ *khākhākhā*  
*phō* ‘catch, grab’ > *pōpō* (NUP) ~ *phōphō* (VAE, TAU)  
*thaunga* ‘house’ > *tataunga* ~ *tathaunga* ~ *thathaunga* (PL)  
*thoka* ‘stare, look’ > *totoka* ~ *iōtoka*  
*thunu* ‘cook’ > *tutunu* ~ *tūtunu*

However, the emphatic character of reduplication may lead to aspiration being retained, or even create aspirated consonants not found in the non-reduplicated form. e.g. *kake* ‘arrive, climb’ > *khakhake* and *kave* ‘bring, take away’ > *kakave* ~ *kakhave*.

Partial reduplication of the initial syllable, with optional lengthening, is a common pattern for roots of the form CVCV:

- (4) *hano* ‘go.SG’ > *hahano* ~ *hāhano*  
*hela* ‘look for’ > *hehela* ~ *hēhela*  
*henga* ‘search (vi)’ > *hehenga* ~ *hēhenga*  
*hengā* ‘search for (vt)’ > *hehengā* (but no \**hēhengā*)  
*kamu* ‘chew betelnut’ > *kakamu* ~ *kākamu*  
*kave* ‘bring, take away’ > *kakave* ~ *kakhave*

Roots of the form CVV may also reduplicate the initial syllable, occasionally with vowel lengthening:

- (5) *hai* ‘do’ > *hahai*  
*hai* ‘place’ > *hahai*  
*kai* ‘eat’ > *kakhai* ~ *kākhai* ~ *kakai*  
*peu* ‘be stupid’ > *pepeu*

The only two particles which may be reduplicated have this syllable structure: the modifying particles *hua* and *loa*.

- (6) *hua* ‘just, only’ > *huhua*  
*loa* ‘emphatic’ > *loloa*

Partial reduplication of trisyllabic roots generally involves the initial syllable if this syllable is of the form CV: *haloki* ‘to call (PL)’ > *hahaloki*; *hakia* ‘pick’ > *hahakia* ~ *hāhakia*; *halei* ‘fly (PL)’ > *hahalei* ‘fly (PL)”; *holau* ‘sail’ >



*hoholau* (*te puke hoholau* ‘a sailing canoe’). However, reduplication of the penultimate syllable is also possible: *lavihi* ‘be long’ > *lavivihī* ‘be too long, be very long’.

In trisyllabic roots where the initial syllable is of the form V, partial reduplication targets the penultimate syllable: *akhali* ‘to shout’ > *akakhali*; *aloha* ‘to pity, be sorry for’ > *aloloha*.

In general, only the root reduplicates in morphologically complex forms. The form of the root determines the possibilities for reduplication, and affixal morphology is ignored:

- (7) *aha-ngia* ‘open-TR’ > *ahaha-ngia* ‘to open gradually’  
*api-hia* ‘close-TR’ > *apipi-hia*  
*haele-angia* ‘care for-TR’ > *hahaele-ngia*  
*phoko-hia* ‘knock-TR’ > *popoko-hia*

However, there are a few cases where affixes may be involved in reduplication. Firstly, the non-productive causative prefix *va-* is attested in a few reduplicated forms: *vakhamu* ‘to share betelnuts (usually at welcoming parties), to give’ > *vavakhamu*; *vakahia* ‘to burn’ > *vavakahia*. This may be an indication that this prefix is interpreted as part of the root.

On the other hand, productive causatives also reduplicate under certain circumstances. In general, forms with the causative prefix *hua-* show reduplication of the root only:

- (8) *hualeo* > *hualeleo* ~ *hualeoleo* ‘to be guarded, to feel safe’  
*huatahaia* > *huatatahaia* ~ *huatatatahaia* ‘to remove’

The prefix *hua-* may occasionally be reduplicated, but such forms are judged to be substandard: *huatulia* > *huatutulia* ~ *huahuatulia* ‘to begin, to start’. However, when *hua-* becomes *ha-* in TAU, and increasingly in VAE, it allows reduplication apparently quite freely:

- (9) *hualikihia/halikihia* > *hahalikihia* ~ *hāhalikihia* ‘to put leaves into something for baking’ (TAU)  
*huatakā/hataka* > *huatataka* ~ *hahatakā* ‘to remove’

In general, monophthongization or reduction of a vowel sequence (2.3.2) may cause the causative prefix to become a possible target for reduplication: *hua-tuao* ‘be wild’ > *hohotuao*; *huaepua* ‘make dirty’ > *huehuepua*, *huepuepua*.

### 4.3. Full reduplication

As noted above, full reduplication is defined as the reduplication of two syllables of the root. It is normally not possible to reduplicate more than two syllables, though a couple of possible exceptions are attested: *huia* ‘wash’ > *huhuahuaia*; *pikia* ‘carry, hold, look after’ > *pikiapikia*. It is possible that such forms are more felicitously analyzed as repetition than reduplication, particularly given that the whole form including the transitive suffix is repeated; cf. 4.1.

With disyllabic roots, full reduplication involves reduplication of the whole root. In contrast to partial reduplication, there is no restriction on the ability of V syllables to participate in full reduplication:

- (10) *muli* ‘last, youngest’ > *mulimuli*  
*puku* ‘be swollen’ > *pukupuku*  
*liki* ‘small’ > *likiliki*  
*thao* ‘be baked’ > *taotao*  
*anga* ‘face’ > *angaanga*  
*ahe* ‘be unhealthy’ > *aheahe*  
*api* ‘close’ > *apiapi*  
*ehu* ‘dusty’ > *ehuehu*  
*ila* ‘look, see’ > *ilaila, ileila, ileileilē, leleila*

We consider reduplication of monosyllabic roots with a long vowel to be instances of this pattern, as are roots where a vowel sequence is monophthongized under reduplication:

- (11) *khā* ‘burn’ > *kākākā, khākhā, khākhākhā*  
*phō* ‘grab, catch’ > *pōpō* or *phōphō*  
*toa* ‘take’ > *tōtō*

For roots with three or more syllables, reduplication is attested both of the first two (12) and the final two (13) syllables:

- (12) *henua* ‘land’ > *henuhenua*  
*heteau* ‘complain’ > *heteheteau*
- (13) *hanau* ‘give birth’ > *hanaunau*  
*matua* ‘old man’ > *matuatua*  
*makhona* ‘be strong’ > *makhonakhona*  
*mahana* ‘be hot’ > *mahanahana*

As with partial reduplication, the domain of full reduplication is the root, and affixes to the root do not participate in reduplication:

- (14) *ano-hia* ‘repair-TR’ > *anoano-hia*  
*utu-hia* ‘draw water’ > *utūtu-hia* ~ *utuutu-hia* ~ *utuututu-hia*  
*fengai-ina* ‘feed-TR’ > *fngafngaina* ~ *fengafengaina*  
*he-ila-ki* ‘RECP-look-RECP’ > *heileilaki*

#### 4.4. Functions of reduplication

In everyday use, many reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms alternate apparently quite freely, without any discernible difference in meaning. For instance, we have observed the forms *peu*, *pepeu* and *peupeu* ‘be stupid’ used in the exact same context, and speakers when asked claimed that all three forms were equivalent in meaning, with no differences in strength or emphasis. Those consultants who would regularly correct the linguists’ use of their language never objected to the use of a reduplicated form in any context.

It is not the case, however, that reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms are always identical in meaning and function. The difference is in many cases difficult to identify, and there is no single meaning or function systematically characterizing reduplicated as opposed to non-reduplicated forms. The following examples illustrate the difficulties involved in identifying the semantic difference between reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms.

*mahola* ‘be flat, be calm’ > *maholahola*:

- (15) a. *Haupē e maholahola.*  
 thaupē e mahola-hola  
 lagoon GENR flat~RED  
 ‘The sea is calm.’
- b. *Te mala e mahola.*  
 te mala e mahola  
 SG.SP garden GENR flat  
 ‘The garden is wide.’

*hoaki* ‘travel, go (SG/PL)’ > *hohoaki* (PL):

- (16) a. *Thatne ni tai no hoaki katoa.*  
 thatu ne ni tai no hoaki katoa  
 1PL.INCL DEM.1 PL.NSP person IPFV travel all  
 ‘We are a travelling people.’

- b. *Khoulua na no hohoaki huahea?*  
 khoulua na no ho~hoaki hua-hea  
 2DU DEM.2 IPFV RED~travel CAUS-where  
 ‘How have you two come here?’

#### 4.4.1. Nouns formed by full reduplication

A number of lexical nouns appear to be formed by full reduplication, though the non-reduplicated root is not attested in the language. Many of these terms designate non-human animate beings.

- (17) *langolango* ‘fish sp.’  
*liekiliieki* [lʲekilʲeki] name of a traditional dance  
*lingolingo* ‘grasshopper-like insect’  
*lokaloka* ‘swamp’  
*maimai* ‘dolphinsfish sp.’  
*manumanu* ‘bird, animal’  
*mongamonga ~ momonga* ‘cockroach’  
*polepole* ‘plait (of hair)’  
*saposapo* [saposapo, sapsapo] ‘tobacco leaves’

#### 4.4.2. Verbs formed by full reduplication

Like the nouns in 4.4.1, these verbs have no non-reduplicated form, although some have a partly reduplicated form in addition to that formed by full reduplication.

- (18) *lakalaka* ‘be happy’  
*lakolako* ‘thunder’  
*langalanga ~ lalanga* ‘husk’  
*potopoto ~ popoto* ‘be short’

#### 4.4.3. Plural by reduplication

Reduplication is not a productive pluralization mechanism, but does have a pluralizing function for certain lexemes, both nouns and verbs.

A few nouns form their plural by partial or full reduplication:

- (19) *fafaina* (PL) ‘other places’ NUP (pluralia tantum)  
*kolikoli* (PL) ‘things’ (pluralia tantum)  
*hale* (SG) ‘house’ > *halehale* (PL)  
*hai* (SG) ‘side, half’ > *hahai* (PL)  
*heinga* (SG) ‘thing’ > *heheinga, vaheinga* (PL), mainly NUP and TAU  
*hinga* (SG) ‘thing’ > *hehehinga* (PL) VAE

*kaenga* (SG) ‘village, place of living’ > *kakaenga*, *kaekaenga* (PL)  
*kupengaina* (SG) ‘trick’ > *kupekupengaina* (PL)  
*mdatu*, *mdautu* (SG) ‘point’ > *mdamdatu* (PL) TAU  
*motu* (SG) ‘island, village’ > *motumotu* (PL)  
*thaunga* (SG) ‘house’ > *tataunga*, *tathaunga*, *thathaunga* (PL)

Similarly, some intransitive verbs may be pluralized by partial or full reduplication:

- (20) *hoaki* (SG/PL) ‘travel, go’ > *hohoaki* (PL)  
*kē* (SG) ‘be different’ > *kekē*, *kē* (PL)  
*kai* (SG) ‘eat’ > *kakhai* [kakhai, khai, kakai] (PL)  
*kave* (SG) ‘be transported, taken away’ > *kakhave* [kakhave, khave, kakave] (PL)  
*hekauaki* (SG) ‘swim about’ > *hekaukauaki* (PL)  
*vahi* (SG) ‘be broken, break’ > *vahivahi* (PL)

Transitive verbs may be reduplicated to indicate plurality of the object or of the verbal action. The extent to which this is productive is unclear; we do not have reduplicated plural-object forms attested for all transitive verbs, but this may be due to gaps in our data.

- (21) a. *Koi taulia te tanga i te holau na.*  
ko-i            tau-lia    te    tanga    i    te  
INCP-3SG    hang-TR    SG.SP basket    LDA    SG.SP  
holau        na  
men’s.house    DEM.2  
‘She hanged the basket in the men’s house.’
- b. *A iau no tautaulia malo.*  
a    iau    no    tau~tau-lia    a    malo  
PERS 1SG    IPFV    RED~hang-TR    COLL clothes  
‘I am hanging clothes.’
- (22) a. *Koi tuhia te lakau.*  
ko-i            tuhi-a    te    lakau  
INCP-3SG    cut-TR    SG.SP tree  
‘She cut down a tree.’
- b. *Koi tutuhia a lakau.*  
ko-i            tu~tuhi-a    a    lakau  
INCP-3SG    RED~cut-TR    COLL tree  
‘She cut down the trees.’

- (23) a. *Te hahine noi thahia te thaunga.*  
 te hahine no-i tahi-a te thaunga  
 SG.SP woman IPFV-3SG sweep-TR SG.SP house  
 ‘The woman was sweeping the house.’
- b. *Koi tahitahia a thaunga o laua.*  
 ko-i tahi~tahi-a a thaunga o laua  
 INCP-3SG RED~sweep-TR COLL house POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ‘She swept their houses.’

It is, however, possible to have a reduplicated form when neither the object nor the action is plural. Possibly such use indicates that the action extends over some time; for example, to cut down an *ifi* tree as in (24) requires lengthy and intensive chopping:

- (24) *Nei tutuhia te tahito ihi.*  
 ne-i tu~tuhi-a te tahito ihi  
 PFV-3SG RED~cut-TR SG.SP base chestnut  
 ‘He cut the chestnut tree at the bottom.’

#### 4.4.4. Reduplication and aspect: durativity/habituality

Reduplication is frequently associated with durativity or habituality. The imperfective tense-aspect-mood particle *no* is often combined with reduplication of the verb:

- (25) *Te tangara no fanafana ika i haupē.*  
 te tangata no hana-hana ika i thaupē  
 SG.SP man IPFV RED~shoot fish LDA lagoon  
 ‘The man was shooting fish in the lagoon.’
- (26) *Ko hano ko kākaukau i te vai-tele na.*  
 ko hano ko kā~kau~kau i te vai-tele na  
 INCP go.SG INCP RED~RED~swim LDA SG.SP water-run DEM.2  
 ‘She went to bathe in that river.’
- (27) *Te tangara noi langalanga a niu.*  
 te tangata no-i langa~langa a niu  
 SG.SP man IPFV-3SG RED~husk COLL coconut  
 ‘The man was husking coconuts.’
- (28) a. *Hoea te paku o te ika!*  
 hoe-a te paku o te ika  
 peel-TR SG.SP skin POSS SG.SP fish  
 ‘Peel off the skin of the fish!’

- b. *Te hahine noi hohoea te taveli.*

te hahine no-i ho~hoe-a te taveli  
 SG.SP woman IPFV-3SG RED~peel-TR SG.SP banana  
 ‘The woman was peeling the banana.’

The following example has the verb *hai* ‘do’ plus a reduplicated form of the noun *mako* ‘dance’:

- (29) *Ngha rai no hai makomako.*

ngha tai no hai mako~mako  
 PL.SP people IPFV do RED~dance  
 ‘People were dancing.’

Especially in narratives, reduplication is used to indicate that a state of affairs continues for a period of time. This is particularly common with *noho* ‘live, stay, sit’, but also occurs with other verbs:

- (30) a. *Tai tai ko nohonoho na ko avanga.*

thai tai ko noho~noho na ko avanga  
 one man INCP RED~live DEM.2 INCP marry  
 ‘There was a man who lived for a while and got married.’

*Lhako nonoho ma nohine ana na ko hanau.*

lha=ko no~noho ma nohine a-na na  
 3DU=INCP RED~live with wife POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.2  
 ko hanau  
 INCP birth  
 ‘He lived with his wife, and after a while she gave birth.’

*Ne hanau na e tangata.*

ne hanau na e tangata  
 PFV birth DEM.2 SG.SP man  
 ‘She gave birth to a boy.’

*Lhako nōnoho, lhatuko nōnoho na, hanau oki.*

lha=ko nō~noho lhatu=ko nō~noho na hanau oki  
 3DU=INCP RED~live 3PL=INCP RED~live DEM.2 birth again  
 ‘They lived for a while, then she gave birth again.’

*Ne hanau na e hahine.*

ne hanau na e hahine  
 PFV birth DEM.2 SG.NSP woman  
 ‘She gave birth to a girl.’

*Koi pīpikia lhaua ko mathua na...*

ko-i            pī~piki-a            lhaua ko    mathua    na  
INCP-3SG    RED~hold-TR    3DU    INCP    old            DEM.2  
'She looked after them until they were grown...'

#### 4.4.5. Emphasis

Full reduplication in particular is frequently used for emphasis:

(31) *Tuku vae ko ehuehu.*

t-o-ku                            vae    ko    ehuehu  
SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS    leg    INCP    RED~dirty  
'My foot is very dirty.'



# Chapter 5

## Deictics

### 5.1. Introduction

Deictics are words or morphemes which change their reference according to the context in which they are uttered. Deixis may be of several types: personal deixis, which is typically expressed by the forms we call pronouns (*I* refers to a different person when “I” say it than when “you” say it), spatial deixis (‘this’, ‘that’, ‘here’, ‘there’ etc.), or temporal deixis (‘now’, ‘then’, ‘today’). The notion of temporal deixis is generally less central to the organization of grammar than the other two (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 295–296) and will not be dealt with in any detail in this chapter, except insofar as forms with basic spatial-deictic reference can be used with a temporal deictic function; here we will focus on personal and spatial deixis. Temporal-deictic forms are typically adverbs; they are treated in 11.4.

These two basic forms of deixis, personal and spatial, overlap to some extent, not just in Vaeakau-Taumako, but in languages in general; spatial-deictic forms typically make reference to location or movement relative to the speech-act event, and therefore ultimately to the speech-act participants (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 277).

Deictic forms typically have two related functions. The first is referring directly to aspects of the extralinguistic speech situation, so-called *exophoric* reference (the term “deixis” in itself strictly speaking refers to such exophoric reference, “pointing out” of the act of speaking towards features in the physical world). The phrase *That book* when used to point out a book which is visible to both participants in the speech-situation has exophoric reference.

The second function of deictic forms is to refer to previously or subsequently occurring items of discourse, so-called *endophoric* reference. In a phrase like *That book I was telling you about before*, *That book* has endophoric reference.

Endophoric deixis is further subdivided into *anaphoric* and *cataphoric* deixis, of which the former is by far the most common. Cataphoric deixis is the use of a deictic form to refer to an item to appear in subsequent discourse, as in *His<sub>i</sub> father thinks that John<sub>i</sub> deserves to be successful*. Anaphoric deictics, by contrast, refer back to a previously occurring item of discourse, as in *John<sub>i</sub> thinks that he<sub>i</sub> deserves to be successful*. As is the case for languages in

general, anaphoric deixis is much more frequent than cataphoric deixis in Vaeakau-Taumako, and the latter will not be treated in any detail here. However, the common pattern whereby a kinship term with a third-person singular possessive suffix is followed by a possessive phrase specifying the possessor may be considered cataphoric in structure, as in example (1). It should be noted, however, that the form with 3SG suffix functions as the unmarked form of such nouns, which cannot appear without a possessive suffix; the 3SG form may appear even with non-3SG possessive prepositional phrases, as in example (1b) below, and the referentiality of the 3SG suffix in such constructions is therefore questionable.

- (1) a. *hinana o te memea*  
 hina-na o te memea  
 mother-3SG.POSS POSS SG.SP child  
 ‘the mother of the child’
- b. *thokana laua e kiko la*  
 thoka-na a laua e kiko la  
 same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS POSS 3DU.POSS GENR small DEM.3  
 ‘their youngest brother’

## 5.2. Pronouns

### 5.2.1. Personal pronouns

#### 5.2.1.1. *General characteristics*

Vaeakau-Taumako pronouns distinguish between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person, with an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the 1st person dual and plural; and between singular, dual and plural number in all persons. There are no gender distinctions anywhere in the system. The 3rd person singular pronoun *ia*, in addition to referring to both human males and females, may have inanimate reference (2a). Dual and plural forms are only used with human/animate reference, as shown by (2b), where the singular pronoun *ia* is used to refer back to a plural noun:

- (2) a. *Ko ia noi hualavakina te leo o tatou.*  
 ko ia no-i hua-lavaki-ina te leo  
 TOP 3SG IPFV-3SG CAUS-disappear-TR SG.SP voice  
 o tatou  
 POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS  
 ‘It (= outside influence) is destroying our language.’
- b. *Ko fenange koi funā ona kapekau,*  
 ko hano ange ko-i funa-a o-na kapekau  
 INCP go.SG go.along INCP-3SG hide-TR POSS-3SG.POSS wing  
 ‘He went and hid her wings,’
- a ne lekake po kei toa na*  
 a ne lek-ake po ke-i to-a na  
 CONJ PFV go-go.up COMP HORT-3SG take-TR DEM.2  
 ‘and when she went to take them,’
- ko ia e lavaki.* (NUP)  
 ko ia e lavaki  
 TOP 3SG GENR disappear  
 ‘they had disappeared.’

While in general, dual and plural pronouns refer to two people and to more than two, respectively, there are some instances where duals may be used with reference to more than two, and plurals may be used where a dual would be expected. For instance, a man and his mother-in-law, though permitted to be in each other’s presence, may never be alone together; therefore a man, when speaking of himself and his mother-in-law, will use a plural rather than a dual pronoun, to avoid the implication that the two of them have been alone. A constellation of a brother and two sisters may also be referred to with a dual pronoun, the implication being that the two sisters count as a single unit.

### 5.2.1.2. Independent personal pronouns

Independent pronouns form the nucleus of a noun phrase which may serve as an argument to a verb or as the complement of a preposition.

There is a great deal of variation in the forms of the independent pronouns. The table below aims to represent as fully as possible the forms attested in our corpus and accepted in elicitation by speakers.

Table 8. Independent personal pronouns

	Standard	Collo- quial	NUP	<i>ha-</i> forms	TAU
1sg	<i>iau, au</i>				
2sg	<i>koe</i>				
3sg	<i>ia</i>				
1du. incl	<i>thaua</i>	<i>haua</i>	<i>khitaua,</i> <i>kitaua</i>	<i>hataua</i>	<i>hitaua</i>
1du. excl	<i>mhaua</i>		<i>khimaua,</i> <i>kimaua</i>	<i>hamaua</i>	<i>hi-</i> <i>maua</i>
2du	<i>khoulua,</i> <i>kholua</i>	<i>houlua,</i> <i>holua</i>			
3du	<i>lhaua</i>	<i>haua</i>	<i>khilaua,</i> <i>kilaua</i>	<i>halaua</i>	<i>hilaua</i>
1pl. incl	<i>thatou,</i> <i>thatu</i>	<i>hatou,</i> <i>hatu</i>	<i>khitatou,</i> <i>kitatou</i>	<i>hatatou</i>	<i>hita-</i> <i>tou</i>
1pl. excl	<i>mhatou,</i> <i>mhatu</i>		<i>khimatou,</i> <i>kimatou</i>	<i>hamatou</i>	<i>hima-</i> <i>tou</i>
2pl	<i>khoutou,</i> <i>khotou</i>	<i>houtou</i>			
3pl	<i>lhatou,</i> <i>lhatu</i>	<i>hatou,</i> <i>hatu</i>	<i>khilatou,</i> <i>kilatou</i>	<i>halatou</i>	<i>hila-</i> <i>tou</i>

When not preceded by a preposition, the singular pronouns are nearly always preceded by the personal marker *a* (7.3.1), and *aiau*, *akoe*, *aia* may to some extent be perceived as citation forms.

The “standard” forms are those typically chosen by consultants in transcription; thus *haua* in a recorded text is often corrected to *thaua* when transcribing, but never the other way round. The “colloquial” forms are typically found in everyday informal conversation, as well as in speeches, but are rare in our recorded narratives. Where no form is given in the paradigm, the form in question is identical to the standard form.

The dual/plural forms in *ha-* are very infrequent, but are accepted by speakers both in Vaeakau and Taumako, and said to be equivalent to the other forms, with no significant difference in use. Only a few instances of these are attested in our corpus.

The *hi-* forms are exclusively used in the Taumako dialect; they are relatively infrequent in our corpus, but are easily elicited from TAU speakers.

The forms in *khi-* are characteristic of the Nupani dialect; their occasional occurrence in Vaeakau and Taumako must be interpreted as borrowing from the more prestigious Nupani. In current NUP the initial *khi-* is most frequently deaspirated. The 1st person dual forms in *khi-*, *khitaua* and *khimaua*, are not attested in our data, and speakers disagree as to their acceptability. The vowel

of the initial syllable is sometimes dropped, and the aspiration transferred to the following syllable, i.e. *khilatou* > *klhatou* etc.

The colloquial forms in *h-* are dominant in everyday speech, and may also be used on more formal occasions.

In the 1st and 3rd person dual and plural, the /a/ of the first syllable may be long, but there appears to be a preference for a short vowel, i.e. *lhatou* rather than *lhātou* and *lhaua* ['lhaua] rather than *lhāua* [lha:'ua]. Aspiration is very stable in independent pronouns, and deaspiration occurs only rarely (cf. 2.4.2).

When modified by demonstratives, verbs or prepositional phrases, the plural pronouns occasionally appear in the shortened forms *thatu/hatu*, *mhatu*, and *lhatu/hatu*:

- (3) a. *Hatu na no hinga na ko ia te vai tne e thū i mua ne ne.* (MAT)  
 thatu na no hinga na ko ia  
 1PL.INCL DEM.2 IPFV think DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 te vai te-ne e thū i mua ne ne  
 SG.SP water SG.SP-DEM.1 GENR stand LDA place DEM.1 DEM.1  
 'We thought this well was here somewhere.'
- b. *E taia ai hatu ne.*  
 e ta-ia ai thatu ne  
 GENR hit-TR OBL.PRO 1PL.INCL DEM.1  
 'They will kill us for it.'
- c. *ia hatu katoa*  
 i a thatu katoa  
 LDA PERS 1PL.INCL all  
 'with all of us'

The dual and plural pronouns are also used with so-called inclusory reference, that is, they may be conjoined with a nominal phrase referring explicitly to one of the participants included in the reference of the pronoun (Lichtenberk 2000):

- (4) a. *Tai tai, laua ma nohine ana, a memea laua e lua.*  
 thai tai lhaua ma nohine a-na  
 one man 3DU and wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 a memea a laua e lua  
 COLL child POSS 3DU.POSS GENR two  
 'There was a man; he and his wife had two children.'

- b. *Mhaua ma hinau mano tukua po ma hehenga hai hahine mou.*  
 mhaua ma hina-u mha=no taku-a  
 1DU.EXCL and mother-2SG.POSS 1DU.EXCL=IPFV say-TR  
 po ma he~henga thai hahine  
 COMP 1DU.EXCL.HORT RED~search one woman  
 mo-u  
 BEN-2SG.POSS  
 ‘Your mother and I have been talking about finding you a wife.’

- (5) *Thai mkavā thai memea fafine la e nofo loa ma sinana okilaua kilatou ma thupuna fafine o te memea la.* (NUP)  
 thai makavā thai memea fafine la e nofo loa  
 one time one child woman DEM.3 GENR stay EMPH  
 ma sina-na okhilaua kilatou ma  
 with mother-3SG.POSS 3DU.self 3PL with  
 thupu-na fafine o te meme la  
 grandparent-3SG.POSS woman POSS SG.SP baby DEM.3  
 ‘Once upon a time a little girl and her mother lived alone with the girl’s grandmother.’

It is clear from these examples that the reference of the pronoun is to the total of all participants mentioned, including that referred to by the conjoined noun. *Lhaua ma nohine ana* in (4a) means the man and his wife, not a set of two people plus in addition the wife; similarly, *mhaua ma hinau* ‘your mother and I’ in (4b) refers to the speaker plus the addressee’s mother, together with whom the speaker forms a dual unit referred to by *mhaua* ‘we (dual exclusive)’. In example (5), the girl and her mother are referred to by an emphatic coreferential pronoun (cf. 5.2.1.5) in the dual, *okilaua* ‘by themselves (DU)”; the following phrase, *kilatou ma thupuna fafine o te memea*, refers to a total of three people, those two plus the grandmother.

The Vaeakau-Taumako inclusory construction is of the type which Lichtenberk (2000: 4) calls explicit inclusory constructions, meaning that there is an overt marker of the relationship between the pronoun and the “included” noun phrase; Lichtenberk notes that such markers are typically etymologically related either to the conjunction ‘and’ or the comitative marker in the language in question.

As discussed in 17.2.2, Vaeakau-Taumako has two homophonous morphemes *ma*, a conjunction ‘and’ and a comitative preposition.<sup>27</sup> The difference between the two lies in the fact that two conjoined nouns form a single, grammatically plural noun phrase which may be used with a plural verb if functioning as a subject; whereas comitative prepositional phrases are ad-

<sup>27</sup> There is a third homophonous form, *ma* ‘benefactive’ (10.4), but this is not of relevance in the present context.

juncts and do not influence verbal number. However, this criterion cannot be applied to the inclusory construction, because the pronoun refers to the total number of persons involved; that is, even if the *ma* phrase is conjoined, it does not add to the number of the subject. In other words, there is no way of deciding whether *ma* in these constructions should be analyzed as the conjunction or the comitative preposition; we gloss it simply as ‘and’. Note that Lichtenberk, in his study of inclusory constructions in To’aba’ita, concludes that “The phrasal inclusory construction is neither coordinating nor comitative; it is a construction *sui generis*” (Lichtenberk 2000: 30).

### 5.2.1.3. Bound subject pronouns

In addition to the free pronouns, Vaeakau-Taumako has a set of bound subject pronouns which cliticize to the tense-aspect-mood marker of the verb. The relationship between such bound subject pronouns and additional overt reference to the subject of a clause, by means of an independent pronoun or full noun phrase, is discussed in 13.3.2. Since the bound subject pronouns are not obligatory, and since they alternate with the corresponding full forms, we analyze them as clitics rather than prefixes (Zwicky 1977: 3–4, cf. 2.7 and 13.3.2).

Table 9. Bound subject pronouns

	Standard	Colloquial
1sg	<i>u=</i> , <i>ku=</i>	
2sg	<i>ko=</i>	
3sg	∅	
1du.incl	<i>tha(u)=</i>	<i>ha=</i>
1du.excl	<i>mha(u)=</i>	
2du	<i>khol(u)=</i>	<i>hol(u)=</i>
3du	<i>lha(u)=</i>	<i>ha=</i>
1pl.incl	<i>that(u)=</i>	<i>hat(u)=</i>
1pl.excl	<i>mhat(u)=</i>	
2pl	<i>khot(u)=</i>	<i>hot(u)=</i>
3pl	<i>lhat(u)=</i>	<i>hat(u)=</i>

The 1SG forms *u=* and *ku=* are in free variation, but *ku=* appears to be more common in TAU than in the Vaeakau dialects. NUP shows a set of variant DU/PL forms lacking aspiration.

There is a certain degree of phonological conditioning in the choice between the plural forms with and without final *-u*. Before tense-aspect-mood particles with initial *n-* (*ne* ‘perfective’, *no* ‘imperfective’, *na* ‘past’, *na* ‘irrealis’), the form without *-u* is nearly always used, i.e. *lhatne*, *lhatno*, *lhatna* rather than *?lhatune*, *?lhatuno*, *?lhatuna*. Before the general tense-aspect-

mood marker *e*, there is a preference for the forms with *-u* (*lhatue*), but the shorter form also occurs (*lhate* [lhare]). The dual variants *thau*, *mhau*, *lhau* only occur as an alternative to *tha*, *mha*, *lha* before the general tense-aspect-mood marker *e*. In other cases, there appears to be free variation. The variants listed as “colloquial” in Table 9 are not as frequent as the corresponding colloquial independent pronouns.

- (6) a. *A iau hiei ala loa kune tukuatu oki e longo.* (TAU)  
 a iau siai ala loa ku=ne taku-a atu oki  
 PERS 1SG NEG HYP EMPH 1SG=PFV say-TR go.out again  
 e longo  
 SG.NSP word  
 ‘I will not say another word.’
- b. *A koe koko kina?*  
 a koe ko=ko kai-na  
 PERS 2SG 2SG=INCP eat-TR  
 ‘Have you eaten?’
- c. *Kholuno fulo ki hea?*  
 kholu=no fulo ki hea  
 2DU=IPFV run.PL to where  
 ‘Where are you (du.) going?’
- d. *Lhatuko moe loa i mua na.*  
 lhatu=ko moe loa i mua na  
 3PL=INCP sleep EMPH LDA place DEM.2  
 ‘They slept in that place.’

In the 2nd person, the distinction between the bound subject pronouns and the hortative pronouns described in 5.2.1.4 is somewhat fuzzy, since requests and commands are among the most frequent contexts of use for second person pronouns. We have chosen to classify the forms *kholu*, *khotu* as bound subject pronouns and the forms *lu*, *tu* as hortative pronouns (cf. Table 10), because the former, although they can unproblematically appear in a semantically imperative/hortative context, always occur in combination with a tense-aspect-mood particle. By contrast, *lu/tu* are most frequent by far in clauses with no tense-aspect-mood marking, though there are occasional examples where they cooccur with a tense-aspect-mood particle, cf. example (7). Note also that this analysis gives two homophonous 2SG forms, one bound subject pronoun and one hortative pronoun.



## 5.2.1.4. Hortative pronouns

In the dual and plural, as well as the 2nd person singular, we find a set of pronouns used in imperative and hortative constructions. Although the dual and plural forms are formally identical to the deaspirated variants of the bound pronouns described in 5.2.1.3, they differ from the latter in that they cannot show aspiration and do not alternate with independent personal pronouns.

Furthermore, while the bound pronouns cliticize to tense-aspect-mood particles, imperative and hortative clauses generally do not have tense-aspect-mood particles, and so the hortative pronouns most frequently stand directly before the verb; though examples of imperative/hortative clauses with tense-aspect-mood marking do occur:

- (7) *Tu e khai ala tu ko avange ona penu kei keinga.* (NUP)  
 tu e khai ala tu ko av-ange  
 2PL.HORT GENR eat HYP 2PL.HORT INCP give-go.along  
 o-na penu ke-i kei-nga  
 POSS-3SG.POSS thing HORT-3SG eat-TR  
 ‘Eat, and give him the leftovers to eat.’

Table 10. Hortative pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. incl	-	<i>ta</i>	<i>tatu, hatu, tatou</i>
1. excl	-	<i>ma</i>	<i>matu</i>
2.	<i>ko</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>tu</i>
3.	-	<i>la</i>	<i>latu, hatu</i>

- (8) a. *Tatu o hangora, tatu keina!*  
 tatu o hangota tatu kei-na  
 1PL.INCL.HORT go.PL to fish 1PL.INCL.HORT eat-TR  
 ‘Let us go and fish and eat!’
- b. *Ioko te ngata na koi tukuange po lu omai, lu omai tatu o ki nghauta.*  
 ioko te ngata na ko-i taku-a ange  
 CONJ SG.SP snake DEM.2 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along  
 po lu o mai lu o mai  
 COMP 2DU.HORT go.PL come 2DU.HORT go.PL come  
 tatu o ki nghauta  
 1PL.INCL.HORT go.PL to shore  
 ‘And the snake said: “You two come here, let us all go to the village”.’

- c. *Latu omai o kutea.*  
 latu           ō       mai   o   kute-a  
 3PL.HORT go.PL come to see-TR  
 ‘Let them come and see.’

### 5.2.1.5. *Emphatic coreferential pronouns*

Vaeakau-Taumako does not have reflexive pronouns proper; coreference of subject and direct object is most commonly indicated by the use of the same pronoun in both argument positions, or with an object pronoun coreferent with the subject noun phrase:

- (9) a. *A nhana koi tapenakina a ia i te leo o te kainga.* (TAU)  
 a       hina-na                   ko-i           ta-pena-kina  
 PERS mother-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG    PREF-prepare-APPL  
 a       ia       i       te   leo   o       te   kaenga  
 PERS 3SG   LDA   SG.SP voice   POSS SG.SP village  
 ‘His mother prepared herself according to the custom of the village.’
- b. *Aia e huapū ite ia.*  
 a       ia       e       huapū ite   ia  
 PERS 3SG   GENR proud LDA 3SG  
 ‘He is arrogant [lit. proud of himself].’

There is, however, a set of pronouns which fills some of the functions typically associated with reflexives. Their most common use is to refer to someone performing an action alone or by themselves; etymologically, the prefix *okho-* reflects PPN \*soko ‘alone, only’ (Biggs and Clark 2009).

*Table 11.* Emphatic coreferential pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1. incl		<i>okhitaua</i>	<i>okihatou</i>
1. excl	<i>okhoiau</i>	<i>okhimaua</i>	<i>okimhatou</i>
2.	<i>okhoe</i>	<i>okhoulua</i>	<i>okhoutou</i>
3.	<i>okhoia</i>	<i>okhilaua</i>	<i>okilhatou</i>

- (10) a. *Khoulua e ā kholue omai okhoulua?*  
 khoulua e       ā       kholu=e       ō       mai   okhouloa  
 2DU    GENR   what 2PL=GENR go.PL come 2DU.self  
 ‘Why do you two come by yourselves?’

- b. *Ne ilange na ioko nohine ana e tokoto na okhoia.*  
 ne ila ange na ioko nohine a-na  
 PFV look go.along DEM.2 CONJ wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 e tokoto na okhoia  
 GENR lie DEM.2 3SG.self  
 ‘He saw that his wife was lying there by herself.’
- c. *Te keu na e vasusuru okhoia.* (TAU)  
 te keu na e va-thu~thutu okhoia  
 SG.SP fire DEM.2 GENR CAUS-RED~burn 3SG.self  
 ‘The fire was burning by itself (i.e. by magic).’

These pronouns may also be used with reflexive reference:

- (11) a. *Koi tukua okhoia...*  
 ko-i taku-a okhoia  
 INCP-3SG say-TR 3SG.self  
 ‘He said to himself...’
- b. *Koi fanaia oki ai okhoia.*  
 ko-i fana-ia oki ai okhoia  
 INCP-3SG shoot-TR again OBL.PRO 3SG.self  
 ‘He shot himself with it.’

The Polynesian Outlier Futuna-Aniwa has a similar set of forms with a similar function (Dougherty 1983: 38–39), taking *so-/soko-* as their initial element. Takuu, an Outlier in Papua New Guinea’s Bougainville Province, has corresponding forms in *oko-* (Moyle 2007).

#### 5.2.1.6. The pronoun nga

The form *nga* is clearly pronominal in function, though its use is extremely restricted. It has third-person reference, but appears to lack specification for number, as it occurs both with singular and plural reference:

- (12) a. *Nga la koi iloa.*  
 nga la ko-i ilo-a  
 PRON.3 DEM.3 INCP-3SG know-TR  
 ‘The other one knew it.’
- b. *Ka nga la e kharo e tolu.*  
 ka nga la e katoa e tolu  
 but PRON.3 DEM.3 GENR ten GENR three  
 ‘But there were thirty of them.’

- c. *Aia e tulia na ngakau po latu ō ma nga la a ko hiomai oki la.*  
 a ia e tuli-a na ngakau po  
 PERS 3SG GENR want-TR 3SG.POSS guts COMP  
 latu ō ma nga la a ko ahio mai  
 3PL.HORT go.PL with PRON.3 DEM.3 then INCP return come  
 oki la  
 again DEM.3  
 ‘He wanted to go with those (people) and then come back.’

The phrases with *nga* are clearly anaphoric, referring back to previously mentioned participants; but they appear to get their anaphoric reference as much from the accompanying demonstrative, which is obligatory in this construction, as from the pronoun *nga* itself. *Nga* here appears to be little more than an empty nominal placeholder filling the function of noun-phrase head, but contributing very little to the meaning.

The same appears to be the case for the second context in which *nga* is found, namely as an apparently semantically empty subject in extraposition constructions:

- (13) a. *Na nga e lavoi me toa a ia.*  
 na nga e lavoi me to-a a ia  
 DEM.2 PRON.3 GENR good PRSC take-TR PERS 3SG  
 ‘That is the best way to get her (lit. that is good to take her).’
- b. *Koi tukuange po na nga e lavoi maua ka ō ange oki ki thaunga.*  
 ko-i taku-a ange po na nga  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP DEM.2 PRON.3  
 e lavoi mhaua ka ō ange oki ki thaunga  
 GENR good 1DU.EXCL FUT go.PL go.along again to house  
 ‘She said, “It would be good if the two of us returned home.”’

Note that here, too, *nga* cooccurs with a demonstrative, though in this construction the demonstrative precedes *nga*.

In one example, *nga* appears to have a resumptive function, probably for contrastive emphasis:

- (14) *Ioko te leka la nga noi tukua oho te fau.*  
 ioko te leka la nga no-i tuku-a oho  
 CONJ SG.SP dwarf DEM.3 PRON.3 IPFV-3SG lower-TR go.vertically  
 te fau  
 SG.SP rope  
 ‘And the dwarf (was the one who) lowered the rope.’

This use may be linked to the function of *nga* as a pronominal copula (13.3.7), as it is typically resumptive pronouns which develop such functions (Stassen 1997: 77–83).

## 5.2.2. Possessive pronouns<sup>28</sup>

### 5.2.2.1. General characteristics

In addition to the person/number distinctions present in the personal pronouns, possessive pronouns in Vaeakau-Taumako distinguish between so-called a-possessive and o-possessive forms, a common distinction in Polynesian languages. Some forms further distinguish between singular and plural of the possessed entity.

The a- vs. o-possessive distinction is characterized formally by the presence of the vowel *a* vs. *o*. Semantically, the difference is often described in terms of *alienability*, with the a-possessive encoding alienable possession and the o-possessive encoding inalienable possession. However, it is not alienability in a strict sense which is at issue in the choice of a- vs. o-possessive in Vaeakau-Taumako, but rather *control* – not over the possessed item itself, but of the possessive relationship. If this relationship is of such a nature that it may be initiated or terminated freely, as with items which may be bought, sold or given away at will, the *a*-possessive is used; whereas relationships which are outside the possessor's personal control are encoded with the *o*-possessive. In other words, the possessive markers *a* and *o* and their derived forms do not function as possessive classifiers in a strict sense, since they do not classify the possessed items as such, but rather the possessive relationship; this is a general characteristic of indirect (non-affixal) possessive constructions in Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 1983, Palmer and Brown 2007).

Relationships classified as o-possessive in Vaeakau-Taumako include body-part and kinship relationships, but also possession of items which are traditionally controlled by a group or a family, or passed on through inheritance, and which an individual is therefore not free to dispose of as he wishes. Such items may include, for instance, houses, canoes, fruit trees and gardening land. Furthermore, food and items linked with food preparation are generally a-possessive, whereas drink and items connected with drinking are o-possessive. A similar distinction is noted for the New Caledonia Outlier East Futuna in Clark (2000: 264), though it does not hold for Nuclear Polynesian languages such as Tuvaluan or Samoan, where both food and drink are a-possessive (Besnier 2000: 320, Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 278–279). In Oceanic languages in general, a distinction between “food” possession and

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<sup>28</sup> The account in this section builds to a large extent on Næss (2000b).

“drink” possession is very common, and it is reconstructed for Proto Oceanic (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 77).

In some cases, kinship terms with closely related meanings show apparently arbitrary variations in possessive assignment; thus *kave* ‘same-sex cousin’, *thuohine* ‘man’s sister’, *hinana* ‘mother’, *pengi* ‘husband’, and *vakapī* ‘wife’ take the o-possessive, whereas *avanga* ‘spouse’ and *matua* ‘husband’ (lit. ‘old man’) take the a-possessive. The difference between possessive marking of children of a woman (a-possessive) vs. children of a man (o-possessive) is discussed further in 5.2.2.2 below.

Terms for different types of basket show no predictable pattern in their possessive assignment; for example, the basket terms *huapotu* ‘sturdy household basket’, *laka* ‘basket for storing leftover food’, *laulau* ‘plaited tray used to serve food’, *longi* ‘basket for food’, *polapola* ‘simple, disposable basket’, *tanga leu* ‘type of small basket’, and *velo* ‘long food basket’ take the a-possessive, *tanga* ‘basket, generic’, *tangalaufau* ‘basket for betel equipment’, and *tauplemata* ‘small food basket’ take the o-possessive, while *bekuma* ‘small basket for personal possessions’ (probably an Äiwoo borrowing), *kete* ‘big basket in which produce is brought from the gardens’, and *vainī* ‘large round basket for transporting food’ may take either possessive marker. Possibly there is a historical difference in how ownership of these different basket types was construed, such that some types were considered group property while others were individual property.

In addition to those discussed above, the following categories of nouns generally take the a-possessive:

- animals, birds and fish (*kulī* ‘dog’, *ika* ‘fish’ [and all species of fish], *kio* ‘chicken’, etc.);
- smaller utensils and instruments used only by the owner or considered a personal possession (*ikohi* ‘tongs’, *kō* ‘husking stick’, *loku* ‘bow’, *mahila* ‘knife’, etc.);
- abstract nouns or nominalizations implying active participation of the possessor (*aku value* ‘my sins’, *pukepukenga a te tangata* ‘the man’s trick’, *te hanohano a te tangata* ‘the man’s journey’, etc. ).

The following categories of nouns, in addition to those previously mentioned, generally take the o-possessive:

- part-whole relations, including parts of houses (*apithoka* ‘door’, *tohuhu* ‘ceiling’, *tukupotu* ‘wall’), geographical attributes (*alohi [o te motu]* ‘lagoon [of an island]’, *potu [o te akau]* ‘edge [of the reef]’, *akau [o Nifiloli]* ‘reef [of Nifiloli]’), and other part-whole relationships (*lā* ‘sail [of a boat]’, *lā* ‘branch [of a tree]’ *kaliakai* ‘dinghy [of a ship]’);

- clothing and body ornaments (*kahu* ‘clothes’, *muapapoi* ‘clothes’, *phali* ‘headgear’, *kanga* ‘earring’);
- money and valuables (*muahau*, *ulu* ‘feather money’, *lheni* ‘money’ [from Pijin *seleni*], *kolikoli*, *penupenu* ‘things, belongings’);
- traditional utensils and equipment (*atupā* ‘stone axe’, *hala* ‘mat’, *kaulakau* ‘stick for poling canoe’, *tokotoko* ‘walking stick’, *ulunga* ‘pillow’);
- spiritual or moral aspects of living beings (*ata* ‘soul spirit’, *anganga* ‘behaviour’, *leo* ‘custom’).

The fact that the a- vs. o-possessive distinction classifies the possessive relationship rather than the possessed item as such is made clear by the fact that some nouns may be used with both possessive types, depending on the precise nature of the possessive relationship: *lalakhai o Pileni* ‘a story from/about Pileni’, but *te lalakhai a tatou* ‘our story (that we tell)’. Alienability, on the other hand, refers directly to the relationship between the possessor and the possessed item, rather than to the possessor’s control over this relationship. Alienability is also relevant to possessive encoding in Vaeakau-Taumako, though not to the choice of a- vs. o-possessive; the distinction between inalienable and alienable possession is what governs the choice between prenominal and postnominal possessive pronouns (5.2.2.2–5.2.2.3).

#### 5.2.2.2. Prenominal possessive pronouns

The prenominal possessive pronouns distinguish between singular, dual and plural of the possessor; the singular-possessor forms make an additional distinction between singular and plural of the possessed entity. The singular-possessor forms encode the a- vs. o-possessive distinction directly, whereas the dual- and plural-possessor forms are combined with the possessive prepositions (10.3) *a* and *o* to express this distinction; they may also, however, occur without a preposition.

Table 12. Prenominal possessive pronouns

Possessor	Singular possessed	Plural possessed
1sg	<i>taku, toku/tuku</i>	<i>aku, oku</i>
2sg	<i>tau, tō</i>	<i>au, ou/ō</i>
3sg	<i>tana, tona, tena, na</i>	<i>ana, ona</i>
1du.incl	<i>(a/o) ta</i>	
1du.excl	<i>(a/o) ma</i>	
2du	<i>(a/o) lu</i>	
3du	<i>(a/o) la</i>	
1pl.incl	<i>(a/o) tatu</i>	
1pl.excl	<i>(a/o) matu</i>	
2pl	<i>(a/o) kotu, (a/o) tu</i>	
3pl	<i>(a/o) latu</i>	

The singular possessor/singular possessed forms may be analyzed as consisting of the specific singular article *te* + a possessive preposition (*a/o*) + a person suffix; the person suffixes are the same as those used to indicate direct possession on certain kinship nouns (6.2.2), except that what diachronically at least must be analyzed as *t-o-u* ‘2SG o-possessive’ in current Vaeakau-Taumako is always realized as *tō*.

The 3SG forms *tona* and *tana* are relatively infrequent; more often the form *na*, neutral as to the *a/o*-possessive distinction, is used. The form *tena*, which is mostly attested in nominalized clauses, is also neutral as to possessive type. The form *tuku* of the 1SG o-possessive is likely to be a phonological variant with assimilation of the first vowel; while *toku* is the preferred form in writing, *tuku* is more frequent in speech.

The prenominal possessive pronouns occur directly preceding the possessed nouns. They are typically used for various kinds of inalienable possessive relationships, such as kinship terms (those which do not take possessive suffixes, cf. 6.2.2), body-part terms, bodily excretions, and other part-whole relationships:

- (15) a. *Tuku tungane nei tapoina mhaua.*  
 t-o-ku                                      tungane    ne-i            tapeo-ina mhaua  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS    brother    PFV-3SG bad-TR    1DU.EXCL  
 ‘My brother treated us badly.’

- b. *Une au po ku nofo ange ia tau tama.*  
 u=ne      au      po            k-u            nofo    ange      ia  
 1SG=PFV come    COMP    HORT-1SG    stay    go.along    with  
 t-a-u                                      tama  
 SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS    child  
 ‘I have come to marry your son.’



(16) *Na vae ia na manava e fula.*

na vae ia na manava e fula  
 3SG.POSS leg CONJ 3SG.POSS stomach GENR swell  
 ‘Her leg and her stomach were swollen.’

(17) *Ona toto no tele.*

o-na toto no tele  
 POSS-3SG.POSS blood IPFV run  
 ‘Her blood was flowing.’

(18) *Hai na proki hikiai ne ohi.*

thai na pitoki sikiai ne ohi  
 one 3SG.POSS end not.yet PFV finish  
 ‘One of its ends was not yet finished.’

Note that although all these may be characterized as inalienable relationships, the distinction between a-possessive and o-possessive is still maintained, although the *o* forms are by far the most frequent. For example, children of a woman take the a-possessive, while children of a man take the o-possessive:

(19) a. *Te fekai a taku tama? koi feilia ange nofine ana.* (NUP)

te fekai a t-a-ku tama  
 SG.SP where PERS SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS child  
 ko-i feili-a ange nofine a-na  
 INCP-3SG ask-TR go.along wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘‘Where is my son?’’ his wife asked.’

b. *A Manutele e takoto ange i te taine a te akahu.*

a Manutele e takoto ange i te taine  
 PERS Manutele GENR lie go.along LDA SG.SP girl  
 a te akahu  
 POSS SG.SP moon  
 ‘Manutele is in bed because of the daughter of the moon (moon = female).’

(20) a. *Ko noho ange loa la i te ataliki o king la.*

ko noho ange loa la i te ataliki  
 INCP stay go.along EMPHDEM.3 LDA SG.SP son  
 o king la  
 POSS king DEM.3  
 ‘She married the king’s son.’

- b. *Te aliki i Nibele ko tukua loa po a matea te memea na kai toa loa tuku ahahine.*

te aliki i Nibele ko taku-a loa po a  
 SG.SP chief LDA Nibele INCP say-TR EMPHCOMP then  
 matea te memea na ka-i to-a loa  
 maybe SG.SP child DEM.2 FUT-3SG take-TR EMPH  
 t-o-ku ahahine  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS daughter  
 ‘The chief at Nibele thought, “Perhaps that boy should marry my daughter.”’

This difference is not readily explainable in terms of alienability, and may be problematic, too, with respect to the control parameter. One might hypothesize that a woman is conceptualized as being in “control” of conception, pregnancy, and childbirth in a way that a man is not, and so a woman is ascribed a greater degree of control over the mother-child relationship; but this remains an hypothesis. The fact that the terms *tama* ‘woman’s son’ and *taine* ‘woman’s daughter’ also have the more general meanings ‘boy; child’ and ‘girl’ respectively, might also conceivably influence possessive marking.

The pronominal possessive pronouns are also used to refer to the subject of nominalized clauses (7.5). The *a*-possessive is by far the most frequent in this function, except for a few instances of *tena*. This is consistent with the analysis of the *a*-possessive marking a controlled relationship; subjects are typically seen as controlling the action described by the clause. However, prohibitive constructions with *auā* (16.2.1.1) also show some instances of the *o*-possessive.

- (21) a. *A iau e tetuā taku fano ki nghauta.*

a iau e tetua-a t-a-ku hano  
 PERS 1SG GENR reject-TR SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS go.SG  
 ki nghauta  
 to shore  
 ‘I refuse to go to the village.’

- b. *Ko ilo ke tana fafana i loku.* (TAU)

ko ilo ke t-a-na fa-fana i loku  
 INCP know HORT SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS RED~shoot LDA bow  
 ‘He wanted to know how to shoot with a bow.’

- c. *Aua ke tō sae atu ki Takulu, aua tō laka atu ki te hai la.*  
 auā ke t-ō thae atu ki Takulu  
 PROH HORT SG.SP-2SG.POSS reach go.out to Takulu  
 auā t-ō laka atu ki te hai la  
 PROH SG.SP-2SG.POSS pass go.out to SG.SP place DEM.3  
 ‘Do not go as far as Takulu, do not go to that place.’

### 5.2.2.3. Postnominal possessive pronouns

The postnominal possessive pronouns make no distinction between singular and plural of the possessed item; this distinction is typically made through the choice of article preceding the possessed noun. Like the pronominal possessive pronouns, the postnominal possessives are based on the possessive prepositions *a* and *o* (10.3) plus a pronominal form indicating person and number of the possessor; in the singular, this is the same set of suffixes found on the pronominal possessives, whereas in the dual and plural, a distinct set of person/number forms are found. In the first and third person, these forms are identical to the independent personal pronouns, except for the lack of aspiration on the initial consonant.

Table 13. Postnominal possessive pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. incl		<i>taua</i>	<i>tatou</i>
1. excl	<i>aku, oku</i>	<i>maua</i>	<i>matou</i>
2	<i>au, ou</i>	<i>aulua, oulua</i>	<i>autou, outou</i>
3.	<i>ana, ona</i>	<i>laua</i>	<i>latou</i>

In some Polynesian languages, such as Niuean and the Solomons Outlier Rennell-Bellona, the contrast between pronominal and postnominal possessives reflects a difference in definiteness (Clark 2000: 260–261). This is not the case for Vaeakau-Taumako; rather, the difference is one of alienability. The postnominal possessive pronouns are used with what one might refer to as possessive relationships in the literal sense – that is, relationships characterized by the social convention of possession (“owning” something) rather than e.g. kinship or part-whole relationships. These, then, are *alienable* possessives properly understood, although the distinction still remains between possessive relationships over which the possessor has personal control (a-possessive) and relationships over which the possessor has no such control (o-possessive).

- (22) a. *Tha ka ō ki thaunga oku.*  
 tha ka ō ki thaunga o-ku  
 1DU.INCL.HORT FUT go.PL to house POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Let’s go to my house.’
- b. *A iau no lekatu po kei tokia te taveli aku i mua na.*  
 a iau no lek-atu po ke-i toki-a  
 PERS 1SG IPFV go-go.out COMP HORT-3SG plant-TR  
 te taveli a-ku i mua na  
 SG.SP banana POSS-1SG.POSS LDA place DEM.2  
 ‘I will go and plant my banana over there.’

The semantic contrast between the pre- and postnominal possessives may be illustrated by the following pairs of examples, where the possessee in the a. examples are construed as *part of* the possessor (food *growing on* the pumpkin plant, fish *living in* a certain place), whereas the b. examples refer to possession proper:

- (23) a. *Ko ēke na koi avavange ona kaikai na.*  
 ko ēke na ko-i av~av-ange  
 INCP grow DEM.2 INCP-3SG RED~give-go.along  
 o-na kaikai na  
 POSS-3SG.POSS food DEM.2  
 ‘(The pumpkin) grew and bore fruit (lit. gave its food).’
- b. *E fiekai, a koi toa a kaikai ana, ko kai.*  
 e fie-kai a ko-i to-a  
 GENR DES-eat then INCP-3SG take-TR  
 a kaikai a-na ko kai  
 COLL food POSS-3SG.POSS INCP eat  
 ‘He got hungry, and he took his food and ate.’
- (24) a. *Lhatu ō atu loa o hangota i Malimi dekina mua ne ohi ai ona ika.*  
 lhatu ō atu loa o hangota i Malimi dekina  
 3PL go.PL go.out EMPHto fish LDA Malimi because  
 mua ne ohi ai o-na ika  
 place DEM.1 finish OBL.PRO POSS-3SG.POSS fish  
 ‘They are going to fish at Malimi, because there is no more fish here (lit. this place, its fish are finished).’

- b. *Lhatuko toa ange a ika, a ika ana na.*  
 lhatu=ko to-a ange a ika  
 3PL=INCP take-TR go.along COLL fish  
 a ika a-na na  
 COLL fish POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.2  
 ‘They took the fish, his fish.’

A restricted set of nouns with kinship reference show obligatory possessive marking either by a postnominal possessive pronoun, in the dual and plural, or by a possessive suffix in the singular; cf. 6.2.2.

#### 5.2.2.4. Possessive pronouns as heads of NPs and nominal predicates

The determiner + possessive element *to/ta*, which occurs in the singular-possessor prenominal possessive pronouns, may be added to the postnominal possessive pronouns, and to other nominals, to form the head of a noun phrase:

- (25) a. *Hatuko lasi ala loa i t-a-ku.*  
 thatu=ko lasi ala loa i t-a-ku  
 1PL.INCL=INCP last HYP EMPH LDA SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘We’ll go to mine last.’
- b. *E au na koi sikuai tana i thaupē.*  
 e au na ko-i sikuai t-a-na  
 GENR come DEM.2 INCP-3SG put SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS  
 i thaupē  
 LDA lagoon  
 ‘He came and put his (part) in the sea.’
- c. *Ioko ia koi kavea ake ta thupuna.*  
 ioko ia ko-i kave-a ake  
 CONJ 3SG INCP-3SG bring-TR go.up  
 t-a thupu-na  
 SG.SP-POSS grandparent-3SG.POSS  
 ‘And he brought his grandfather’s.’

Like other noun phrases, these forms may be used as nominal predicates (13.3.4):

- (26) a. *Te alo ne ko tona.*  
 te alo ne ko t-o-na  
 SG.SP canoe DEM.1 TOP SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘This canoe is his.’

- b. *Ko ia loa po ta tatou tne.*  
 ko ia loa po t-a tatou te-ne  
 TOP 3SG EMPHCOMP SG.SP-POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS SG.SP-DEM.1  
 ‘This one is ours.’
- c. *Ioko ia e tu loa na ko to Leiolo loa.*  
 ioko ia e thū loa na  
 CONJ 3SG GENR stand EMPH DEM.2  
 ko t-o Leiolo loa  
 TOP SG.SP-POSS Leiolo EMPH  
 ‘And the only one still standing was Leiolo’s.’
- d. *Ko ne siai to malama, ko ne mate i kmatou.*  
 ko ne siai t-o malama ko=ne mate  
 2SG DEM.1 NEG SG.SP-POSS light 2SG=PFV die  
 i khimatou  
 LDA 1PL.EXCL  
 ‘You are not of this world, you died for us.’

Note that although the singular pronominal forms are identical to the singular-possessor pronominal possessive pronouns, the pronominal *to-/ta-* forms cannot be based on the pronominal possessive pronouns, since the form in (26b) is *ta tatou*, not *\*ta tatu*. We must therefore assume that the pronominal *to-/ta-* forms functioning as noun-phrase heads or nominal predicates are based on the postnominal possessive pronouns.

An alternative way of forming possessive predicates is with the predicative possessive particle *ni* + postnominal possessive or possessive prepositional phrase (13.3.6); compare (26a) to (27a):

- (27) a. *Te alo ne ni ona.* (NUP)  
 te alo ne ni o-na  
 SG.SP canoe DEM.1 PP POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘This canoe is his.’
- b. *Te kaenga ne ni o maua loa.*  
 te kaenga ne ni o maua loa  
 SG.SP village DEM.1 PP POSS 1DU.EXCL.POSS EMPH  
 ‘This village is ours.’
- c. *Te lakau ni a te ataliki o king.*  
 te lakau ni a te ataliki o king  
 SG.SP tree PP POSS SG.SP son POSS king  
 ‘The tree belongs to the king’s son.’

## 5.2.3. Oblique pro-forms

The forms *ai* and *akinai* are used as pro-forms for prepositional phrases with the preposition *i* and *ki*, respectively. Their core meaning is locative ('there') and directional ('thither') respectively; but they may refer to any type of participant that may be encoded by *i* or *ki*, such as an instrument (28c) or the oblique source participant of a perception verb (29c). In (28b), *ai* does not refer back to an earlier prepositional phrase, but rather indicates general spatial/temporal reference; 'sitting there, sitting around'.

Corresponding forms in other Polynesian languages are often labelled "anaphoric pronouns" or "anaphors" in the Polynesianist literature (e.g. Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 133, Hooper 1996: 24, Besnier 2000: 194–195). However, as all pronouns have anaphoric uses, this is a much too broad term; we gloss *ai* and *akinai* as 'oblique pro-forms' (OBL.PRO).

- (28) a. *E noho i mui no noho ai.*  
 e noho i mui no noho ai  
 GENR sit LDA place IPFV sit OBL.PRO  
 'He is sitting in the place where he (usually) sits.'
- b. *Lhatuno noho ai oi mnemena na.*  
 lhatu=no noho ai oi mena~mena na  
 3PL=IPFV sit OBL.PROto RED~talk DEM.2  
 'They were sitting there talking.'
- c. *tuku lima une tokia ai*  
 t-o-ku lima u=ne toki-a ai  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS hand 1SG=PFV plant-TR OBL.PRO  
 'my hand which I planted them (= pumpkins) with'
- (29) a. *Ko lele oho loa akinai.*  
 ko lele oho loa akinai  
 INCP jump go.vertically EMPH OBL.PRO  
 'He jumped down there.'
- b. *Na ko ia mui no hano akinai te vela.*  
 na ko ia mui no hano akinai te vela  
 DEM.2 TOP 3SG place IPFV go.SG OBL.PRO SG.SP sun  
 'That is the place where the sun goes.'

- c. *A ko longo akinai a hinana o laua.*  
 a ko longo akinai a hina-na  
 CONJ INCP listen OBL.PRO PERS mother-3SG.POSS  
 o laua  
 POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ‘Their mother listened to it.’

A third form, *akina*, is only found in NUP, and appears to cover the uses of both the other two:

- (30) a. *Ko fiftaina ko mate loa akina.* (NUP)  
 ko fifta-ina ko mate loa akina  
 INCP tie-TR INCP die EMPH OBL.PRO  
 ‘(The pig) got entangled (in the spiderweb) and died there.’
- b. *Ko lekatu loa akina.* (NUP)  
 ko lek-atu loa akina  
 INCP go-go.out EMPHOBL.PRO  
 ‘She went there/to that place.’

Whereas *ai* reflects the PPN particle \*ai ‘postposed verbal particle anaphoric of a non-subject’ (Biggs and Clark 2009), *akina* and *akinai* are clearly diachronically related to the applicative suffix *-akina* (8.2.3). The pro-forms represent an oblique participant (more specifically a locative/directional/instrumental phrase); the function of the suffix is to promote an oblique participant to direct object status. Both reflect the Proto-Oceanic form \*akin[i], which introduced various types of oblique participant (Pawley 1973: 120ff, Evans 2003: 304). Evans (2003: 149) notes that reflexes of \*akin[i] in some languages function as a ‘trace element’ – a pro-form referring back to various types of oblique participants:

- (31) BAUAN FIJIAN (Pawley 1973 cited in Evans 2003: 149):  
 na kau oqo au moku-t-a kina na koli  
 ART stick this I hit-TR-it with:it ART dog  
 ‘This is the stick with which I hit the dog.’
- (32) TONGAN (Churchward 1953 cited in Evans 2003: 149):  
 na’á ne to’o ‘a e maea ‘o ne ha’i ‘aki  
 PAST 3SG take ABS ART rope CONJ 3SG bind ‘aki  
 hoku ongo nima  
 POSS:1SG DU hand  
 ‘He took a rope and bound my hands with it.’



Though the oblique pro-forms *akina/akinai* and the applicative suffix *-akina* are both formally and functionally very similar, and have the same diachronic source, they are nevertheless clearly distinct morphemes. This can be demonstrated by the fact that verbs applicativized by *-akina* are formally transitive, whereas verbs in clauses with the pro-forms are not (unless they are already transitive independently of the construction with the pro-form); none of the verbs in (28–30) show the 3SG suffix *-i* on the tense-aspect-mood marker, whereas this suffix is present with the applicativized verb in (33):

- (33) *Te ihua lele noi leleakina te tangara.*  
 te athua lele noi-i lele-akina te tangata  
 SG.SP spirit fly IPFV-3SG fly-APPL SG.SP man  
 ‘The flying spirit was flying away with the man.’

Note also that the oblique pro-form may be separated from the verb by various morphemes such as the emphatic particle *loa* (29a, 30), while the applicative suffix attaches directly to the verb stem.

Nevertheless, there are a few ambiguous examples where no formal clues are present as to whether *akina* functions as an applicative (*ilakeakina* ‘look.up.at.TR’) or an oblique pro-form (*ilake akina* ‘look.up at.it):

- (34) *Ko te ube la koi feiliange po ni a kono ilake akina na?* (NUP)  
 ko te ube la ko-i feili-a ange po  
 TOP SG.SP pigeon DEM.3 INCP-3SG ask-TR go.along COMP  
 ni ā ko=no ila ake akina na  
 SG.NSP what 2SG=IPFV look go.up APPL/OBL.PRO DEM.2  
 ‘The pigeon asked: “What are you looking up at?”’

Possibly, such examples can be seen as representing the bridging context between the two functions, i.e. the context that links the functions and gives rise to the diachronic development from one to the other, cf. Evans and Wilkins (2000: 549–550), Enfield (2003a: 28–29).

### 5.3. Demonstratives

#### 5.3.1. Forms and basic meaning of the demonstratives

Vaeakau-Taumako has a three-term system of demonstrative morphemes similar to that found in many other Polynesian languages: *ne(i)* ‘here, close to speaker’, *na* ‘there, close to addressee, some distance away’, *la* ‘there, away from both speaker and hearer, quite far away’.

The semantic basis of this system is clearly person-oriented (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 284), meaning that the forms indicate proximity to participants in the speech situation: proximity to speaker for *ne(i)*, proximity to hearer for *na*, and distance from both speaker and hearer, alternatively proximity to a third person, for *la*. This is reflected in the typical and very frequent use of demonstratives with personal pronouns, where the demonstrative chosen generally correlates with the person of the pronoun: *A iau ne* ‘me (here)’, *a koe na* ‘you (there)’, *a ia la* ‘him/her (there)’.

However, the distribution and functions of the demonstratives, to be discussed in detail below and in chapter 18, shows that the demonstrative paradigm also shows aspects of a distance-based system, i.e. one operating in terms of degrees of distance from the speaker. *Na* appears in many cases to be the most neutral choice, referring to something which is neither very distant nor very far away. In other words, there is not always an association with the addressee in the speech-act situation; rather, *na* appears to function as the medial term of a distance-based system. While uses of the demonstratives in direct conversation will usually refer to the speech-act participants (e.g. *na* ‘that one near you’), in narratives *na* more commonly has a middle-distance or distance-neutral reference. A similar system of “mixed” reference is reported for Boumaa Fijian in Dixon (2003: 86).

The core set of demonstrative particles have both nominal (5.3.2) and local adverbial uses (5.3.3). In addition, they serve a number of functions in the structuring of discourse; these will be discussed in chapter 18. The demonstrative particles are also found in several complex forms; the verbal demonstratives *phenē*, *phenā*, *phelā* are treated in 5.3.4, while the deictic adverbs *anē*, *anā*, *alā* and *inē*, *inā*, *ilā* are discussed in 5.3.5.

### 5.3.2. Nominal demonstratives

Dixon (2003: 63) suggests that the common terms “demonstrative pronoun”, for a demonstrative which may function as the head of a noun phrase, and “demonstrative adjective”, for a demonstrative which may modify a noun, may both be replaced by “nominal demonstrative”. This is because these functions are nearly always filled by the same forms in a language; and because these forms generally have very little in common with either personal pronouns or adjectives.

Demonstratives in Vaeakau-Taumako do indeed have both these functions. They may occur as heads of noun phrases, translatable as ‘this one’, ‘that one’. In this function they may be preceded by the specific articles *te* (SG) or *ngha* (PL), as is common in other Polynesian languages; but they may also occur in their bare form in this position.

- (35) a. *Tena ko te ube i na sino meitaine.* (NUP)  
 te-na ko te ube i na sino  
 SG.SP-DEM.2 TOP SG.SP pigeon LDA 3SG.POSS body  
 mei-taine  
 small-girl  
 ‘That was the pigeon in the body of a girl.’
- b. *Nghala a hahine e tokolua ma te memea e kotahi.*  
 ngha-la a hahine e toko-lua  
 PL.SP-DEM.3 COLL woman GENRCLASS-two  
 ma te memea e ko-tahi  
 CONJ SG.SP child GENRPREF-one  
 ‘There were two women and a child (lit. those ones, the women were two and the child was one).’

Demonstratives as heads of noun phrases may also have anaphoric function, referring back to previously mentioned participants in the discourse, and so functioning essentially like third-person pronouns:

- (36) a. *Ila moa, a nohine au la nga ɪla ia.*  
 ɪla mua a nohine a-u la  
 look just PERS wife POSS-2SG.POSS DEM.3  
 nga te-la ia  
 PRON.3 SG.SP-DEM.3 3SG  
 ‘Look, that is your wife there.’

*Na no hinga po a ia na e nonohine, ioko ia na, na e pakhola loa ma.*  
 (TAU)

na no hinga po a ia na e  
 DEM.2 IPFV do COMP PERS 3SG DEM.2 SG.NSP  
 no~nohine ioko ia na na e pakhola  
 RED~wife CONJ 3SG DEM.2 DEM.2 SG.NSP giant  
 loa te-na  
 EMPH SG.SP-DEM.2  
 ‘She acts like a woman, but she is really a giant.’

- b. *Ka nē une promisina,*  
 ka ne u=ne promis-ina  
 but DEM.1 1SG=PFV promise-TR  
 ‘But this is what I promised,

*une tukua po tuku ahahine,*  
 u=ne taku-a po t-o-ku ahahine  
 1SG=PFV say-TR COMP SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS daughter  
 ‘I said that my daughter,’

*hai lau te lalona, la e toa tuku ahahine.*

thai lau te lala o-na  
 one find SG.SP ring POSS-3SG.POSS  
 la e to-a t-o-ku ahahine  
 DEM.3 GENR take-TR SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS daughter  
 ‘whoever found her ring, he would marry my daughter.’

As modifiers in a noun phrase, the demonstratives may occur with either nouns or pronouns, and with either deictic or anaphoric reference.

(37) a. *A mhena kone laua i hea na?*

a mhe-na ko=ne lau-a i hea na  
 PERS man-DEM.2 2SG=PFV find-TR LDA where DEM.2  
 ‘Where did you find that man?’

b. *Te ikana ne i mua ne, noi nghanghaina.*

te ika a-na ne i mua ne  
 SG.SP fish POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.1 LDA place DEM.1  
 no-i hanga~hangai-na  
 IPFV-3SG RED~feed-TR  
 ‘He has a fish here in this place that he feeds.’

*Te ika na mharou no tukuange po e ono.*

te ika na mhatou no taku-a ange po  
 SG.SP fish DEM.2 1PL.EXCL IPFV say-TR go.along COMP  
 e ono  
 SG.NSP barracuda  
 ‘That fish we call a *ono*.’

c. *E, ko noho loa,*

e ko no~noho loa  
 yes INCP RED~stay EMPH  
 ‘Yes, so he stayed,’

*ioko te kaenga la e noho ai te pakola. Na mua kaenga la.*

ioko te kaenga la e noho ai te pakola  
 CONJ SG.SP village DEM.3 GENR stay OBL.PROSG.SP giant  
 na mua kaenga la  
 DEM.2 small village DEM.3  
 ‘and in that village (previously mentioned) there lived a giant, in that little village.’

- (38) a. *Mhaua ne te memea a maua ko lavaki.*  
 mhaua ne te memea a maua  
 1DU.EXCL DEM.1 SG.SP child POSS 1DU.EXCL.POSS  
 ko lavaki  
 INCP disappear  
 ‘As for the two of us, our child has disappeared.’
- b. *A koe na no noho i hea?*  
 a koe na no noho i hea  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 IPFV stay LDA where  
 ‘Where were you sitting?’
- c. *Lhaua la ko ahio oki ai ki te kaenga o laua.*  
 lhaua la ko ahio oki ai ki te kaenga  
 3DU DEM.3 INCP return again OBL.PROto SG.SP village  
 o laua  
 POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ‘The two of them then returned to their village.’

The first-person demonstrative *ne* is rare in anaphoric function, but does occur:

- (39) *Thai lhatou e Diuku, te tai ne e ingoa ko Diuku.* (TAU)  
 thai lhatou e Diuku te tai ne e ingoa  
 one 3PL SG.NSP Diuku SG.SP person DEM.1 SG.NSP name  
 ko Diuku  
 TOP Diuku  
 ‘One of them was Diuku, this man is called Diuku.’

Note the following example, which combines a demonstrative as predicate and one as modifier, where one is deictic and the other anaphoric:

- (40) *Koi tukua ki a matua ana po tenā ika tenē.*  
 ko-i taku-a ki a matua a-na po  
 INCP-3SG say-TR to COLL old.man POSS-3SG.POSS COMP  
 te-na ika te-ne  
 SG.SP-DEM.2 fish SG.SP-DEM.1  
 ‘He said to the elders: “This (deictic) is that fish (mentioned earlier).”’

Demonstratives are also frequent with place names:

- (41) *Ko menamenaina atu na mui hai tapeo ne ne laua mhatou ne i Nukapu ne.*  
 ko mena~mena-ina atu na mui hai thapeo ne  
 INCP RED~speak-TR go.out DEM.2 place one cyclone DEM.1  
 ne lau-a mhatou ne i Nukapu ne  
 PFV reach-TR 1PL.EXCL DEM.1 LDA Nukapu DEM.1  
 ‘I will tell you about a cyclone that struck us here in Nukapu.’

As noted above, when a demonstrative occurs with a pronoun, the demonstrative chosen is typically that corresponding to the speech-act participant referred to by the pronoun, i.e. *ne* for 1st person, *na* for 2nd person and *la* for 3rd person. However, as *na* is in many contexts the neutral choice, it is frequently found with 3rd-person as well as 2nd-person forms. Furthermore, other concerns may override the default choice, i.e. emphasis on the (unexpected) location of the referent (42a) or the contrastive function of *la* described in 18.2.4 (42b).

- (42) a. *Khoulua ne noho ake huehea?*  
 khoulua ne e noho ake hua-hea  
 2DU DEM.1 GENR stay go.up CAUS-where  
 ‘What are you two doing here?’
- b. *A koe la e mdatangata pehea?*  
 a koe la e mda-tangata phe-hea  
 PERS 2SG DEM.3 SG.NSP kind-man like-where  
 ‘What kind of man are you?’

### 5.3.3. Local adverbial demonstratives

The bare demonstratives may also be used as local adverbs, i.e. modifying a verb and referring to the location in which the verbal action takes place:

- (43) a. *A hatu e iloa po a kio no tahao ne i nghauta.*  
 a thatu=e ilo-a po a kio  
 PERS 1PL.INCL=GENR know-TR COMP COLL chicken  
 no tahao ne i nghauta  
 IPFV stroll DEM.1 LDA shore  
 ‘We know that chickens wander around here, on land (as opposed to the sea).’

- b. *A koi heiliange ki thai tai po na te meitaine no leho na ko ai a mhana?*  
 a ko-i heili-a ange ki thai tai po na  
 PERS INCP-3SG ask-TR along to one man COMP DEM.2  
 te mei-taine no le-oho na ko ai  
 SG.SP small-girl IPFV go-go.vertically DEM.2 TOP who  
 a mha-na  
 PERS father-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He asked a man, “That girl coming there, who is her father?”’

Adverbial uses of demonstratives may also have temporal-deictic functions, i.e. ‘now’, ‘then’:

- (44) *Lhatune teia i mua ne anā ko ia, uka tlailā atu ne.*  
 lhatu=ne ta-ia i mua ne a-na ko ia  
 3PL=PFV hit-TR LDA place DEM.1 then-DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 u=ka tala~tala-a atu ne  
 1SG=FUT RED ~tell-TR go.out DEM.1  
 ‘They killed him in this place, I will tell you about it now.’

Unambiguous examples of local adverbial uses of the demonstratives are relatively infrequent in our corpus, however. As the demonstratives have other uses in which they typically occur following a verb, e.g. the phrase-demarcation function discussed in 18.2.2, it is in some cases difficult to establish whether a demonstrative following a verb has an adverbial or a discourse-structuring function.

- (45) *Nghi te kaenga lhatuko ō atu na.*  
 nghi i te kaenga lhatu=ko ō atu na  
 some LDA SG.SP village 3PL=INCP go.PL go.out DEM.2  
 ‘Some people from the village went out [there].’

The oblique pro-forms (5.2.3) also have a local adverbial function; but as they are pro-forms for locative/directional prepositional phrases, their basic function is anaphoric rather than deictic. There are, however, examples of apparently deictic uses, as in (46), which is reported direct speech where *akinai* refers to the immediate spatial setting, and no overt antecedent is present in the preceding discourse:

- (46) *Iau ka lele oho akinai.*  
 iau ka lele oho akinai  
 1SG FUT jump go.vertically OBL.PRO  
 ‘I will jump down there.’

## 5.3.4. Verbal demonstratives

Manner adverbial demonstratives are demonstrative forms modifying verbs with the meaning “like this/that” (Dixon 2003: 62). In Vaeakau-Taumako, where the formal class of adverbs is highly restricted (cf. 11.4), the forms fulfilling this function are verbs with the meaning ‘do/be like this, do/be like that’. They are formed by the prefixation of *p(h)e-* to the basic demonstrative particles: *phenē* ‘do/be like this’, *phenā* ‘do/be like that’, *phelā* ‘do/be like that’.

Such verbal demonstratives are relatively rare crosslinguistically, though Dixon (2003: 72–74) describes similar forms for Boumaa Fijian and Dyirbal. The Fijian verbal demonstrative *eneii* has very similar basic functions as the Vaeakau-Taumako verbal demonstratives: deictic reference to an activity, anaphoric reference, or introducing direct speech. The latter function is only attested in Vaeakau-Taumako with *phelā*.

- (47) a. *Noho phenē!*  
 noho phe-ne  
 sit like-DEM.1  
 ‘Sit like this!’
- b. *Hahano na, a langi e tolu, lhatuno hangota ai phenā na.*  
 ha~hano na a langi e tolu  
 RED~go.SG DEM.2 COLL day GENR three  
 lhatu=no hangota ai phe-na na  
 3PL=IPFV fish OBL.PRO like-DEM.2 DEM.2  
 ‘Then for three days they fished like that (= in a manner previously described).’
- c. *Ko au na, koi pelā ange po ē, a kaikai kono tunā na pokā?*  
 ko au na ko-i phe-la ange  
 INCP come DEM.2 INCP-3SG like-DEM.3 go.along  
 po ē a kaikai ko=no tuna-a na  
 COMP hey COLL food 2SG=IPFV cook-TR DEM.2  
 po ke ā  
 COMP HORT what  
 ‘He came and said, “The food you are cooking, what is it for?”’

The verbal demonstratives may also be used to mean ‘be the same as, in the same way’:



(48) *E phenā mai i Kahula, nhomai ki nghauta, e nhomai ki Malino, nhatu ki Kalua, o iho, ko tele.* (TAU)

e phe-na mai i Kahula hano mai ki nghauta  
 GENR like-DEM.2 come LDA Kahula go.SG come to shore  
 e hano mai ki Malino hano atu ki Kalua o iho  
 GENR go.SG come to Malino go.SG go.out to Kalua to go.down  
 ko tele  
 INCP run

‘It was the same as in Kahula, he went to the village here, he came here to Malino here, he went to Kalua and went down, and left.’

In addition, the Vaeakau-Taumako verbal demonstratives may be used as modifiers of nouns, with the meaning ‘an X like that’ or ‘a certain X’:

(49) a. *Hatno hehengange e niu boho, e tāveli, a hinga penā.*

thatu=no he~henga ange e niu boho  
 1PL.INCL=IPFVRED~search go.along SG.NSP coconut young  
 e taveli a hinga phe-na  
 SG.NSP banana COLL thing like-DEM.2

‘We have looked for coconuts, bananas, things like that.’

b. *Po haruka tapenala la i te langi pelā.*

po lhatu=ka ta-pena ala la i  
 COMP 3PL=FUT PREF-prepare HYP DEM.3 LDA  
 te langi phe-la  
 SG.SP day like-DEM.3

‘They were to be ready on a certain day.’

The three-way distinction in Vaeakau-Taumako verbal demonstratives appears to be typologically unusual. Dixon (2003: 88) states that both languages in which he knows of the existence of verbal demonstratives – Dyirbal and Boumaa Fijian – there is only a single verb ‘do it like this’; ‘[f]urther work may well reveal a language with a contrast between two verbal demonstratives, but I suspect that most languages which show this category will have a single item.’ Vaeakau-Taumako with its three-way contrast clearly goes against this pattern.

### 5.3.5. Deictic adverbs

A set of forms constructed with *a-*, *i-* or *e-* plus the demonstratives function as deictic adverbs with the meanings ‘now/then’ or ‘here/there’ The form in *e-* is only attested in combination with *na*; its meaning appears to be ‘somewhere there’.

Table 14. Deictic adverbs

Proximal	Medial/neutral	Distal
<i>anē</i> ‘and now’	<i>anā</i> ‘and then’	<i>alā</i> ‘and then’
<i>inē</i> ‘here, now’	<i>inā</i> ‘there, then’	<i>ilā</i> ‘there, then’
	<i>enā</i> ‘somewhere there’	

The initial elements of the deictic adverbs seem to be of different types. *A* occurs on its own with a discourse-linking function, translatable as ‘and’ or ‘then’; however, the fact that it may cooccur with the conjunction *ioko* suggests that it should be analyzed as a sentential adverb rather than a conjunction (Payne 1985: 11; cf. 17.4.1):

- (50) *A ioko i a huamnamnatunga na iloa loa po te tapena phena po mdea po mui hinga ala ka lau ala i te ia.*

a ioko i a hua-mana~manatu-nga na ilo-a  
 then CONJ LDA COLL CAUS-RED~think-NMLZ DEM.2 know-TR  
 loa po te ta-pena phe-na po matea po  
 EMPH COMP SG.SP PREF-prepare like-DEM.2 COMPmaybe COMP  
 mui hinga ala ka lau ala ite ia  
 small thing HYP FUT reach HYP LDA 3SG

‘And then maybe he thought such preparations could indicate that something would happen to him.’

The initial *i* found in *inē*, *inā*, *ilā* is most likely the locative preposition *i*; note that the deictic adverbs in *i-* are used with spatial as well as temporal reference, whereas the function of the *a-* forms is mainly temporal. The origin of *e* in *enā* is unknown; possibly there is a link to the nonspecific singular article *e*.

Of the *i-* forms, *ilā* is only attested once in our material, following the conjunction *ioko*:

- (51) *Lhatue vakhei na lhatue fakioho ki te nohine la na*

lhatu=e vakhei na lhatu=e haki-a oho  
 3PL=GENR climb.PL DEM.2 3PL=GENR pick-TR go.vertically  
 ki te nohine la na  
 to SG.SP wife DEM.3 DEM.2

‘When the men had climbed up, they dropped the fruit down to the woman.’

*ioko ila ko liekina ke mao i te tahito ihi na nekina ke hano la o tutuhia mai i mao la.*

ioko i-la ko liaki-ina ke mao i te tahito  
 CONJ LDA-DEM.3 INCP drop-TR HORT far LDA SG.SP base  
 ihi na dekina ke hano la o tu-tuhi-a mai  
 chestnut DEM.2 because HORT go.SG DEM.3 to RED~pick-TR come  
 i mao la  
 LDA far DEM.3  
 ‘and then they threw it far away from the tree, so that she would have to go far off to get it.’

The deictic adverbs have both exophoric and endophoric uses. In (52), *anē* refers directly to properties of the speech situation, indicating that the point in time in which the predicated event takes place is the time of speech. In (53), on the other hand, the deictic adverb refers back to the preceding stretch of speech, indicating that the clause introduced by *anā* follows the previously described event temporally.

(52) a. *Anē mharue hamahā te langi na po langi o tai matua.*  
 a-ne mhatu=e hua-maha-a te langi na  
 then-DEM.1 1PL.EXCL=GENR CAUS-heavy-TR SG.SP day DEM.2  
 po langi o tai mathua  
 COMP day POSS person old  
 ‘And now we honour that day as the day of old men.’

b. *Anē tuku ahahine uka avange loa ki a Pita.*  
 a-ne t-o-ku ahahine u=ka  
 then-DEM.1 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS daughter 1SG=FUT  
 av-ange loa ki a Pita  
 give-go.along EMPH to PERS Peter  
 ‘And now I will give my daughter to Peter.’

(53) *Ne tahea na, phili ake ki te kaenga na e noho ai toku tohine nei.*  
 ne tahea na phili ake ki te kaenga na  
 PFV drift DEM.2 touch go.up to SG.SP village DEM.2  
 e noho ai t-o-ku tuohine nei  
 GENR stay OBL.PRO SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS sister DEM.1  
 ‘(I) floated with the current and came ashore in the village where my sister was staying.’

*Anā mhako nonoho na ma toku tohine na.*

a-na mha=ko no~noho na  
 then-DEM.2 1DU.EXCL=INCP RED~stay DEM.2  
 ma t-o-ku tuohine na  
 with SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS sister DEM.2  
 ‘Then I lived there with my sister.’

*Enā* appears to have purely spatial reference, and belongs to a colloquial register; all our text examples are from quotes of direct or indirect speech:

(54) *A koi tukua ange po ī, enā na po ni vai ai.* (MAT)

a ko-i taku-a ange po ī  
 then INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP INTJ  
 e-na na po ni vai ai  
 PREF-DEM.2 DEM.2 COMP PL.NSP water OBL.PRO  
 ‘And he said, “Oh, somewhere here there is water.”’

The deictic adverbs are typically found in clause-initial position; but as might be expected of adverbs, they may occur in a number of different positions in the clause, including following the verb (55a), following the subject (55b), or following the topicalizing preposition *ko* (55c):

(55) a. *Lhatuko huanohoia alā te hehine la.*

lhatu=ko hua-noho-ia a-la te hahine la  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-stay-TR then-DEM.3 SG.SP woman DEM.3  
 ‘And then they made that woman sit down.’

b. *Ni tai anā ka ōmai ki thaunga raua?*

ni tai a-na ka ō mai ki thaunga  
 PL.NSP person then-DEM.2 FUT go.PL come to house  
 o taua  
 POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS  
 ‘And what sort of people then would come to our house?’

c. *Ko alā ko holoro ko makora.*

ko a-la ko holoto ko makota  
 TOP then-DEM.3 INCP angry INCP jealous  
 ‘And it was then that he got angry and jealous.’

## 5.4. Directionals

### 5.4.1. Formal status of the directionals

Vaeakau-Taumako has a set of morphemes which indicate “verbal deixis”, that is, the direction, physical or metaphorical, in which a verbal event is construed as being carried out. There are six such morphemes in Vaeakau-Taumako, which subdivide into two sets. The first set is person-based, denoting direction relative to the speech-act participants: *mai* ‘towards speaker’, *atu* ‘towards hearer’, *ange* ‘away from both speaker and hearer, towards a third person, along’. The second set denote direction on a vertical axis: *ake* ‘up’, *iho* ‘down’, *oho* ‘vertical movement, up or down’. The meanings and uses of the directionals will be discussed in more detail in 5.4.2.

Cognates of the Vaeakau-Taumako directionals exist in most Polynesian languages as well as in other Oceanic languages. The reconstructed POC forms were directional verbs which occurred both independently and in serialization constructions with another verb (Ross 2003, 2004). The reflexes of these in modern Oceanic languages belong to a number of formal categories. In Vaeakau-Taumako’s neighbour Äiwoo, the person-deictic forms are suffixes, while the ‘up/down/in/out’ set are verbs. In Polynesian languages, the directionals have been given various descriptions. For Tuvaluan, Besnier (2000: 523) categorizes *mai* ‘hither’, *atu* ‘thither’, *aka* ‘up’ and *ifo* ‘down’ as adverbs. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992: 150, 376) classifies the directionals in Samoan as “particles”; the same term is used by Hooper (1996: 23) for Tokelauan. Hovdhaugen et al. (1989: 72–74) refer to the Tokelauan directionals as “grammatical words” and note that they have certain properties reminiscent of suffixes; most notably, that they may be followed by certain other suffixes which otherwise attach directly to the verb.

One analysis which does not appear to have been proposed for any well-described Polynesian language is that the directionals, as in Proto-Oceanic, are verbal, and that they may serialize to another verb and modify its meaning. This is so even though at least some of the directionals are typically similar or identical to a verb of movement, e.g. Samoan *a’e* ‘upwards; go up’, *ese* ‘away; be different or apart from’, *ifo* ‘downwards; bow down’ (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 376). To some extent, this is probably because Polynesian languages are not generally analyzed as having verb serialization (Crowley 2002: 158). Interestingly, Crowley does note that “it may be, however, that verb-verb sequences are present in Polynesian languages, but given the almost complete absence of inflectional morphology these may not have been recognized by analysts as representing any kind of serial verb construction” (Crowley 2002: 158).

Vaeakau-Taumako does have constructions which are plausibly describable as serial verbs, cf. chapter 15; and there is considerable evidence to suggest that the directionals are best analyzed as verbs whose most frequent use is as part of a complex verbal nucleus, following one or more other verbs (cf. 9.3.4).

An independent verbal use is attested for all the directionals, though it is considerably more frequent for *iho* and *oho* than for the rest. These two are probably at least as frequent as independent verbs as they are as modifiers of another verb. *iho* means ‘go down’ (56), while *oho* has a rather complex set of meanings ‘move vertically; rise up; go down’ (58):

- (56) a. *Ko iho ma ia e thū.*  
 ko iho ma ia e thū  
 INCP go.down with 3SG GENR stand  
 ‘She went down with it and stood (there).’
- b. *Iho mai ki lalo!*  
 iho mai ki lalo  
 go.down come to under  
 ‘Come down to me!’

Note that *iho* in (56b) is followed by a deictic directional *mai*. Compare this to the serial verb construction in (57), where *iho* is followed by *tapeo* ‘be bad’, an intransitive verb:

- (57) *Ko te memea la ko iho tapeo loa.*  
 ko te memea la ko iho tapeo loa  
 TOP SG.SP child DEM.3 INCP go.down bad EMPH  
 ‘The child was unlucky when climbing down (lit went down badly).’

Like *iho*, *oho* is frequently used as a verb of motion:

- (58) a. *Lhatou ko oho lhatou ko hoho ki nghauta.*  
 lhatou ko oho lhatou ko iho oho  
 3PL INCP go.vertically 3PL INCP go.down go.vertically  
 ki nghauta  
 to shore  
 ‘They went down and came to the village.’

- b. *A malamake ala oho na o huailoa ange po ei sikua te memea ana po ei lilia.*
- |               |          |          |               |       |       |              |
|---------------|----------|----------|---------------|-------|-------|--------------|
| a             | malamake | ala      | oho           | na    | o     | hua-ilo-a    |
| then          | morning  | HYP      | go.vertically | DEM.2 | to    | CAUS-know-TR |
| ange          | po       | e-i      | siku-a        | te    | memea |              |
| go.along      | COMP     | GENR-3SG | accept-TR     | SG.SP | child |              |
| a-na          | po       | e-i      | lili-a        |       |       |              |
| POSS-3SG.POSS | COMP     | GENR-3SG | refuse-TR     |       |       |              |
- ‘In the morning she rose to find out if he accepted her child or not.’

Compare the following examples, where *iho* and *oho* function as “directionals”, i.e. they follow another verb and indicate the direction in which the action of this initial verb takes place:

- (59) a. *Tatu noho iho i te lakau a nga lepū na.*
- |               |       |         |       |       |       |
|---------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|
| tatu          | noho  | iho     | i     | te    | lakau |
| 1PL.INCL.HORT | stay  | go.down | LDA   | SG.SP | tree  |
| a             | nga   | lepū    | na    |       |       |
| POSS          | PL.SP | rat     | DEM.2 |       |       |
- ‘Let us sit down on the rafter of the rats.’
- b. *Noho oho ki lalo!*
- |      |               |     |       |
|------|---------------|-----|-------|
| noho | oho           | ki  | lalo  |
| stay | go.vertically | LDA | under |
- ‘Sit down!’
- c. *Ioko ia ko thū oho loa na e valo oho po latu ua.*
- |               |      |          |        |               |           |      |      |      |
|---------------|------|----------|--------|---------------|-----------|------|------|------|
| ioko          | ia   | ko       | thū    | oho           | loa       | na   | e    | valo |
| CONJ          | 3SG  | INCP     | stand  | go.vertically | EMPHDEM.2 | GENR | call |      |
| oho           | po   | latu     | ua     |               |           |      |      |      |
| go.vertically | COMP | 3PL.HORT | paddle |               |           |      |      |      |
- ‘And she stood up and called down that they should paddle.’

There are fewer examples of *ake* ‘go up’ used as an independent verb, but it clearly does occur:

- (60) *Mai ta ake o toa!*
- |      |               |       |    |         |
|------|---------------|-------|----|---------|
| mai  | ta            | ake   | o  | to-a    |
| come | 1DU.INCL.HORT | go.up | to | take-TR |
- ‘Come, let us go up and take it!’

The latter example also illustrates the use of *mai* ‘come’ as an independent verb. It occurs in our material mostly in imperatives, a common distribution for cognates of *mai* in other Polynesian languages as well:

- (61) a. *Koi tukua ange po mai mua tatu sunu ma tatou thatuko kai moa.* (TAU)  
 ko-i taku-a ange po mai mua  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP come just  
 tatu thunu ma tatou thatu=ko  
 1PL.INCL.HORT cook BEN 1PL.INCL.POSS 1PL.INCL=INCP  
 kai mua  
 eat just  
 ‘He said, “Come, let us cook and eat.”’
- b. *Latuko hahalokioho po mai tatu laina i nghauta.*  
 lhatu=ko ha~haloki oho po mai  
 3PL=INCP RED~call.PL go.vertically COMP come  
 tatu la-ina i nghauta  
 1PL.INCL.HORT sun-TR LDA shore  
 ‘They called to him, “Come here, let us sunbathe on the shore.”’

*atu* as an independent verb means ‘move out, go away’. *poi* in (62) is a pre-nuclear modifier which normally precedes verbs (cf. 9.2.2):

- (62) *A koe poi atu!*  
 a koe poi atu  
 PERS 2SG little go.out  
 ‘You get away!/ You move out!’

The evidence for an independent use of *ange* ‘along, away’ is less conclusive. Our material contains a number of sequences of the form [ko $\alpha$ ŋe], [no $\alpha$ ŋe], which might be analyzed either as a tense-aspect-mood marker directly preceding *ange* – *ko ange*, *no ange* – or as containing a shortened version of the verb  $\bar{o}$  ‘go.PL’: *ko  $\bar{o}$  ange*, *no  $\bar{o}$  ange*. We cannot at present determine with any degree of certainty which of these analyses is more accurate. Note, however, the following example, where *ange* ‘go out, go towards a 3rd person’ appears to modify a noun phrase; the most readily available explanation for this pattern is that *ange* is, in fact, a verb:

- (63) *te tapeva aku ange ki a Gabriel*  
 te tapeva a-ku ange ki a Gabriel  
 SG.SP gift POSS-1SG.POSS go.along to PERS Gabriel  
 ‘my gift to Gabriel; my gift which goes to Gabriel’

There may be semantic reasons for the rarity of clearly verbal uses of *ange*: its meaning of ‘go, go along’ is so close to that of the general motion verb *hano* ‘go’ that the latter may be the natural choice in contexts where *ange* might also, theoretically, be possible. Note that *hano* itself reflects the POC directional verb \**pano* ‘go away’ (Ross 2004: 301), but is not attested as modify-



ing other verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako. *hano* and *ange* thus appear to be in near-complementary distribution, both meaning ‘go (along)’ but occurring in different syntactic environments, *hano* being used as an independent verb and *ange* as a modifier of verbs and nouns.

It is not at all unusual for verbs which are frequent in serial verb constructions to acquire a gradually more restricted distribution until, in some cases, they occur outside the serial verb construction only rarely, or not at all (Crowley 2002: 176). It is therefore not surprising that directionals in Vaeakau-Taumako should be much more frequent in construction with another verb than as independent verbs. Indeed, this analysis also accounts for the fact that some Vaeakau-Taumako verbs never occur without a directional: their occurrence is restricted to the initial position of a serial verb construction.

The directionals are clearly not suffixes to verbs, as they follow the object of a semi-transitive verb:

- (64) a. *Ko noho ne fana ika i thaupē na, fafana ika atu e sae atu ki Hatukulu.*  
(TAU)  
ko noho ne fana ika i thaupē na  
INCP stay PFV shoot fish LDA lagoon DEM.2  
fa~fana ika atu e thae atu ki Hatukulu  
RED~shoot fish go.out GENR reach go.out to Hatukulu  
‘He shot fish in the lagoon, he went on shooting until he reached Hatukulu.’
- b. *Koho tautau kai kai ange thai langi na.*  
ko ō oho tau~tau kai kai ange thai  
INCP go.PL go.vertically RED~pay food go.along one  
langi na  
day DEM.2  
‘One day they came to buy food.’

Nor do they generally precede other suffixes to the verb, as is the case for e.g. Tokelauan and Samoan where the directionals may precede the cognates of the Vaeakau-Taumako transitive suffixes:

- (65) a. *Kapā ange koi toa na hau na koi vuhia mai.*  
kapa-a ange ko-i to-a na hau na  
reach-TR go.along INCP-3SG take-TR 3SG.POSS rope DEM.2  
ko-i vuhi-a mai  
INCP-3SG pull-TR come  
‘He reached out and grabbed its (the canoe’s) ropes and pulled it towards him.’

- b. *A iau ka lalakaina atu na ko te vai.*  
 a iau ka lalakai-inaatu na ko te vai  
 PERS 1SG FUT tell-TR go.out DEM.2 TOP SG.SP water  
 ‘I am going to tell you about the well.’
- c. *Lhako hulokua ange na, lhako ahangia ake.* (MAT)  
 lha=ko hulokua ange na lha=ko aha-ngia  
 3DU=INCP go.PL go.along DEM.2 3DU=INCP open-TR  
 ake  
 go.up  
 ‘They went and uncovered it (a well).’

The applicative suffix *-akina*, however, does appear to be able to follow the verb+directional, though (66) is our only example of this:

- (66) *Huahea lhako ahiohokina mai oki a lheni ai ne?*  
 hua-hea lha=ko ahio oho-kina mai oki  
 CAUS-where 3DU=INCP return go.vertically-APPL come again  
 a lheni ai ne  
 COLL money OBL.PRODEM.1  
 ‘Why did they return the money?’

In other cases, however, the applicative suffix precedes the directional (67). This variable distribution further supports the analysis of the directionals as independent lexical elements rather than grammatical suffixes or particles, which would be expected to have a fixed position relative to other elements of the verb or verb phrase.

- (67) *Koi kauakina mai koi toa koi thamunia.*  
 ko-i kau-akina mai ko-i to-a ko-i  
 INCP-3SG swim-APPL come INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG  
 thamu-nia  
 bury-TR  
 ‘She swam here with him and buried him.’

Note that Evans (2003: 231) suggests that POc *\*akin[i]* was a suffix with some verbs, but not with others, and that its development into a suffix happened on a lexeme-by-lexeme basis. She reconstructs Proto Central/Eastern Oceanic *\*gaRup* ‘swim’ as having occurred with *\*-akini* as a suffix (Evans 2003: 215–16); it is thus possible that the distribution in (67) above simply reflects this historical situation, with the applicative suffix *-akina* in Vaeakau-Taumako being more tightly bound to some verb roots than to others.

The nominalizing suffix *-nga* also follows the whole sequence of verb + directional (68). Note, however, that this suffix may also follow other serialized verb sequences (69):

(68) *i te henakenga o te vela*

i te hano-ake-nga o te vela  
 LDASG.SP go.SG-go.up-NMLZ POSS SG.SP sun  
 ‘at sunrise’

(69) a. *Koe iloa te hanokenga ana.*

ko=e ilo-a te hano-kē-nga a-na  
 2SG=GENR know-TR SG.SP go.SG-away-NMLZ POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘You know that he is going away (lit. you know his going away).’

b. *Te fkataufolonga o te unga ma te fonu vakai i te kaenga.* (NUP)

te fka-tau-fulo-nga o te unga  
 SG.SP CAUS-arrive-run.PL-NMLZ POSS SG.SP hermit.crab  
 ma te fonu vakai i te kaenga  
 CONJ SG.SP turtle encircle LDA SG.SP village  
 ‘The race of the hermit crab and the turtle around the island.’

In other words, the ability of directionals to precede certain verbal suffixes is not in itself an argument against analyzing them as verbs rather than suffixes, clitics, or particles, if the suffixes in question may occur following a complex verbal nucleus rather than necessarily a single verbal lexeme.

Finally, the assumption that the directionals are verbal accounts for a number of distributional properties of the verb phrase (chapter 9) which would otherwise require a more complicated analysis. We analyze the verb-phrase nucleus as being able to include, in principle, any number of lexical verbs, while non-verbal elements such as adverbs and postverbal particles follow the nucleus. This analysis accounts for the distributional differences between verbs and adverbs (9.3.4, 9.4); but it requires the directionals to be counted among the elements of the nucleus, since they may intervene between two nuclear verbs in a complex nucleus:

(70) a. *Ko teki ake sika loa ki te hale ona.* (TAU)

ko vetheki ake sika loa ki te hale  
 INCP run go.up straight EMPHto SG.SP house  
 o-na  
 POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He ran straight to his house.’

- b. *Lhatou ko thae mai lavoi ki te kaenga.* (TAU)  
 lhatou ko thae mai lavoi ki te kaenga  
 3PL INCP reach come good to SG.SP village  
 ‘They arrived home safely.’

If the directionals are verbal, these patterns are unproblematically accounted for under the assumption that a complex verb-phrase nucleus may consist of two or more verbs in serialization (9.3.4); a different analysis would require a much more complex statement of the possible ordering of elements within the verb phrase.

To summarize, the majority of evidence points towards an analysis of directionals in Vaeakau-Taumako as verbs whose most common use is as a non-initial element in serial verb constructions; the extent to which they also occur as independent verbs varies from directional to directional, suggesting that some are more clearly verbal than others. We nevertheless consider it justified to analyze the directionals in general as a subclass of verbs, given the distributional facts discussed above. It may be that directionals in other Polynesian languages should be reexamined to establish whether this is a felicitous analysis here too; or else the fact that Vaeakau-Taumako has verb serialization sets it apart from other Polynesian languages, meaning that the status of the directionals is different here than elsewhere in Polynesian. Note that nuclear-layer serialization is pervasive in Äiwoo; cf. chapter 15.

#### 5.4.2. Meanings of the directionals

The basic meaning of the directionals, as outlined in 5.4.1, is to indicate movement in a given direction in space; either towards or away from the speech-act participants (71), or along a vertical axis (72).

- (71) a. *Me lemai na o kake.*  
 me le-mai na o kake  
 PRSC go-come DEM.2 to climb  
 ‘Come here and climb aboard (the canoe).’
- b. *Ioko hinana ko pelange po avatu vai ou ma te kaikai au.*  
 ioko hina-na ko phe-la ange po  
 CONJ mother-3SG.POSS INCP like-DEM.3 go.along COMP  
 av-atu vai o-u ma te kaikai  
 give-go.out water POSS-2SG.POSS CONJ SG.SP food  
 o-u  
 POSS-2SG.POSS  
 ‘And his mother said, “I have brought your food and your water.”’

- c. *Ko nhange ki te aliki o Lomlom la.*

ko hano ange ki te aliki o Lomlom la  
 INCP go.SG go.along to SG.SP chief POSS Lomlom DEM.3  
 ‘He went to the chief in Lomlom.’

- (72) a. *Ko thai fahine ko fene ifo po kei fua ona lima na.* (NUP)

ko thai hahine ko fano ifo po ke-i  
 TOP one woman TOP go.SG go.down COMP HORT  
 fui-a o-na lima na  
 wash-TR POSS-3SG.POSS hand DEM.2  
 ‘A woman went down (to the beach) to wash her hands.’

- b. *Ioko lhaua ko kake ake thai lolo niu.*

ioko lhaua ko kake ake (ki) thai lolo niu  
 CONJ 3DU INCP climb go.up (to) one bunch coconut  
 ‘They climbed up to a bunch of coconuts.’

- c. *Ko ia na e kapuku na ne hahaina oho a ikana.*

ko ia na e kapuku na ne ha~hangai-na  
 TOP 3SG DEM.2 GENR squat DEM.2 PFV RED~feed-TR  
 oho a ika a-na  
 go.vertically PERS fish POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He was squatting there feeding his fish (lit. ‘feeding down’, i.e. throwing food down into the water).’

Though the speaker is the most typical point of reference for *mai*, it may take others, especially in narratives. The reference point may be an established location in the narrative, or a central protagonist:

- (73) a. *E, ioko na tuohine la koi tātangia na tungāne ko lāvoi la,*

ē ioko na tuohine la ko-i  
 yes CONJ 3SG.POSS sister DEM.3 INCP-3SG  
 ta~tangi-a na tungane ko lāvoi la  
 RED~cry-TR 3SG.POSS brother INCP good DEM.3  
 ‘When the sister had finished crying for her brother,’

*ko lēmai na e fenga tai po lā o ki mouku o kali omo.*

ko le-mai na e fenga tai po  
 INCP go-come DEM.2 GENR search person COMP  
 la ō ki moukuo kali omo  
 3DU.HORT go.PL to bush to dig yam  
 ‘she came (= to the village she had come from) looking for someone to go to the bush with her and dig yams.’

- b. *Kapā ange koi toa na hau na koi vuhiā mai.*  
 kapa-a ange ko-i to-a na hau na  
 reach-TR go.along INCP-3SG take-TR 3SG.POSS rope DEM.2  
 ko-i vuhi-a mai  
 INCP-3SG pull-TR come  
 ‘He reached out and grabbed its (the canoe’s) ropes and pulled it towards  
 him.’

*Oho* ‘vertical direction, up or down’ is anomalous in two respects. Firstly, it has no obvious cognates in the directional systems of other Polynesian languages, whose terms for ‘up’ and ‘down’ are usually limited to the reflexes of PPN \**sake* ‘upwards’ and \**sifo* ‘downwards’. Secondly, it has a rather unusual range of meanings which includes vertical movement in either direction, up or down. As noted above, the verbal meanings of *oho* include ‘rise, get up’; it seems plausible that this form may originate in PPN \**ofo* ‘wake up, be startled’ whose reflexes in modern Polynesian languages include e.g. Luan-giua *oho* ‘start, jump with fright’, and Tikopia *ofo* ‘spring up, appear, rise (of heavenly bodies)’ (Biggs and Clark 2009; Firth 1985). In Samoan, the verb *ofo* means ‘be surprised’, while the phonetically similar but apparently not cognate *oso* means ‘jump’ or ‘rise (of heavenly bodies)’. If the precursor to current Vaeakau-Taumako *oho* had as one of its meanings ‘jump’, this might go some way towards explaining the unusual semantics of Vaeakau-Taumako *oho*, as jumping may involve movement both up and down.

The reflexes of \**ofo* do not appear to function as directionals in any Polynesian language for which descriptions are available. The fact that it does so in Vaeakau-Taumako may be seen as an additional argument that the directionals are in fact verbal (cf. 5.4.1 above): if new lexical verbs may be incorporated into the system of directionals – alternatively, if the directionals and the verb *oho* behave so similarly that they cannot be distinguished on distributional grounds – then this clearly suggests that the system is in fact one of verbs of motion which are typically used in combination with other verbs.

The “direction” encoded by the directionals may be literal, spatial direction (examples 70–73); but it may also be a metaphorical, “social” direction, i.e. ‘towards me’ = ‘for me; for my benefit; on my behalf’ (example 74):

- (74) a. *Oina mai a iau!*  
 oi-na mai a iau  
 help-TR come PERS 1SG  
 ‘Help me!’

- b. *A koi tukuange po muohea ka tātaiatu ne?*  
 a ko-i taku-a ange po mua-hea  
 then INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP place-where  
 ka tātai-a atu ne  
 FUT carve-TR go.out DEM.1  
 ‘He said, “Where do you want me to tattoo you?”’
- c. *Lhako tokiangē te holau ona na.*  
 lha=ko toki-a ange te holau  
 3DU=INCP build-TR go.along SG.SP men’s.house  
 o-na na  
 POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.2  
 ‘They built a men’s house for him.’

*atu* is also used to mean ‘out, away’, without reference to an addressee:

- (75) a. *Te babu la e mafā mui na lako toa ko siliatu ai.*  
 te babu la e mahā mui na  
 SG.SP bamboo DEM.3 GENR split place DEM.2  
 lha=ko to-a ko sili atu ai  
 3DU=INCP take-TR INCP throw go.out OBL.PRO  
 ‘The bamboo split in that place, and they threw it away.’
- b. *Tukuange po uno uatu ne ki moana, uko umai oki.*  
 taku-a ange po u=no ua atu ne  
 say-TR go.along COMP 1SG=IPFV paddle go.out DEM.1  
 ki moana u=ko ua mai oki  
 to sea 1SG=INCP paddle come again  
 ‘He said, “I am paddling out to sea now, I will come back again.”’

*Ake* ‘up’ is also used as a politeness marker (76a); whereas *ange* ‘along, away’ is also used to form comparative expressions, with the meaning ‘more’ or ‘greater’, cf. 3.3.1.2. (Note that in example 76b, *ake* appears with what seems to be approximately the same function.)

- (76) a. *Thali ake!*  
 thali ake  
 wait go.up  
 ‘Please wait!’

- b. *Na ne tuabe ake oki na, a hinana koi kaveange ki hai kumete poi tuabe ange oki.*
- |          |       |          |          |       |       |        |                 |
|----------|-------|----------|----------|-------|-------|--------|-----------------|
| na       | ne    | tuabe    | ake      | oki   | na    | a      | hina-na         |
| DEM.2    | PFV   | big      | go.up    | again | DEM.2 | PERS   | mother-3SG.POSS |
| ko-i     |       | kave-a   | ange     | ki    | hai   | kumete |                 |
| INCP-3SG |       | bring-TR | go.along | to    | one   | bowl   |                 |
| poi      | tuabe | ange     | oki      |       |       |        |                 |
| little   | big   | go.along | again    |       |       |        |                 |
- ‘When (the eel) grew bigger, her mother moved it to an even bigger bowl.’

As should be apparent from the examples cited in this section, a person-deictic directional may cooccur with one referring to vertical direction. The vertical directional appears always to precede the deictic directional. It is also possible to combine a vertical-reference directional verb with a second vertical-reference form, even when they in principle refer to opposite directions; in (77) *iho* ‘go down’ refers to getting out of the canoe, whereas *ake* ‘go up’ refers to movement up onto the edge of the reef. The fact that several directionals may combine to refer to sequential motion events may be additional evidence that they function as serialized verbs.

- (77) *Nanghai ko ihoiho ake ki te ululu, ma nanghai ko hoiho oho.*
- |         |         |             |             |               |       |           |
|---------|---------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------|-----------|
| nanghai | ko      | iho~iho     | ake         | ki            | te    | ululu     |
| some    | INCP    | RED~go.down | go.up       | to            | SG.SP | reef.edge |
| ma      | nanghai | ko          | iho~iho     | oho           |       |           |
| CONJ    | some    | INCP        | RED~go.down | go.vertically |       |           |
- ‘Some went down onto the edge of the reef, and some just went down.’



# Chapter 6

## Nominal morphology

### 6.1. Introduction

There is very little bound nominal morphology in Vaeakau-Taumako, and hardly any that applies productively throughout the nominal lexicon. A few nouns have a morphological plural (6.2.1), and a handful of kinship terms take possessive suffixes (6.2.2); the remainder of the affixes described in this chapter must be considered to be derivational. Some of them are transcategorical, deriving verbs or adverbs from nouns (6.2.3, 6.2.4).

Lexical nouns may enter into various kinds of complex forms in combination with either another noun or a verb; the limits between compounding and modification may sometimes be difficult to draw. Various types of compound structures, and their relationships with modification constructions, are described in 6.3.

### 6.2. Inflection and derivation

#### 6.2.1. Plural prefixes

The prefix *va-/ve-* forms the plural of a handful of kinship terms, as well as two non-kinship-referring nouns. The form of the prefix is *ve-* in VAE, while NUP and TAU alternate between *va-* and *ve-*; the conditions governing this alternation are unclear.

The nouns pluralized by *va-/ve-* are:

- *tama-/mha-* ‘father’ ~ *vasamana* ‘parents’ (TAU), *vethamana/vetamana* ‘fathers, father and his brothers’ (NUP, VAE);
- *hina-/sina-* ‘mother’ ~ *vasina* (NUP), *vehinana* (VAE, TAU) ‘mothers, aunts’;
- *ataliki* ‘son (of man)’ ~ *vathaliki* (NUP), *vethaliki* (VAE, TAU) ‘sons’;
- *thokana/tuokana* ‘same-sex sibling, friend’ ~ *vathokana* (TAU), *vathuokana* (NUP), *vethokana* (VAE) ‘brothers, sisters, friends’;

- *thuohine* ‘sister of a man’ ~ *vathuahine* (TAU), *vethuahine*, *vethuohine* (VAE, NUP) ‘sisters’;<sup>29</sup>
- *thungane* ‘brother of a woman’ ~ *vathungane* (TAU), *vethungane* (VAE, NUP) ‘brothers’;
- *thupu-* ‘grandparent’ ~ *vethupuna* ‘ancestors; grandfather and his brothers’ (normally used only after they are dead). This form is only attested in VAE, and is rare even there.

(1) *o latu vasina* (NUP)  
 o        latu        va-sina  
 POSS   3PL.POSS   PL-mother  
 ‘their mothers/aunts’

(2) *vasinana* (NUP)  
 va-sina-na  
 PL-mother-3SG.POSS  
 ‘his/her mother and aunts (lit. his/her mothers)’

(3) *A koe na hekai o nga vathokana?*  
 a        koe    na        hekai    o                    nga  
 PERS   2SG   DEM.2   where   2SG.POSS.PL   group  
 va-thoka-na  
 PL-same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Where are your brothers?’

As is apparent from these examples, the plural forms in *ve-* take no other possessive suffix than the 3SG *-na*; the fact that the possessor is 2nd person in (3) is indicated by the prenominal possessive pronoun.

Two non-kinship nouns have plurals in *va-/ve(i)-*: *heinga* ‘thing’ ~ *va-heinga* (TAU), *aka* ‘root’ ~ *veiaka*.

(4) a. *Nei avange vaheinga e osi.* (TAU)  
 ne-i        av-ange        va-heinga e        osi  
 PFV-3SG   give-go.along   PL-thing   GENR finish  
 ‘He gave away everything.’

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<sup>29</sup> The form *thuahine* is older than *thuohine* (cf. PPN \*tuafafine), and its occurrence with the plural prefixes *va-/ve-* suggests that the latter are old relics in Vaeakau-Taumako.

- b. *Koko toa hai ona veiaka koko tunā.*  
 ko=ko to-a thai o-na vei-aka  
 2SG=INCP take-TR one POSS-3SG.POSS PL-root  
 ko=ko tuna-a  
 2SG=INCP cook-TR  
 ‘You take one of its roots and bake it.’

An additional two nouns have prefixes which look like the *va-/ve-* prefix, but without plural reference; the relationship of these to the corresponding unpre-fixed noun is idiosyncratic:

*nghauta* ‘shore, village, home (ln), people on shore (cn)’ ~ *vanghauta* ‘inland (ln), people on shore (cn)’; *langi* ‘day’ ~ *velangi* ‘sky’.

A few verbs also have plurals in *va-/ve-*, cf. 8.1.

### 6.2.2. Possessive suffixes

The possessive suffixes *-ku* ‘1SG.POSS’, *-u* ‘2SG.POSS’ and *-na* ‘3SG.POSS’ apply to a restricted set of kinship nouns: *tama/mha* ‘father’, *hina* ‘mother’, *thoka* ‘same-sex sibling’, *thupu* ‘grandparent’, *mokupu* ‘grand-child’. These nouns cannot occur without possessive marking; they require either a possessive suffix or, in the dual and plural, a postnominal possessive pronoun (cf. 5.2.2.3). The latter, because of the tendency noted below for postnominal possessive pronouns to accrete to the preceding noun, sometimes appear to be suffixed to the noun; but they may always be replaced by an independent possessive pronoun: *hinalaua* or *hina a lauā* ‘their (DU) mother’. By contrast, no such alternative forms exist for the singular suffixes: *hinaku* ‘my mother’ \**hina a aku*.

- (5) a. *Tele mua ki thaunga o mhaku.*  
 tele mua ki thaunga o mha-ku  
 run just to house POSS father-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Go to my father’s house.’
- b. *Atiao ala thaua kō ki a hināu.*  
 atiao ala thaua ka ō ki=a hina-u  
 tomorrow HYP 1DU.INCL FUT go.PL to=PERS mother-2SG.POSS  
 ‘Tomorrow we will go to your mother.’
- c. *Koi takuange ki a nhana po a thokana la ko mate i Matema.*  
 ko-i taku-a ange ki=a hina-na po  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to=PERS mother-3SG.POSS COMP  
 a thoka-na la ko mate i Matema  
 PERS same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS DEM.3 INCP die LDA Matema  
 ‘He told his mother that his brother had died on Matema.’

- (6) a. *A hina a raua te motu ona la ma ko ia e thū na.*  
 a hina a taua te motu  
 PERS mother POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS SG.SP island  
 o-na la te-na ko ia  
 POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.3 SG.SP-DEM.3 TOP 3SG  
 e thū na  
 GENRstand DEM.2  
 ‘That is our mother’s island over there.’
- b. *Latune tautalia a leo o thamalatou.*  
 lhatu=ne tautau-lia a leo o thama a latou  
 3PL=PFV follow-TR COLL voice POSS father POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘They followed the advice of their father.’

An alternative construction is for these nouns to take the 3rd person possessive suffix *-na* in combination with a pronominal possessive pronoun or possessive prepositional phrase. The form in *-na* must in such cases be understood as a neutral or unmarked form, since it may combine with a pronoun of any person and number; but a form in *-na* without any further possessive marking is unambiguously 3SG.

- (7) a. *talanga ia tuku thupuna tangara*  
 tala-nga i=a t-o-ku  
 tell-NMLZ LDA=PERS SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS  
 thupu-na tangata  
 grandparent-3SG.POSS man  
 ‘stories from my grandfather’
- b. *Ateao tō mukupuna kai kaveoki la a koe.*  
 atiao t-ō mokupu-na ka-i  
 tomorrow SG.SP-2SG.POSS grandchild-3SG.POSS FUT-3SG  
 kave-a oki la a koe  
 bring-TR again DEM.3 PERS 2SG  
 ‘Tomorrow your grandson will take you back.’
- (8) a. *mhana o te memea*  
 mha-na o te memea  
 father-3SG.POSSPOSS SG.SP child  
 ‘the child’s father’
- b. *hinana o te tangata*  
 hina-na o te tangata  
 mother-3SG.POSS POSS SG.SP man  
 ‘the man’s mother’

Nouns other than those listed above do not take possessive suffixes, but instead combine with possessive pronouns according to the principles described in 5.2.2. However, there is a pervasive tendency for the postnominal possessive pronouns (5.2.2.3) to accrete to the preceding noun, a tendency which may indicate that an additional set of possessive suffixes is in the process of developing, e.g. *nohine aku* > *nohinaku* ‘my wife’, *kaenga oku* > *kaengoku* ‘my village’. In some cases such accreted possessive pronouns are formally indistinguishable from genuine possessive suffixes, e.g. *avanga aku* > *avan-gaku* ‘my spouse’.

### 6.2.3. Temporal prefixes, N > Adv

The prefixes *a-* ‘FUT’ and *ana-* ‘PAST’ attach to certain nouns to form temporal adverbs:

- *pō* ‘night’ ~ *apō* ‘tonight’ ~ *anapō* ‘last night’
- *hea* ‘what, where, how’ ~ *ahea* ‘when (FUT)’ ~ *anahea* ‘when (PAST)’.

*a-* is also found on *amuli* ‘later’, cf. *muli* (ln) ‘behind’, and on *atiao* ‘tomorrow’, cf. *thaiiao* ‘early morning, dawn’. *anahi* ‘yesterday’ probably also originates in a derivation with *ana-*, cf. *ahiahi* ‘evening’. See also 11.4.3.

### 6.2.4. *-a* ‘abundance’, N > V

The suffix *-a* is added to nouns to form verbs which express an abundance or plenty of the entity referred to by the noun, generally accompanied by full reduplication of the noun root. Corresponding morphemes show various degrees of productivity in other Polynesian languages; in Samoan it is productive (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 204), while in Tuvaluan it is “relatively unproductive” (Besnier 2000: 594). In Vaeakau-Taumako the suffix is rarely used and appears not to be productive. Some examples are *hatuhatua* ‘to be stony’ < *hatu* ‘stone’; *ongeongea* ‘to be poor’ < *onge* ‘hunger’. Possibly related is the verb > verb derivation *malumaluia* ‘to be mad, insane’ from *melū* ~ *malū* ‘to be soft’.

### 6.2.5. *mda-* ‘kind of’

This is a productive and much-used prefix, which attaches to nouns to give forms like *mdahahine* ‘kind of woman’, *mdamanumanu* ‘kind of bird’, *mdahinga* ‘something, kind of thing’.

- (9)
- A mdamanumanu i mouku na noange lhatuno kina.*

a mda-manu~manu i mouku na no ō ange  
 COLL kind-RED~animal<sup>30</sup> LDA bush DEM.2 IPFV go.PL go.along  
 lhatu=no kai-na  
 3PL=IPFV eat-TR  
 ‘All kinds of birds in the bush came and ate.’

- (10)
- Tatu o ange mua po e mdahahine pehea po nei toa.*

tatu ō ange mua o kute-a po  
 1PL.INCL.HORT go.PL go.along just to see-TR COMP  
 e mda-hahine pe-hea po ne-i to-a  
 SG.NSP kind-woman like-what COMP PFV-3SG take-TR  
 ‘Let’s go and see what kind of woman he has married.’

*mda-* clearly derives from the noun *mata* ‘kind’:

- (11)
- Thai mata kaikai lhatuno takuange po kokolakau.*

thai mata kaikai lhatu=no taku-a ange po koko-lakau  
 one kind food 3PL=IPFV say-TR go.along COMP sago-tree  
 ‘A kind of food they call *kokolakau*.’

The question is whether this should be considered an instance of affixation or of compounding (cf. 6.3). It is structurally like compounding in that the initial element – the “prefix” – is the head. Phonologically, on the other hand, the reduced form *mda-* behaves more like a prefix, lacking independent stress; this is probably an example of an early stage of grammaticalization from a compound structure.

#### 6.2.6. *hua-/haka-* ‘similative/causative’

The similative/causative prefix *hua/haka-* (for a detailed description of the forms of this prefix and their distribution, see 8.2.1) occasionally occurs on nominal roots. Nouns derived from other nouns by means of the prefix include *huahale* ‘small house on a canoe’, cf. *hale* n. ‘house’, *huahiahi* ‘evening’, cf. *ahiahi* n. ‘evening’, *huamalamake* ‘early morning, dawn’, cf. *malamake* n. ‘morning’, *huataine* ‘daughter’ (TAU), cf. *taine* n. ‘girl, virgin’, *huahahine* ‘vulva, woman’s external sexual organs’, cf. *hahine* n. ‘woman’, and *huatangata* ‘penis’, cf. *tangata* n. ‘man’.

Intransitive verbs derived from nouns by means of the prefix include *fkamanga* ‘be wide open’, cf. *manga* n. ‘split’, *fkanefunefu* ‘be blurry, near-

<sup>30</sup> The word *manumanu* refers to non-aquatic animals in general, but is most frequently used to mean ‘bird’. We have chosen the more general gloss ‘animal’ to reflect the range of meanings as accurately as possible.

invisible', cf. *nefu* n. 'fog', *huamdangi* 'be white, be a white person', cf. *mdangi* n. 'white person', *huataha* 'move aside', cf. *taha* n. 'side', and *huatokana* 'make friends', cf. *thokana* n. 'friend, same-sex sibling'.

### 6.2.7. -i 'vocative'

The suffix *-i* is added to consonant-final personal names when calling someone:

- (12) *Mevisi! Tomasi! Jacki!*  
 Mevis-i          Tomas-i          Jack-i  
 Mevis-VOC      Tomas-VOC      Jack-VOC  
 'Mevis! Tomas! Jack!'

## 6.3. Compound nouns and complex noun-phrase nuclei

### 6.3.1. Definition and general characteristics

A compound is a linguistic unit made up of elements which otherwise function independently (Crystal 1997: 78). Compound nouns function morphologically and syntactically like simple lexical nouns, but are made up of two or more independent lexical roots.

Compound nouns in Vaeakau-Taumako are generally head-initial, though a few examples of head-final compounds are attested, e.g. *fatu paenga* 'stone wall':

- (13) *thai ana efa la e api i te fatu paenga* (NUP)  
 thai ana efa la e api i te fatu pae-nga  
 one cave big DEM.3 GENR close LDA SG.SP stone found-NMLZ  
 'a great cave shut with a stone wall'

There are a few words which appear to be compounds, but where not all elements have an independent use, and their individual meaning may be unclear. For example, the element *nupu* in *alanupu* 'puddle of water in the bush or on the road after rain', *lonupu* 'pool in sea or river' is attested as meaning 'puddle, pool' in NUP, though not in VAE or TAU. The status of the other elements is unclear; *ala* may be the noun 'road, path', whereas the meaning of *lo-* is unknown. Note also the head-final character of these constructions.

## 6.3.2. Noun-noun compounds

This is a productive and regular construction, where the  $N_1$  is the head and the  $N_2$  modifies it in some way. In most cases, the meaning of such noun-noun compounds is predictable from the meaning of the parts:

- |         |                     |    |  |    |                    |
|---------|---------------------|----|--|----|--------------------|
| (14) a. | <i>athua hahine</i> | b. | <i>tanga kaikai</i>                        | c. | <i>mona taveli</i> |
|         | athua hahine        |    | tanga kaikai                               |    | mona taveli        |
|         | spirit woman        |    | basket food                                |    | pudding banana     |
|         | ‘female spirit’     |    | ‘food basket,<br>basket for carrying food’ |    | ‘banana pudding’   |

This construction is commonly used to form terms for subspecies or types of fish, birds, trees, artefacts etc.:

- (15) *ahulu hatu* ‘goatfish sp.’ (*ahulu* ‘goatfish’ + *hatu* ‘stone’)  
*alala nohono* ‘trevally sp.’ (*alala* ‘trevally’ + *Nohono* ‘Main Reefs’)  
*puka mdangi* ‘hibiscus’ (*puka* ‘type of big tree’ + *mdangi* ‘white man’)  
*tanga kamu* ‘basket for betelnut equipment’ (*tanga* ‘basket’ + *kamu* ‘betelnut’)  
*tokelau palapu* ‘wind from east-northeast’ (*tokelau* ‘north wind’ + *palapu* ‘northeast wind’)

Example (16) shows that the two nouns in the compound behave like a single unit in the phrase; *ana* ‘his’ refers neither exclusively to *khainga* ‘meal’ nor to *malamake* ‘morning’, but to the whole unit *khainga malamake* ‘morning meal; breakfast’:

- (16) *te khainga malamake ana*  
 te kai-nga malamake a-na  
 SG.SP eat-NMLZ morning POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘his breakfast’

There are a few cases where the meaning of a noun-noun compound is not immediately obvious from the meanings of the components, e.g. *alavaka* ‘road to where the canoes are kept’ (*ala* ‘path, road’ + *vaka* ‘canoe’). In some cases, the modifying element is not found elsewhere, neither as noun phrase nuclei nor as verbs nor as modifiers of other nouns, but are unique morphs occurring only in this specific compound. Obviously, it is impossible to determine whether such constructions are instances of noun+noun or noun+verb complexes, as the unique element cannot be identified as either a noun or a verb:



- (17) *malava* ‘rabbitfish’:  
*malava kilimi* ‘rabbitfish sp.’ (*kilimu* unknown elsewhere)  
*malava tlunu* ‘rabbitfish sp.’ (*tlunu* unknown elsewhere)  
*palolo* ‘kind of seabird’:  
*palolo napa* ‘seabird sp.’ (*napa* unknown elsewhere)  
*pakumu* ‘triggerfish’:  
*pakumu kaleva* ‘triggerfish sp.’ (*kaleva* unknown elsewhere)  
*taveli* ‘banana’:  
*taveli pakapaka/papaka* ‘type of banana’ (*pakapaka/papaka* unknown elsewhere)

In some other cases, too, it may be difficult to determine whether a complex nominal expression is in fact a noun-noun compound or a nominal head modified by a predicate. This concerns examples such as *memea tangata* ‘boy; male child’, where *tangata* is interpretable either as a noun meaning ‘man’ or as a stative verb or nominal predicate meaning ‘be a man, be male’. The existence of examples such as (18) may suggest that the latter interpretation is to be preferred; but note that *e tangata* in this example may be analyzed either as a verb with a general tense-aspect-mood particle, or as a nominal predicate with a nonspecific article (cf. 13.3.4), and there are no obvious criteria for choosing between the two. It should be noted, however, that if *e* here is the tense-aspect-mood particle, it is the only such particle attested with this form; this may be an argument for assuming that *e* in this construction is rather the singular nonspecific article:

- (18) *Te memea laua e tangata.*  
 te        memea    a        laua        e                    tangata  
 SG.SP   child    POSS 3DU.POSS   GENR/SG.NSP   man  
 ‘Their child was a boy.’

There are some cases of nouns showing a reduced form when occurring as the first element of a complex noun phrase nucleus. The root *mata* ‘point, protruding part of’ is a regular noun in cases like *te mata o te mahila* (SG.SP point POSS SG.SP knife) ‘the point of the knife’, but in *mdalima* ‘finger’ (*mata+lima* ‘hand’) or *mdaone* ‘sandbank’ (*mata+one* ‘sand’), it has been phonologically reduced and semantically specialized, and might be analyzed as a prefix, cf. 6.2.5 above. *Ulu* ‘top (of tree)’ is related to PPN \**qulu* ‘head’ and the full Vaeakau-Taumako form *pihoulu/pokoulu* ‘head’. Apart from the forms *ulumatua* ‘firstborn child’ and *ulumounga* ‘summit of mountain’, this form is only found with names of trees, with the meaning ‘top of’: *ulu kulu* ‘top of a breadfruit tree’ (*kulu* ‘breadfruit tree’), *ulu lama* ‘top end of coconut palm with leaves’ (*lama* ‘torch, material for torches, usually dried coconut leaves’).

Another frequent occurrence of noun+noun constructions is with mensural nouns, i.e. nouns referring to units of measure (cf. 3.2.4): *aoa* 'pair', *kutulanga* 'group', *huatupulanga* 'heap', *lolo* 'bunch' etc. These usually cooccur directly with the noun referring to the entity being measured, without intervening articles, prepositions or other morphological material: *te aoa niu* 'a pair of coconuts tied together', *thai kutulanga hahine* 'a group of women', *a huatupulanga niu* 'the heaps of coconuts', *thai lolo niu* 'a bunch of coconuts'.

Related to mensural constructions are part-whole constructions, where the initial noun refers to a part of the entity denoted by the second noun: *tahito puka* 'root of a *puka* tree', *lā halelo* 'branch of coral (*lā* 'branch', *halelo* 'coral')'. The local nouns *lalo* 'under' and *loto* 'inside' (3.2.3) commonly enter into this type of construction: *i lalo lakau* 'underneath a tree', *i loto thaunga* 'inside the house'.

### 6.3.3. Noun-verb compounds

In the case of an apparent noun phrase nucleus consisting of noun+verb, it may be difficult to determine whether the construction should be analyzed as a genuine compound or a case of a syntactically complex modification construction. Many cases of noun+verb complexes are interchangeable with a construction with head noun modified by a stative clause with the general tense-aspect-mood particle *e* (*te tai thea* ~ *te tai e thea* 'white man [*thea* 'white']') and indeed the former may be a shortened form of the latter, with the tense-aspect-mood particle omitted. These cases may be best analyzed as syntactic modification rather than compounding (functionally a relative clause, cf. 7.4.1 and 14.3). This construction is commonly used to specify a kind or species of fish, tree, etc., e.g. *ahulu loa* 'trevally sp.' (*ahulu* 'trevally', *loa* 'long'). Other examples are *manava tele* 'diarrhoea' (*manava* 'stomach', *tele* 'run'), *tai anga* 'worker' (*tai* 'man, person', *anga* 'work'), *thua lele* 'flying spirit' (*athua*, *thua* 'spirit', *lele* 'fly').

However, there are also cases of noun+verb nuclei which do not have corresponding constructions with a modifying clause, and indeed are not always semantically interpretable as 'N which is V'. A case in point are the nouns *pā-mate* (fence-die) and *pā-moe* (fence-sleep), both of which mean 'churchyard'; these do not refer to a fenced-in area which is dead or which sleeps, but rather to an area for dead people, or where people sleep. Such constructions seem more obviously analyzable as compounds proper.

A verb modifying a noun may itself be modified, or include an incorporated object: *tokelau tū eha* 'north-northeast wind' (*tokelau* 'north wind', *tū* 'stand', *eha* 'big'), *manu kai one* 'fruit dove' (*manu* 'bird', *kai* 'eat', *one* 'sand').

The following examples are unusual in that *malū* ‘urinate’ is not attested as a noun elsewhere:

- (19) *malū mae* ‘gonorrhoea’ (*malū* ‘urinate’, *mae* ‘ache’)  
*malū mea* ‘gonorrhoea’ (*malū* ‘urinate’, *mea* ‘be red’)

Exocentric compounds are rare in our data, and the few which are attested appear all to refer to physical disabilities: *mata khivi* ‘blind person ([person having] blind eyes)’ (*mata* ‘eye, face’, *khivi* ‘be blind, have poor eyesight’), *vae fua* ‘person with elephantiasis’ (*vae* ‘leg’, *fua* ‘?’). Note that the second element of such compounds cannot be used to directly modify a noun referring to a person. \**Te tai khivi* is ungrammatical; if one wishes to make explicit reference to the person one must say *Te tai ona mata e khivi* ‘the man is blind/the blind man (lit. the man his eyes are blind)’.

#### 6.3.4. Nominalized verb-object constructions

Some morphologically complex nouns appear to be nominalizations of verb+incorporated object, e.g. *ukitalinga* ‘ear-piercing ceremony for a child’ (*ukia* ‘to pierce’, *talina* ‘ear’). Note that this example has the semi-transitive form of the verb (i.e. lacking the transitive suffix), as is to be expected for a verb taking an object of this type (for a discussion of the term “incorporated object” and its application to Vaeakau-Taumako, see 3.3.3). There are a few nouns, however, which are parallel in structure but based on what appears to be the fully transitive form of the verb: *vahialeo* ‘broken speech, accent, dialect, intonation’ (*vahi-a* ‘break-TR’, *leo* ‘voice, language, speech’); *luluanuku* ‘earthquake’ (*lulu-ia* ‘shake-TR’, PPN \**nuku* ‘land’). The latter example may be a borrowing, since, firstly, the form of the verb in Vaeakau-Taumako is *luluia*, not *lulua*, and secondly, the noun *nuku* is not attested in Vaeakau-Taumako, but cf. e.g. Tikopia *nuku* ‘dwelling, settlement’.

A problematic case is *lava tai* ‘poisoner’ (*lava* ‘poison, to poison’, *tai* ‘person’), which if it was a regular, head-initial noun-noun compound would be expected to have the meaning \*‘poison for (killing) human beings’. It appears more similar to the nominalized verb+incorporated object constructions discussed above, with *lava* as a semi-transitive verb meaning ‘to poison’ (cf. *lava-ia* ‘poison-TR’). However, there is an alternative construction *lava i tai* with the same meaning, where *lava* appears to be a noun modified by a phrase with the associative particle *i*, cf. 6.3.5.

## 6.3.5. The associative construction

The associative construction denotes various kinds of relationships between nouns, where “the category denoted by the head noun of a noun phrase is more closely defined by an embedded noun phrase” (Ross and Næss 2007: 486). In Vaeakau-Taumako, the associative marker is *i*. *I* is to some extent similar in distribution to a preposition, but the noun it precedes may not take an article (cf. *tau*, 6.3.6) and is essentially nonreferential: *toto i kulu* ‘sap (*toto*) from breadfruit (*kulu*) tree’ (i.e. ‘breadfruit sap’, not the sap of a particular tree), *pala i pakeo* ‘shark fin (*pala* ‘fin’, *pakeo* ‘shark’), *ipu i niu* ‘cup (*ipu*) made from coconut (*niu*) shell’, *tala i nebi* ‘thorns of the *nebi* shrub’.

This construction superficially resembles a compound with *i* as a kind of linking morpheme. However, the final element of the construction may be modified by a stative clause, indicating that e.g. *toto i kulu* ‘sap from breadfruit tree’ (*toto* ‘sap, blood, fluid’, *kulu* ‘breadfruit tree’) is a complex syntactic construction, not a compound noun \**totoikulu* ‘breadfruit sap’:

- (20) *toto i lakau e pele*  
 toto    i    lakau    e            pele  
 blood of tree    GENR    many  
 ‘sap from many trees’

In (20), *e pele* ‘many’ only modifies *lakau* ‘tree’, not the whole construction *toto i lakau* ‘tree sap’. Historically, this construction reflects the POc “non-specific possessor” construction with a reconstructed particle \**ni* (Ross 1998: 249), and indeed a construction with a possessive preposition can in some cases replace an associative construction: *te hoa i taveli* ~ *te hoa o te taveli* ‘the sucker of the banana plant’ (*hoa* ‘sucker’, *taveli* ‘banana’).

Nevertheless, there are cases where constructions such as these tend to become less syntactically transparent and more word-like. A case in point are constructions where the initial noun is *hua* ‘fruit, flower’, e.g. *hua i kulu* ‘fruit of breadfruit tree’, *hua i manumanu* ‘egg (lit. fruit of bird)’. The constructions with *i* alternate with forms without *i* (e.g. *huakulu*); the latter may then be used as part of a larger compound, e.g. *tauhuakulu* ‘breadfruit season’ (*tau* ‘season’). In combination with *hino* ‘body, outside of body’, we find, in VAE and TAU, *huahino* ‘body, inside of body’, instead of the expected \**hua i hino*. In NUP, on the other hand, we find both *fua i sino* [fuaicino, fueicino] ‘body’ and *fuasino* [fuaicino, fueicino], with phonological assimilations which are otherwise word-internal (*a > e /\_(C)i*, cf. 2.3.3). In VAE and TAU we find

*hui-* (< *hua i*) as a bound noun in cases like *huihuanava* ‘fruit of *huanava* tree’, *huilakau* ‘fruit of a tree’, *huihau* ‘pandanus fruit’, *huitaveli* ‘banana’.<sup>31</sup>

### 6.3.6. *tau* ‘of, belonging to’

*tau* ‘from, of, belonging to’ resembles a preposition in some respects, but like the associative particle *i* (6.3.5) it is very restricted in the nouns it may combine with. *tau* is used to indicate either geographical origins or membership of a group, and only occurs with geographical names or nouns referring to a kind or a group. Unlike prepositions, but similarly to *i*, *tau* combines only with bare nouns, allowing no articles or quantifiers.

- (21) a. *Ioko thai langi na, thai tangata tau Molano ko au ki a nohine ana.*  
 ioko thai langi na thai tangata tau Molano  
 CONJ one day DEM.2 one man of Molano  
 ko au ki a nohine a-na  
 INCP come to PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Then one day, a man from Molano came to his wife.’
- b. *Ngha thau fanau tau Laukoko lhatu e ngohulu.* (TAU)  
 ngha thau fanau tau Laukoko lhatu=e nongohulu  
 PL.SP DY birth of Laukoko 3PL=GENR ten  
 ‘There were ten brothers from Laukoko.’
- (22) a. *Te tautu la ko tele koi takuange ki a thupuna tau athua.* (NUP)  
 te tautu la ko tele ko-i taku-a  
 SG.SP porcupine.fish DEM.3 INCP run INCP-3SG say-TR  
 ange ki a thupu-na tau athua  
 go.along to PERS grandparent-3SG.POSS of spirit  
 ‘The porcupine fish went and told his grandmother, who was a spirit.’
- b. *Tai tau avanga tau pakola la ko nofonofo na.* (NUP)  
 thai thau avanga tau pakola la  
 one DY marry of giant DEM.3  
 ko nofo~nofo na  
 INCP RED~stay DEM.2  
 ‘Once upon a time there was a couple who were giants.’

<sup>31</sup> It is interesting to note that in the neighbouring language Äiwoo, the corresponding nouns *nuwa* ‘fruit’ and *nupwa* ‘flower’ only occur in compounds (Næss 2006a: 273).

## Chapter 7

### Noun phrase structure

#### 7.1. Overview of noun phrase structure

A noun phrase minimally consists of a head; any other elements of the phrase depend partly on the nature of this head. Most types of noun phrase head may be preceded by an article, though there are restrictions on the combination of some types of heads with articles; demonstratives may occur with the specific articles *te* (SG) or *ngħa* (PL), but are more commonly found without an article. Pronouns do not take articles, but typically occur with the personal marker *a* (7.3.1).

As is the case with verb phrases, the order of postnuclear elements shows some flexibility, depending to some extent on scope relations within the phrase; as a general rule, however, the elements of a noun phrase show the following order:

*Prenominal elements:* personal *a* - article/quantifier - possessive pronoun - adjective/*thau*

*Postnominal elements:* verbal modifier - possessive pronoun - particles - relative clause - possessive PP - demonstrative

The combination of articles or quantifiers with prenominal possessive pronouns is highly restricted, cf. 5.2.2.2. A noun phrase may only have one possessive pronoun – either prenominal or postnominal. However, a head noun with a possessive suffix may combine with a prenominal possessive pronoun, see 6.2.2.

#### 7.2. Heads of noun phrases

Noun phrases may be headed by nouns (3.2), pronouns (3.6, 5.2) or demonstratives (3.8, 5.3).

It is rare for a noun phrase to consist entirely of a bare noun, without articles, quantifiers, or modifiers (except for objects of semi-transitive verbs, which are incorporated into the verb-phrase nucleus, meaning that their status as noun phrases is debatable; see 3.3.3) but it is not impossible (1a), cf.

7.3.2.7. Singular pronouns typically take the personal marker *a* (1b), while dual and plural pronouns more frequently occur without the personal marker (1c). Demonstratives may head a noun phrase either with or without a preceding article (1d–e):

- (1) a. *Ioko ngatae ko laka, ko raukaro.*  
 ioko ngatae ko laka ko tau-kato  
 CONJ year INCP pass INCP CLASS-ten  
 ‘And ten years passed (lit. year passed, they were ten).’
- b. *A koe koko kai?*  
 a koe ko=ko kai  
 PERS 2SG 2SG=INCP eat  
 ‘Have you eaten?’
- c. *Mhatou no fulo.*  
 mhatou no fulo  
 1PL.EXCL IPFV run.PL  
 ‘We are running.’
- d. *Tena e ika eha.*  
 te=na e ika eha  
 SG.SP=DEM.2 SG.NSP fish big  
 ‘That is a big fish.’
- e. *Na e kio.*  
 na e kio  
 DEM.2 SG.SP chicken  
 ‘That is a chicken.’

Verbs can be nominalized with the suffix *-nga* or *-Canga* to function as noun-phrase heads (8.2.5.1). Cf. also 7.5 on clausal nominalization.

- (2) a. *te talanga o te matenga o bisop Patesone*  
 te tala-nga o te mate-nga o bisop Patesone  
 SG.SP tell-NMLZ POSS SG.SP die-NMLZ POSS bishop Pateson  
 ‘the story about the death of bishop Pateson’
- b. *Lhatune longo ange ai po te kainga o Takulu.*  
 lhatu=ne longo ange ai po te  
 3PL=PFV listen go.along OBL.PRO COMP SG.SP  
 anu-manga ka phiki ala i te kaenga o Takulu  
 dance-NMLZFUT hold HYP LDA SG.SP village POSS Takulu  
 ‘They heard that there was going to be a dance at Takulu village.’

- c. *Lhako toa hai lakau na ingoa po e kakenga o lua hahine.*  
 lha=ko to-a thai lakau na ingoa po  
 3DU=INCP take-TR one tree 3SG.POSS name COMP  
 e kake-nga o lua hahine  
 SG.NSP climb-NMLZ POSS two woman  
 ‘They took a tree which is called “Ladder of the two women.”’

### 7.3. Prenuclear elements

#### 7.3.1. The personal marker *a*

The formal status of the personal marker *a* is difficult to establish. It is in many respects similar to the Māori ‘personal article’, which is used with personal names and pronouns, and under some circumstances with local nouns (Bauer 1993: 110). However, the Vaeakau-Taumako *a*, though showing a similar distribution, does not pattern like an article, as it may combine with the articles *te* ‘SG.SP’ and *ngha* ‘PL.SP’, the quantifiers *thai* ‘one’, *lua* ‘two’ and *nghi* ‘some’, and with the pronominal possessive pronouns. It is incompatible with the agentive preposition *e* (10.6.1), and shows certain similarities to absolutive case-markers in other Polynesian languages. Compare e.g. Samoan *ia* ‘absolutive preposition’ (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 143) and Tuvaluan *a* ‘contrastive-absolutive’ (Besnier 2000: 265), both of which are non-obligatory and resemble the Vaeakau-Taumako personal marker in distribution, as well as Tokelauan absolutive *ia*, which is defined as a preposition in Hovdhaugen et al. (1989: 50–51), but has similar cooccurrence restrictions to Vaeakau-Taumako *a*.

However, *a* in Vaeakau-Taumako cannot be considered an absolutive marker, as it also occurs on transitive subject arguments (example 3), and on oblique complements of extended intransitive verbs (4b):

- (3) a. *A iau ka menaina atu thai tapeo une thae ake.*  
 a iau ka mena-ina atu thai tapeo  
 PERS 1SG FUT tell-TR go.out one cyclone  
 u=ne thae ake  
 1SG=PFVreach go.up  
 ‘I will tell you about a cyclone I experienced.’



- b. *Nekepo huamua mai a te tupua na ei pnepenange a hihinga nei tuhā.*  
 nekepo hua-mua mai a te tupua na  
 like CAUS-front come PERS SG.SP creator DEM.2  
 e-i pena-pena-a ange a hi-hinga  
 GENR-3SG RED~prepare-TR go.along COLL RED~thing  
 ne-i tuha-a  
 PFV-3SG share-TR  
 ‘In the beginning the creator made all things and distributed them.’

*A* is highly restricted in its cooccurrence with prepositions. As noted above, it is incompatible with agentive *e*; nor does it cooccur with the possessive prepositions *a* and *o*, and it only sporadically occurs in combination with the topicalizing preposition *ko*. On the other hand, *a* is frequently combined with the prepositions *i* and *ki*; this is further evidence that it cannot be considered an absolutive case-marker, but also makes it difficult to classify *a* as a preposition. Indeed, it shares properties in common with both articles and prepositions; we will simply label it the “personal marker”.

The distribution of *a* is equally difficult to pin down. It occurs in noun phrases with human reference, and occasionally when non-humans are personified, i.e. presented as acting volitionally and talking (example 5). It is never obligatory, but highly frequent especially with singular personal pronouns and proper names:

- (4) a. *A koe la e mdatagara pehea?*  
 a koe la e mda-tangata phe-hea  
 PERS 2SG DEM.3 GENRkind-man like-where  
 ‘What kind of man are you?’
- b. *A Lape ne holoto ange ki a Dui a mhana o hinaku*  
 a Lape ne holoto ange ki a Dui  
 PERS Lape PFV angry go.along to PERS Dui  
 a mha-na o hina-ku  
 PERS father-3SG.POSS POSS mother-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Lape was angry with Dui, my mother’s father.’

*po ki a nohine ana ko Docas.* (TAU)

po ki a nohine a-na ko Docas  
 COMP to PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS TOP Docas  
 ‘because of his wife, Docas.’

- (5) *Ko valo loa i a te kole po ke fenange.* (NUP)  
 ko    valo   loa   i    a    te    kole   po        ke  
 INCP   call   EMPHLDA   PERS   SG.SP   spider   COMP    HORT  
 fano    ange  
 go.SG   go.along  
 ‘(The chief) summoned the spider to come.’

Though the distinction is not absolute, certain nouns, typically kinship terms, tend to take the personal marker without any intervening article, while other nouns, including ones with human reference, only take the personal marker in combination with an article:

- (6) a. *Ko ɪla po te memea ko hiemī po a hinana ke nhangē haumia na.*  
 ko    ɪla    po        te    memea   a-na  
 INCP   wait    COMP    SG.SP   child    POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ko    hiemī        po        a    hina-na            ke    hano  
 INCP   DES-suckle   COMP    PERS   mother-3SG.POSS   HORT   go.SG  
 ange    hau-mi-a            na  
 go.along   CAUS-suckle-TR   DEM.2  
 ‘He waited for the child to get hungry so that his mother would come and feed him.’
- b. *Ne longo ange ai a te tai po ko Toaki la na...* (TAU)  
 ne    longo   ange   ai        a    te    tai    po        ko  
 PFV   listen   along   OBL.PROPER   SG.SP   man   COMP    TOP  
 Toaki   la        na  
 Toaki   DEM.3    DEM.2  
 ‘When the man, Toaki, heard about it...’

Note that it is not the noun itself, but the referent of the noun phrase which determines whether a personal marker may be used. Noun phrases with quantifiers as heads can take personal markers if they refer to human beings:

- (7) a. *Koi toa ko siliatu ai ki taha ki a hai e saorange ai na.* (TAU)  
 ko-i        to-a        ko-i        sili    atu    ai        ki    taha  
 INCP-3SG   take-TR   INCP-3SG   throw   go.out   OBL.PRO   to    side  
 ki    a        thai    e        thaoange    ai        na  
 to    PERS   one    GENR   second.child   OBL.PRO    DEM.2  
 ‘He took it and threw it to the second oldest one.’

- b. *La mhela ko hioki koi avange te leo ki a nghi e tokoono la.*  
 la mhe-la ko ahio oki ko-i av-ange  
 DEM.3 man-DEM.3 INCP return again INCP-3SG give-go.along  
 te leo ki a nghi e toko-ono la  
 SG.SP voice to PERS some GENR CLASS-six DEM.3  
 ‘The boy went back to give the news to the other six.’

Definiteness and specificity is also a governing factor in the use of the personal marker. The marker combines unproblematically with the specific articles *te* ‘SG’ and *ngaha* ‘PL’ (7.3.2.3, 7.3.2.5). It may also occur with the quantifier *thai* used as a referential-indefinite marker (7.3.3.1), though this is extremely rare, and only seems to occur when the identity of the referent is to be established in subsequent discourse, as in (8):

- (8) *A thai tai une kutea la i mua la, na ko ia ko John Nieva.*  
 a thai tai u=ne kute-a la i mua la  
 PERS one person 1SG=PFV see-TR DEM.3 LDA place DEM.3  
 na ko ia ko John Nieva  
 DEM.2 TOP 3SG TOP John Nieva  
 ‘I saw a man over there, it is John Nieva.’

However, the marker may not combine with the nonspecific articles *e* ‘SG.NSP’ and *ni* ‘PL.NSP’.

Topicality and established referent identity is clearly relevant in other cases as well. As noted above, a number of kinship terms such as *hinana* ‘mother’, *thokana* ‘same-sex sibling’, *nohine* ‘wife’, typically occur with a personal marker and without an article. However, in cases where such nouns occur with a modifier which specifies the referent, e.g. a possessive prepositional phrase referring to the possessor, or a modifying verb phrase specifying which member of a set is referred to, a definite article often occurs instead. This is in contrast with the uses of the same nouns with a possessive suffix or pronoun, which may be used to track previously introduced referents, and which generally take a personal marker. After introducing e.g. a protagonist and his wife, the phrase ‘his wife’ is used in repeated mentions of the wife, usually with a personal marker (9a); whereas if somebody else’s wife is introduced, the newly introduced participant more commonly takes a specific article (9b):

- (9) a. *Lhako nohonohonoho na, a nohine ana ko hei tama.*  
 lha=ko noho~noho~noho na a nohine a-na  
 3DU=INCP RED~RED~stay DEM.2 PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ko hai tama  
 INCP do child  
 ‘The two stayed for a while, and his wife got pregnant.’
- b. *Koi takuange po la tamdea te nohine a te pakhola la.* (NUP)  
 ko-i taku-a ange po la ta-mate-a  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP 3DU.HORT hit-die-TR  
 te nohine a te pakhola la  
 SG.SP wife POSS SG.SP giant DEM.3  
 ‘He said that they should kill the giant’s wife.’
- (10) a. *Koi takuange ki a nhana po a thokana la ko mate i Matema.*  
 ko-i taku-a ange ki a hina-na po  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to PERS mother-3SG.POSS COMP  
 a thoka-na la ko mate i Matema  
 PERS same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS DEM.3 INCP die LDA Matema  
 ‘He told his mother that his brother had died on Matema.’
- b. *Ioko te thokalaua e mathua la e mdaku.*  
 ioko te thoka a laua e mathua la  
 CONJ SG.SP same.sex.sibling POSS 3DU.POSS GENR old DEM.3  
 e mathaku  
 GENR afraid  
 ‘And their oldest brother was afraid.’

The personal marker is used when the noun in question is a subject or direct object, or preceded by the prepositions *i* and *ki*; as noted above, it does not combine with other prepositions, though there are sporadic examples with topicalizing *ko*:

- (11) a. *Ko a iau no mdaku.*  
 ko a iau no mathaku  
 TOP PERS 1SG IPFV afraid  
 ‘I am afraid.’
- b. *Ko a Heli ko hano.*  
 ko a Heli ko hano  
 TOP PERS Heli INCP go.SG  
 ‘Heli went.’

We find occasional examples of non-human and inanimate nouns with what appears to be a personal marker. These examples seem to suggest that the

determining factor in the use of the personal marker may be individuation or salience in the context – example (12) specifies the identity and distinguishing properties of the story to be told. Compare the “contrastive” use of Tuvaluan absolutive *a* (Besnier 2000: 244–245, 265–266).

(12) *A te lalakhai ne a lalakhai o hai king.*

a	te	lalakhai	ne	a	lalakhai	o	hai	king
PERS	SG.SP	story	DEM.1	PERS	story	POSS	one	king

‘This story is the story about a king.’

The distributional pattern of *a* bears considerable similarities to that found in so-called differential object marking (e.g. Aissen 2003, Næss 2004c, 2007), where high-individuation noun phrases, typically pronouns, personal names, and definite and/or animate-referring nouns receive overt case-marking when functioning as direct objects, whereas lower-individuation noun phrases do not. The Vaeakau-Taumako personal marker thus shows properties otherwise characteristic of certain types of case-marking system. However, since the personal marker is not linked to syntactic role, but occurs on noun phrases in all core syntactic functions – S, A, and O – it cannot be described as a case marker in the usual sense. It fulfills a *pragmatic* function typically associated with certain types of case-marker – marking discourse-salient participants – but lacks the *syntactic* function associated with case marking. Cf. 10.6.1 and 13.2.4 on the agentive preposition *e*.

### 7.3.2. Articles

#### 7.3.2.1. Overview

The main distinctions made in the Vaeakau-Taumako article system is between specific vs. non-specific, and singular vs. plural; there is an additional distinction between collective and noncollective plurals.

The concept of definiteness is based on the identifiability of a referent to the hearer; when a noun phrase is presented as definite it is assumed that the hearer is capable of identifying the referent, e.g. *the house* is understood to refer to a house that the hearer has previous knowledge of and is able to identify. Specificity, on the other hand, is concerned with whether or not the noun phrase in question refers to a specific item, rather than just to any one of a class of items. Noun phrases marked as specific may be identifiable to the hearer, but need not be so; definite items are necessarily specific, but specific items are not necessarily definite. Thus *te thaunga* is translatable into English either as *a house* or *the house*, depending on context. The nonspecific *e thaunga*, on the other hand, only translates as *a house*, but it does not cover

all the contexts where *a house* would be used in English; *I saw a nice house* refers to a specific house which I have seen, and would therefore be expressed with *te* rather than *e* in Vaeakau-Taumako; whereas *I want to buy a new house* is typically interpreted as nonspecific (I don't know yet which house I will end up buying) and so corresponds to *e thaunga* in Vaeakau-Taumako.

The basic system of articles in Vaeakau-Taumako may be represented as follows:

Table 15. Vaeakau-Taumako articles

	<i>e</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ngha/nangha</i>	<i>a</i>
SPEC	-	+	-	+	+
PL	-	-	+	+	+
COLL	-	-	-	-	+

### 7.3.2.2. *e* 'singular nonspecific'

*e* is the singular nonspecific article. It is used when the noun does not have a specific reference, but just refers to any one out of a class of entities (13a); it can also be used when the specific identity of the entity referred to is considered irrelevant or unimportant in the context:

- (13) a. *Ta hehenga e nohine mona.*  
 ta he~henga e nohine mo-na  
 1DU.INCL.HORT RED~search SG.NSP wife BEN-3SG.POSS  
 'Let us look for a wife for him.'
- b. *E tai no inu.*  
 e tai no inu  
 SG.NSP person IPFV drink  
 'A man is drinking.'

(13b) was given as a response to a video clip where the speaker was asked to describe what he saw. The focus is on the action taking place in the film; the identity of the person performing it is unknown to the speaker and considered irrelevant in the context.

*e* is also used with expressions of negated existence, unless the noun in question shows possessive marking (cf. 13.3.3):

- (14) a. *Hiai loa e mahila ku kapakapai i hale.*  
 siai loa e mahila k=u kapakapa ai  
 NEG EMPHSG.NSP knife HORT=1SG work OBL.PRO  
 i hale  
 LDA house  
 ‘There is no knife for me to use in the house.’
- b. *Siai oku tuohine.*  
 siai o-ku tuohine  
 NEG POSS-1SG.POSS sister  
 ‘I have no sisters.’

It is also used with nominal predicates, cf. 13.3.4:

- (15) *Na no hinga po a ia e nonohine, ioko ia na, na e pakhola loa ma.* (TAU)  
 na no hinga po a ia e no~nohine  
 DEM.2 IPFV do COMP PERS 3SG SG.NSP RED~wife  
 ioko ia na na e pakhola loa te=na  
 CONJ 3SG DEM.2 DEM.2 SG.NSP giant EMPHSG.SP=DEM.2  
 ‘She acts like a woman, but she is really a giant.’

### 7.3.2.3. *te* ‘singular specific’

As noted in the introduction to this section, the singular specific article *te* is used with nouns which are referential, but not necessarily definite. See, however, 7.3.3.1 below for the use of the quantifier *thai* to mark referential-indefinite nouns; it is possible that the contrast with *thai* to some extent leads to an implication of definiteness with *te*. Note the repetition of *ngata* ‘snake’ in (16a), where the second noun phrase has *thai* to specify that a previously unmentioned snake is being referred to, not the same one mentioned earlier.

*Te* is commonly used in the citation form of nouns, and is found with many place names, either optionally (*te Nohono* or *Nohono* ‘Main Reefs’) or obligatorily (*Tefota* ‘fishing site off Nifiloli’).<sup>32</sup>

- (16) a. *Te ngata, hai ngata ko au.*  
 te ngata thai ngata ko au  
 SG.SP snake one snake INCP come  
 ‘A snake, another one, came.’

<sup>32</sup> Note also that Vaeakau-Taumako nouns borrowed into Äiwoo typically include the article *te*, e.g. *toponu* ‘turtle’ (< *te fonu*), *tepukei* ‘large sea-going canoe’ (< *te puke*).

- b. *E laka i te hai ki lalo na.*  
 e laka i te hai ki lalo na  
 GENR pass LOC SG.SP place to under DEM.2  
 ‘He passed a place on the Western side.’
- c. *Te mata o te mahila e mdasele.*  
 te mata o te mahila e mdasele  
 SG.SP eye POSS SG.SP knife GENR sharp  
 ‘The point of the knife is sharp.’
- d. *Te malaku e thuabe.*  
 te mala a-ku e thuabe  
 SG.SP garden POSS-1SG.POSS GENR big  
 ‘My garden is big.’

#### 7.3.2.4. *ni* ‘plural nonspecific’

*ni* is the plural nonspecific article, the plural version of *e*. Like *e*, it is used when a noun phrase is nonreferential (17a–b), but it may also be used when the specific referent of the noun phrase is unknown or irrelevant in the context (17c–d):

- (17) a. *Tohia mai ni bred.*  
 tohi-a mai ni bred  
 break-TR come PL.NSP bread  
 ‘Break off some (pieces of) bread for me.’
- b. *A koe tautalia ni ā nei tukuange e te thua lele.*  
 a koe tautau-lia ni ā ne-i taku-a ange  
 PERS 2SG follow-TR PL.NSP what PFV-3SG say-TR go.along  
 e te athua lele  
 AG SG.SP spirit fly  
 ‘You must obey whatever the flying spirit has said.’
- c. *Anapō ni tamaloa komai o anu.*  
 ana-pō ni tamaloa ko ō mai o anu  
 PST-night PL.NSP young.man INCP go.PL come to dance  
 ‘Last night some young men came to me and danced.’
- d. *Ni tai ko mate.*  
 ni tai ko mate  
 PL.NSP person INCP die  
 ‘Some people died.’

Like *e*, *ni* is also found in nominal predicates:



- (18) *Lhame ni Vaeakau.*  
 lhatune ni Vaeakau  
 3PL DEM.1 PL.NSP Vaeakau  
 ‘They are Vaeakau (people).’

Example (19) appears to have *ni* modified by a possessive phrase, i.e. acting as the head of a noun phrase and so patterning like a quantifier rather than an article (cf. 7.3.3); most likely this should be interpreted as a variant form of the quantifier *nghi* ‘some’ (7.3.3.5), possibly through association with the predicative possessive particle *ni* (5.2.2.4, 13.3.6).

- (19) *Ni o te kaenga na ko oniho loa alo o lārou na.*  
 nghi o te kaenga na ko oni-a oho  
 some POSS SG.SP village DEM.2 INCP drag-TR go.vertically  
 loa a alo o latou na  
 EMPH COLL canoe POSS 3PL.POSS DEM.2  
 ‘Some people from the village pushed out their canoes.’

#### 7.3.2.5. *ngha/nangha* ‘plural specific’

*ngha* [ŋ<sup>h</sup>a, ŋa] is the plural specific article. *nangha* [naŋ<sup>h</sup>a, naŋa, nŋ<sup>h</sup>a, nŋa] is a variant which is considered archaic and only attested in the speech of a few elderly speakers.

*ngha* contrasts with *a* ‘plural collective’ in that it presents a set of entities as a group of individuals rather than as a collective unit. It is frequent with human-referring nouns, since humans are typically viewed as individuals, but also occurs with other nouns. When used with a place name, the resulting expression refer to ‘people of place X’:

- (20) *Nangha Tenātu, nngaha Bahivai, nngaha Lalofoau, nngaha Tāngani,*  
 nangha Tenatu nangha Bahivai nangha Lalofoau nangha Tangani  
 PL.SP Tenatu PL.SP Bahivai PL.SP Lalofoau PL.SP Tangani  
 ‘The people from Tenatu, the people from Bahivai, the people from Lalofoau, the people from Tangani,’

*nnga Lātoa, ko huakoke po latu ō nepulū i Nemā.* (NUP)  
 nangha Latoa ko hua-oke~oke po latu ō  
 PL.SP Latoa INCP CAUS-RED~decide COMP 3PL.HORT go.PL  
 nepulu i Nema  
 dance.nepulu LDA Nema  
 ‘and the people from Latoa decided to go and dance *nepulu* in Nema.’

In (21a), the interpretation is that the man flirts with all the women, but with each one individually, not the group as a whole. In (b), menstruation, though

an affliction common to all women as a group, is understood as something which happens to each woman individually, not collectively to everyone at once:

- (21) a. *A ia koi neveiange a nga hahine o nga Taumako.*  
 a ia ko-i neveiange a nga hahine  
 PERS 3SG INCP-3SG flirt PERS PL.SP woman  
 o nga Taumako  
 POSS PL.SP Taumako  
 ‘He flirted with the women of the men from Taumako.’
- b. *te pele o nga hahine*  
 te pele o nga hahine  
 SG.SP illness POSS PL.SP woman  
 ‘menstruation (lit. the illness of women)’

The expressions *i nga mouku* ‘in the bush’ and *i nga kaa* ‘in the grass’ are particularly interesting. *mouku* ‘inland, bush’ is a local noun (3.2.3) which does not require an article when used with a locative or directional preposition: *i mouku* ‘in the bush’, *ki mouku* ‘to the bush; inland’. It can also be used as a common noun taking various articles: *i te mouku o Pita* ‘at Peter’s place in the bush’. When used with *nga*, however, it means ‘deep in the bush, in the bushiest parts’.

- (22) a. *Une kutea i mouku.*  
 u=ne kute-a i mouku  
 1SG=PFV see-TR LDA bush  
 ‘I saw them in the bush/inland.’
- b. *Lhatuko taiake a penupenu a larou mui oki i nga mouku ake ai.*  
 lhatu=ko tai-a ake a penu~penu a latou  
 3PL=INCP carry-TR go.up COLL RED~thing POSS 3PL.POSS  
 mui oki i nga mouku ake ai  
 place again LDA PL.SP bush go.up OBL.PRO  
 ‘They brought their things to a place up in the bush.’

*kaa* ‘grass’ is mostly found in the plural and typically occurs with collective *a* (7.3.2.6): *akuaku a kaa* ‘weed the grass’. However, with *nga* the grass is construed as a collection of individual straws, between which something may for example be hidden:

(23) *Koi funā i ngha kaoa.*

ko-i funa-a i ngha kaoa  
 INCP-3SG hide-TR LDA PL.SP grass  
 ‘She hid it in the grass.’

### 7.3.2.6. a ‘plural collective’

The article *a* must also be understood as “plural”, but it differs from *ngha* in that it presents the items in question as a collective unit rather than as a set of individuals. With some nouns, this may lead to differences in meaning, e.g. *a taveli* ‘bananas’, *ngha taveli* ‘banana trees’; *a ika* ‘fish (in general); a catch of fish’, *ngha ika* ‘kinds or species of fish’: *ngha ika e pele kē* (PL.SP fish GENR many really) ‘there are many different fishes’. This difference correlates with the difference in degree of individuality denoted by *a* vs. *ngha*; banana trees are more easily individuated than bananas in a bunch; and fish in a pile are seen more as a unit whereas different kinds of fish are individual categories.

(24) a. *Koi toa te loku ana, a ngau ana.*

ko-i to-a te loku a-na  
 INCP-3SG take-TR SG.SP bow POSS-3SG.POSS  
 a ngau a-na  
 COLL arrow POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He took his bow and his arrows.’

b. *Ko a tataunga oulua e thū atu loa.*

ko a ta-taunga o-ulua e thū atu  
 TOP COLL RED~house POSS-2DU.POSS GENR stand go.out  
 loa  
 EMPH  
 ‘Your (group of) houses are standing there.’

c. *A ova tagara e ngalue.*

a ova a tangata e ngalue  
 COLL relative POSS man GENR make.pudding  
 ‘The man’s relatives make pudding (collectively, as a group; this refers to obligations during wedding preparations, a collective effort).’

*a* is also used to form noun phrases with mass reference, e.g. with nouns such as *kaikai* ‘food’ and *vai* ‘fresh water’. When a specific amount or item is referred to the specific article *te* is used instead; *te vai* means ‘stream, well, or other fresh-water source’:

- (25) a. *Koi avange a kaikai ana.*  
 ko-i av-ange a kaikai a-na  
 INCP-3SG give-go.along COLL food POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘She brought him food.’
- b. *Vahia te kaikai ana.*  
 vahi-a te kaikai a-na  
 break-TR SG.SP food POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘She is breaking her food.’
- (26) a. *Ko ilo te fano o ututufla a vai o latou i te vai keli. (MAT)*  
 ko ilo te hano o utu~utu-hia a vai o  
 INCP know SG.SP go.SG to RED~draw-TR COLL water POSS  
 latou i te vai keli  
 3PL.POSS LDA SG.SP water dig  
 ‘She was able to go (i.e. she was old enough) to draw water for them  
 from the well.’
- b. *Ko pelange te ube la po te vai o te kaenga ne tene ko ia.*  
 ko phe-la ange te ube la po  
 INCP like-DEM.3 go.along SG.SP pigeon DEM.3 COMP  
 te vai o te kaenga ne  
 SG.SP water POSS SG.SP village DEM.1  
 te-ne ko ia  
 SG.SP-DEM.1 TOP 3SG  
 ‘The pigeon said, “This is the well of this village.”’

### 7.3.2.7. *Noun phrases without articles*

Noun phrases without articles, quantifiers or any other premodifying nuclear elements are fairly rare, with the exception of incorporated objects of semi-transitive verbs (3.3.3). When they do occur they typically have indefinite reference, and are generally modified by a verbal clause or a possessive phrase:

- (27) a. *Koi kelia umu e thuabe la.*  
 ko-i kali-a umu e thuabe la  
 INCP-3SG dig-TR earth.oven GENR big DEM.3  
 ‘He dug a really big oven.’

- b. *A tai osi ne kutea na malamange nei kamai a aliki o mao i te hetu.*  
 a tai osi ne kute-a na malamange  
 COLL person finish PFV see-TR DEM.2 light go.along  
 ne-i ka-mai a aliki o mao i te hetu  
 PFV-3SG bring-come COLL chief POSS far LDA SG.SP star  
 ‘All people saw the light that brought chiefs from far away here with the star.’
- c. *Kaenga e osi e popouli i te popoulinga.*  
 kaenga e osi e po~pouli i te  
 village GENR finish GENR RED~dark LDA SG.SP  
 po~pouli-nga  
 RED~dark-NMLZ  
 ‘All places were dark due to the darkness.’

### 7.3.3. Quantifiers

#### 7.3.3.1. *thai* ‘a, one’

*Thai* [t<sup>h</sup>ai, hai] is a quantifier meaning ‘one’. It is frequently found introducing new participants into the discourse, that is, marking referential indefinites, a use similar to that typical of indefinite articles. This is a fairly common crosslinguistic development for such quantifiers, as the use of quantifying expressions implies referentiality, but not identifiability or familiarity (i.e. definiteness; Givón 1981).

- (28) a. *Thai tai ko nohonoho na.*  
 thai tai ko noho~noho na  
 one person INCP RED~stay DEM.2  
 ‘Once upon a time there was a man.’
- b. *Koi toa loa e na tungane koi unga mai hai tai po ke au la ki na tuohine la.*  
 ko-i to-a loa e na tungane  
 INCP-3SG take-TR EMPH AG 3SG.POSS brother  
 ko-i unga-a mai tai tai po  
 INCP-3SG send-TR come one person COMP  
 ke au la ki na tuohine la  
 HORT come DEM.3 to 3SG.POSS sister DEM.3  
 ‘Her brother sent a man to go to his sister.’

Another typical use of *thai* is with the meaning ‘one of’:

(29) *Thai koutu e kngū hai ma hoholau?*

thai koutu e kngū hai ma ho~holau  
 one 2PL GENR agree NEG 1DU.EXCL.HORT RED~sail  
 'Is there one of you who would like to sail with me?'

Though overlapping in function with an article, *thai* differs from articles in a number of distributional properties. It may head a noun phrase (30a) and take various modifiers (30b–d):

(30) a. *Koi tukuange po sikuai loa hai i mua ne.*

ko-i taku-a ange po sikuai loa thai  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP put EMPH one  
 i mua ne  
 LDA place DEM.1  
 'He said: "Put one over here."'

b. *Ko na tungane na koi hahakia hai hai ne fonu.*

ko na tungane na ko-i haha-kia  
 TOP 3SG.POSS brother DEM.2 INCP-3SG weigh-TR  
 thai hai ne fonu  
 one NEG PFV full  
 'Her brother weighed in his hand the one which wasn't full.'

c. *Hei ne e kē ko, ē?*

thai ne e kē ko ē  
 one DEM.1 GENR different completely yes  
 'This is a whole different one, right?'

d. *Ko ia koi siliange hai oki.*

ko ia ko-i sili-a ange thai oki  
 TOP 3SG INCP-3SG throw-TR go.along one again  
 'He threw another one.'

*Thai* clearly relates diachronically to the numeral *tahi* 'one', but has a different distribution from numerals, which are verbal (3.3.1.3) and cannot directly precede a noun:

- (31) a. *thai tai*                      b. *\*lima tai*  
 thai tai                              lima tai  
 one person                        five person  
 'a man; one man'                \*'five people'

- c. *tai e (toko)lima*  
 tai e toko-lima  
 person GENRCLASS-five  
 'five people'

Furthermore, *thai* may cooccur in the noun phrase with the numeral *(ko)tahi* 'one':

- (32) *Koi takina hai lakau e korahi.*  
 ko-i taki-na thai lakau e ko-tahi  
 INCP-3SG pull-TR one tree GENR PREF-one  
 'He pulled up one tree (out of several).'

### 7.3.3.2. *lua* 'two'

*lua* is a quantifier meaning 'two'. Like *thai* (7.3.3.1), it is similar in form to a numeral, *lua* 'two', but differs from numerals distributionally, as it is prenominal, and indeed may cooccur with a numeral (33b):

- (33) a. *Ko lua meitaine la na e noho na.*  
 ko lua mei-taine la na e noho na  
 TOP two small-girl DEM.3 DEM.2 GENRstay DEM.2  
 'Those two girls were sitting there.'
- b. *Lua hehine tokolua la na e noho ai.*  
 lua hahine toko-lua la na e noho  
 two woman CLASS-two DEM.3 DEM.2 GENRstay  
 ai  
 OBL.PRO  
 'Those two women were living there.'

### 7.3.3.3. *lui* 'two, a couple'

*lui* is similar in meaning and distribution to *lua* 'two' (7.3.3.2), but has an additional meaning 'some, a couple':

- (34) a. *Lui tangata e tokolua lhaue noho huatahi, lhaua no menamena.*  
 lui tangata e toko-lua lhau=e noho hua-tahi  
 two man GENRCLASS-two 3DU=GENR stay CAUS-one  
 lhaua no mena~mena  
 3DU IPFV RED~talk  
 'Two men are sitting together talking.'

- b. *Koi toa lui talie koi hokina ki te tanga.*  
 ko-i to-a lui talie ko-i hoki-na  
 INCP-3SG take-TR two talie INCP-3SG fill-TR  
 ki te tanga  
 to SG.SP basket  
 ‘He took a couple of *talie* nuts and put them in the basket.’

Note the meaning ‘second = smaller, lesser’ in the following example:

- (35) *lui Nohono e lua*  
 lui Nohono e lua  
 two Main.Reefs GENR two  
 ‘Outer Reef Islands, Vaekau (lit. the second of the two Reef Islands)’

#### 7.3.3.4. *i* ‘some’

*i* means ‘some’; like the other quantifiers, it is prenominal, may function as the nucleus of a noun phrase, and may be modified by other elements. When heading a noun phrase, the quantifier takes the lengthened form *ī* (36c). This can be understood as a consequence of the requirement that lexical words minimally have the form V; (2.2); in (36c), *i* is the head of a noun phrase and consequently takes the phonological form required for a noun.

- (36) a. *Kamai i mahilaku!*  
 ka-mai i mahila a-ku  
 bring-come some knife POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Bring me some of my knives!’
- b. *Koi tapenakina a kaikai, i e vela, i e mata.*  
 ko-i ta-pena-akina a kaikai i e vela  
 INCP-3SG PREF-prepare-APPL COLL food some GENR cooked  
 i e mata  
 some GENR raw  
 ‘He prepared the food, some cooked, some raw.’
- c. *A ī ko ō ake.*  
 a i ko ō ake  
 then some INCP go.PL go.up  
 ‘And some went ashore.’

#### 7.3.3.5. *nghi* ‘some’

The quantifier *nghi* (the alternate forms *nangi*, *nghai*, *nangai* are occasionally encountered, but like the form *nangha* of the plural specific article (7.3.2.5)



are considered archaic) is similar in meaning and distribution to *i* (7.3.3.4), and the difference between them is not clear, though *nghi* appears to be used mainly with reference to humans; note that it can be preceded by the personal marker *a* (7.3.1), whereas *i* cannot.

- (37) a. *nghi hahine o Miango*  
 nghi hahine o Miango  
 some woman POSS Miango  
 ‘some women from Miango’
- b. *Koi tukuange ki a nghi latou...*  
 ko-i taku-a ange ki a nghi lhatou  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to PERS some 3PL  
 ‘He said to some of them...’
- c. *La mhela ko hio oki koi avange te leo ki a nghi e tokoono la.*  
 la mhe-la ko ahio oki ko-i av-ange  
 DEM.3 man-DEM.3 INCP return again INCP-3SG give-go.along  
 te leo ki a nghi e toko-ono la  
 SG.SP voice to PERS some GENR CLASS-six DEM.3  
 ‘The boy went back to give the news to the other six.’
- (38) a. *Nghai tai ne ua o vusi pakeo.*  
 nghai tai ne ua o vusi pakeo  
 some person PFV paddle to pull shark  
 ‘Some men paddled to hunt sharks.’
- b. *Nanghai ko ihoiho ake ki te ululu, ma nanghai ko hoiho oho.*  
 nanghai ko iho~iho ake ki te ululu  
 some INCP RED~go.down go.up to SG.SP reef.edge  
 ma nanghai ko iho~iho oho  
 CONJ some INCP RED~go.down go.vertically  
 ‘Some went down onto the edge of the reef, and some just went down.’

### 7.3.3.6. Quantifier+oki ‘another, some others’

Quantifiers may be followed by *oki* ‘back, again, too’ to give the meaning ‘another, some others’ etc:

- (39) a. *thai oki hinga*  
 thai oki hinga  
 one again thing  
 ‘something else’

- b. *Lhatuko vakhakea ki thai oki puke ke, ko te puke la ko pulu oki.*  
 lhatu=ko va-kake-a ki thai oki puke kē  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-climb-TR to one again puke different  
 ko te puke la ko apulu oki  
 TOP SG.SP canoe DEM.3 INCP sink again  
 ‘They let her go into another canoe, but that canoe sank too.’
- c. *i oki kaikai*  
 i oki kaikai  
 some again food  
 ‘some more food’
- d. *Ko avange a kaula ma i oki kamu ana a ia ko ahio oki ki Kalua.*  
 ko av-ange a kaula ma i oki kamu  
 INCP give-go.along COLL betel CONJ some again betel  
 a-na a ia ko ahio oki ki Kalua  
 POSS-3SG.POSS PERS 3SG INCP return again to Kalua  
 ‘They gave him some more betel nuts, and he went back home to Kalua.’

#### 7.3.4. Prenominal possessive pronouns

Prenominal possessive pronouns are used to indicate inalienable possessive relationships (which is a distinct category from that of control over the possessive relationship marked by the *a/o* distinction, cf. 5.2.2.1). The forms referring to a possessed item in the singular (cf. Table 12, 5.2.2.2) include a definite singular article (*te*) in their morphological structure: *t-o-ku* (SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS) ‘my (o-possessive)’, *t-a-u* (SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS) ‘your (a-possessive)’, *t-o-na* (SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS) ‘his/her (o-possessive)’, etc.

Prenominal possessive pronouns which refer to possessed items in the dual or plural show special forms when the possessed noun is a kinship term. These consist of an element *lu-* ‘dual’ or *ngh-* ‘plural’ prefixed to the possessive pronoun, parallel to the *t-* ‘singular specific’ regularly found with singular possessed items. The plural *ngh-* is presumably the plural specific article *ngha*, as parallel constructions with the full form of the article are occasionally found (example 40); Clark (2000: 261) describes a similar construction in the Vanuatu Outlier Emae with the form *nga* ‘plural specific’.

(40) *ngha ona vasaokana* (TAU)

ngha o-na va-soka-na  
 PL.SP POSS-3SG.POSS PL-same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS  
 ‘his brothers’

The *lu-* forms, on the other hand, cannot be analyzed as having a prefixed article, as Vaeakau-Taumako does not have dual articles; rather, *lu-* is presumably a reduced form of the dual quantifier *lua* (7.3.3.2). No other combinations of quantifiers or articles and pronominal possessive pronoun occur.

(41) a. *Luona oa ko alofa ite ia po ko lavaki.*

lu-o-na                                  ova                  ko                  aloha ite                  ia                  po  
 two-POSS-3SG.POSS                  relative                  INCP                  sad                  LDA                  3SG                  COMP  
 ko                  lavaki  
 INCP                  disappear  
 ‘Both her parents were very sad because she had disappeared.’

b. *luona vetuahine tokolua*

lu-o-na                                  ve-tuahine                  toko-lua  
 two-POSS-3SG.POSS                  PL-sister                  CLASS-two  
 ‘his two sisters’

(42) a. *Nghona ingoa ko fulo ifo po latu fngafngaina a fonu a latou.* (NUP)

ngh-o-na                                  ingoa ko                  fulo                  iho                  po  
 PL.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS                  uncle                  INCP                  run.PL                  go.down                  COMP  
 lhatu                                  fanga~fangai-na                  a                  fonu                  a                  latou  
 3PL.HORT                  RED~feed-TR                  COLL                  turtle                  POSS                  3PL.POSS  
 ‘His uncles came down to feed their turtles.’

b. *Nghona vathungane nugo latuko toa na tauu po ka nofo ange i thai meitama.* (NUP)

ngh-o-na                                  va-thungane                  nugo                  lhatu=ko                  to-a  
 PL.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS                  PL-brother                  already                  3PL=INCP                  take-TR  
 na                                  tauu                  po                  ka                  nofo                  ange                  i  
 3SG.POSS                  pay                  COMP                  FUT                  stay                  go.along                  LDA  
 thai                  mei-tama  
 one                  small-child  
 ‘Her brothers had already received the bride price for her to marry a boy.’

Prenominal possessive pronouns are also used as the subjects of nominalized clauses, cf. 7.5. The properties of possessive pronouns are discussed in more detail in 5.2.2.

### 7.3.5. Dyad constructions with *thau*

The particle *thau* combines with a noun, usually a kinship term, to form so-called dyad constructions, which “denote relationally linked groups of the type ‘pair/group of brothers’, ‘mother and child(ren)’, ‘teacher/student pair’”

(Evans 2006: 24). The particle directly precedes the noun, with no other elements intervening.

Vaeakau-Taumako forms dyad constructions both with reciprocal and non-reciprocal kin terms, that is, kin terms used by both members in a relationship about each other (e.g. English *cousin*), and kin terms used by one member in the relationship about the other, but not vice versa (e.g. English *mother*):

- (43) a. *Thau avanga la ne nofo siai ne loa na ko nofine ana ko fei tama.*  
 thau avanga la ne nofo siai ne loa na  
 DY spouse DEM.3 PFV stay NEG PFV long DEM.2  
 ko nofine a-na ko hei tama  
 TOP wife POSS-3SG.POSS INCP do child  
 ‘The married couple had not been living together long when the wife got pregnant.’
- b. *Lui thau hinana ne, une kutea i mouku.*  
 lui thau hina-na ne u=ne kute-a  
 two DY mother-3SG.POSS DEM.1 1SG=PFVsee-TR  
 i mouku  
 LDA bush  
 ‘This mother and child here, I found them in the bush.’

With asymmetrical kin terms, it is always the senior term which appears, e.g. ‘mother’ rather than ‘child’, ‘uncle’ rather than ‘nephew’, etc. For pairs or groups including siblings of both sexes, the term *tungane* ‘brother of female’ is used.

- (44) a. *Thai mkavā thai tau ingoa lae nofo i te kaenga o Nukuone.*  
 thai makavā thai thau ingoa lha=e noho i  
 one time one DY uncle 3DU=GENR stay LDA  
 te kaenga o Nukuone  
 SG.SP village POSS Nukuone  
 ‘Once an uncle and his nephew lived on the island of Nukuone.’
- b. *Ne malama na ko thau tupuna la lae lavaki loa.*  
 ne malama na ko thau thupu-na la  
 PFV light DEM.2 INCP DY grandparent-3SG.POSS DEM.3  
 lha=e lavaki loa  
 3DU=GENR disappear EMPH  
 ‘When daylight came the grandmother and grandchild were not there.’

- c. *Lua thau tungane la ko haloki ange.*  
 lua thau tungane la ko haloki ange  
 two DY brother DEM.3 INCP call.PL go.along  
 ‘The brother and sister called to them.’

Our material shows one apparent exception to this:

- (45) *Te lalakhai o lui thau mokupuna ma te kovā ma te pakhola.*  
 te lalakhai o lui thau mokupu-na  
 SG.SP story POSS two DY grandchild-3SG.POSS  
 ma te kovā ma te pakhola  
 CONJ SG.SP heron CONJ SG.SP giant  
 ‘The story about the two grandchildren and the heron and the giant.’

It is notable, however, that *thau mokupuna* in this example does not mean ‘grandparent and grandchild’, but rather ‘two grandchildren of the same grandparent’. Whether this is a construction which can be applied more generally to refer to a set of people who are in the same relationship to a referent external to the dyad is not known.

The most common reading of a dyad construction with no further marking is that it refers to two people; note the use of dual pronouns to refer to the dyad in (44a–b). However, duality is not an obligatory property of the dyad construction. It may combine with articles, quantifiers or numerals to specify the number of referents, as seen in several of the above examples and in (46):

- (46) a. *Ko nga thau thokana e tokotolu ko takua ange po e, lavo!*  
 ko nga thau thoka-na e toko-tolu  
 TOP PL.SP DY same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS GENR CLASS-three  
 ko taku-a ange po ē lavo!  
 INCP say-TR go.along COMP INTJ good  
 ‘The three brothers said, “Okay.”’
- b. *Ko lua thau thokana la ko tukua ange po ē!*  
 ko lua thau thoka-na la  
 TOP two DY same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS DEM.3  
 ko taku-a ange po ē  
 INCP say-TR go.along COMP INTJ  
 ‘The two brothers said, “Hey!”’
- c. *Nghi thau tungane latue noho i Lua.*  
 nghi thau tungane lhatu=e noho i Lua  
 some DY brother 3PL=GENR stay LDA Lua  
 ‘A brother and his sisters lived at Lua.’

- d. *Ngha thau fanau tau Laukoko lhatue ngohulu.* (TAU)  
 ngha thau hanau tau Laukoko lhatu=e nongohulu  
 PL.SP DY birth of Laukoko 3PL=GENR ten  
 ‘There were ten brothers from Laukoko.’

Example (46b) refers to two out of the three brothers mentioned in (46a); the quantifier *lua* specifies that the phrase refers to two rather than all three.

While the article or quantifier most commonly refers to the number of members of the dyad, it may also refer to the number of dyads; compare e.g. *lua thau thokana* in (46b), where *lua* ‘two’ is interpreted as referring to the number of brothers, and *thai thau avanga* in (47a), where *thai* ‘one’ refers to the number of sets (one couple), not to the number of members of the set:

- (47) a. *Thai tau avanga tau Hapnemane, ko nonoho na.* (TAU)  
 thai thau avanga tau Hapnemane ko no~noho na  
 one DY marry of Hapnemane INCP RED~stay DEM.2  
 ‘There was a couple from Hapnemane.’
- b. *Ne malamake ala na, ioko te thau thokana e mathua na, lhako ō loa.*  
 ne malamake ala na ioko te thau  
 PFV morning HYP DEM.2 CONJ SG.SP DY  
 thoka-na e mathua na  
 same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS GENR old DEM.2  
 lha=ko ō loa  
 3DU=INCP go.PL EMPH  
 ‘In the morning the two oldest brothers went (i.e. the two oldest out of three previously mentioned).’

The formal status of *thau* is difficult to establish. It is not in itself a marker of duality, as we have seen that the implication that the dyad consists of two people can be overridden. A dyad construction may take a personal marker, as in (48):

- (48) a. *Lhako toa ko pepeoinange a thau hinana.*  
 lha=ko to-a ko pepio-ina ange  
 3DU=INCP take-TR INCP lie-TR go.along  
 a thau hina-na  
 PERS DY mother-3SG.POSS  
 ‘They came and lied to the mother and son.’

- b. *A thau thupuna lane ua ne, ne thae, siai?*  
a thau thupu-na lha=ne ua ne  
PERS DY grandparent-3SG.POSS 3DU=PFV paddle DEM.1  
ne thae siai  
PFV reach NEG  
‘That grandfather and his grandson who paddled off, did they arrive any-  
where, or not?’

We classify *thau* as a particle, according to the criteria given in 3.16.

### 7.3.6. Adjectives

The category “adjective” in Vaeakau-Taumako was defined in 3.4 as consisting of a small, closed set of forms which function to modify nouns and have a unique distribution in that they precede rather than follow the nominal head. These forms, which are listed in 3.4, are infrequent in our material, and their distributional properties may differ to some extent within the class; but they all precede the noun phrase head and follow articles and the personal marker.

- (49) a. *Ko te hinana na koi toa koi tataiange te memei loku.*  
ko te hina-na na ko-i to-a  
TOP SG.SP mother-3SG.POSS DEM.2 INCP-3SG take-TR  
ko-i tatai-a ange te memei loku  
INCP-3SG carve-TR go.along SG.SP small bow  
‘His mother carved him a small bow.’
- b. *Te memea koi unga ake a mhi ona kave la ko unga ake ki a hinana.*  
te memea ko-i unga-a ake a mhi  
SG.SP child INCP-3SG send-TR go.up PERS same  
o-na kave la ko unga-a ake  
POSS-3SG.POSS cousin DEM.3 INCP send-TR go.up  
ki a hina-na  
to PERS mother-3SG.POSS  
‘The child sent just this cousin of his to his mother.’

## 7.4. Postnuclear elements

### 7.4.1. Modifying verbs and relative clauses

A noun may be modified directly by a verb (3.3), or by a relative clause (14.3). In general, stative verbs (3.3.1.1) are more frequent than active verbs

in direct modification without a tense-aspect-mood particle, but both stative (example 50) and active verbs (example 51) occur in this construction:

- (50) a. *Thai langi na ko te maki efa ko lau i te kaenga.* (NUP)  
 thai langi na ko te maki efa ko lau  
 one day DEM.2 TOP SG.SP ill big INCP reach  
 i te kaenga  
 LDA SG.SP village  
 ‘One day a big illness struck the village.’
- b. *E hehine barava la na e tū i mua na.*  
 e hahine batava la na e thū  
 SG.NSP woman good DEM.3 DEM.2 GENR stand  
 i mua na  
 LDA place DEM.2  
 ‘A beautiful woman was standing there.’
- (51) a. *A tai siai noko ō ange o lavethaki ange ki te lakau khā na.* (NUP)  
 a tai siai noko ō ange o lavethaki ange  
 COLL person NEG IPFV go.PL go.along to close go.along  
 ki te lakau khā na  
 to SG.SP tree burn DEM.2  
 ‘People never go near that burning tree.’
- b. *Ko kilatou ko takuange po ka tao ai te fonu tafea.* (NUP)  
 ko kilatou ko taku-a ange po ka tao  
 TOP 3PL INCP say-TR go.along COMP FUT bake  
 ai te fonu tafea  
 OBL.PRO SG.SP turtle drift  
 ‘They said that they were going to bake a drifted turtle there.’

The verbs most commonly used as direct modifiers include *efa* ‘big’, *thuabe* ‘big’, *likiliki* ‘small’, *kiko* ‘small’, *batava* ‘good, beautiful’, *lāvoi* ‘good, beautiful’, and *sika* ‘straight, true’. These verbs belong to the semantic classes which are most frequently found expressed as adjectives (Dixon 1982). It might be argued that their distribution is more “adjective-like” than that of other verbs, though they do also occur in fully verbal contexts and must be classified formally as verbs.

Although there is a general tendency for stative verbs to be used directly as modifiers, while active verbs more commonly occur in relative clauses, there is a considerable amount of flexibility in either direction. The choice between modification with a bare verb and with a relative clause rests on the greater contrastive and identifying function of the relative clause compared to the bare verb. The property described by the relative clause is presented as essen-



tial for the identification of the noun-phrase referent in the context, whereas the use of a bare verb is more descriptive and does not necessarily present the property in question as a central identifying property of the referent. Compare English *The red house*, which describes a house by one of its properties, versus *The house which is red*, which contrasts the house with other potential referents which do not possess this property. Obviously, if the modifying structure is to express more than just the simple lexical content of the verb, e.g. a specific tense-aspect-mood category or a subject distinct from the modified noun, the structure becomes a relative clause rather than a simple modifying verb (52b):

- (52) a. *Lhako kutea hai lakau e loa la.* (NUP)  
 lha=ko kute-a thai lakau e loa la  
 3DU=INCP see-TR one tree GENR long DEM.3  
 ‘They saw a tall tree.’
- b. *Nhange o kelia te umu ke thuabe la.*  
 hano ange o keli-a te umu ke thuabe la  
 go.SG go.along to dig-TR SG.SP earth.oven HORTbig DEM.3  
 ‘Go and dig a big earth oven (lit. earth oven which should be big).’

The formal properties of relative clauses are described in 14.3.

Bare modifying verbs and relative clauses may be combined in a single noun phrase, with the bare verb preceding the relative clause; in such cases, the relative clause must be understood as modifying the whole sequence of noun plus modifying verb:

- (53) a. *Thai malamake a etai ko kutea thai lakau efa e pili ake i te akau.* (NUP)  
 thai malamake a etai ko kute-a thai lakau efa  
 one morning COLL person INCP see-TR one tree big  
 e phili ake i te akau  
 GENR touch go.up LDA SG.SP reef  
 ‘One morning the people saw a big tree which was stranded on the reef.’
- b. *te tai matua ne mate i mua ne*  
 te tai mathua ne mate i mua ne  
 SG.SP person old PFV die LDA place DEM.1  
 ‘the old man who died in this place’

We also find examples of two bare verbs or two relative clauses modifying a single noun:

- (54) a. *Koi toa a muahau sika laefa la koi kavea ake.*  
 ko-i to-a a muahau sika la-efa la  
 INCP-3SG take-TR COLL money straight PL-big DEM.3  
 ko-i kave-a ake  
 INCP-3SG bring-TR go.up  
 ‘He took the big (rolls of) real feather money and brought them up.’
- b. *Lhaua ne khai kahika e laefa e leu na.* (TAU)  
 lhaua ne ka~kai kahika e la-efa  
 3DU PFV RED~eat Malay.apple GENRPL-big  
 e leu na  
 GENR ripe DEM.2  
 ‘They ate apples which were big and ripe.’

#### 7.4.2. Postnominal possessive pronouns

Postnominal possessive pronouns are used for alienable possessive relationships, as described in 5.2.2.3. The postnominal possessive pronouns follow bare modifying verbs, but precede other modifiers in the noun phrase:

- (55) a. *Koi tokia i te tuaone likiliki ona la.*  
 ko-i toki-a i te tua-one liki~liki  
 INCP-3SG plant-TR LDA SG.SP back-sand RED~small  
 o-na la  
 POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.3  
 ‘She planted it on her little (patch of) land.’
- b. *Te anga ana loa tna ko ia loa.*  
 te anga a-na loa te-na  
 SG.SP work POSS-3SG.POSS EMPH SG.SP-DEM.2  
 ko ia loa  
 TOP 3SG EMPH  
 ‘That indeed was his work.’

Note example (56), where *katoa* ‘all’ follows the possessive pronoun. As noted in 9.3.4, *katoa* behaves like a verb in some respects, but not in others; its position in the phrase in (56) is similar to that of a postnuclear particle. This may reflect the uncertain classificatory status of *katoa*; it may also be a matter of scope, with *katoa* in (56) having scope over the entire sequence *a poi ana*.

(56) *A poi ana katoa koi taia loa.*

a poi a-na katoa ko-i ta-ia loa  
 COLL pig POSS-3SG.POSS all INCP-3SG hit-TR EMPH  
 ‘All her pigs were killed.’

However, possessive prepositional phrases, which are used with non-pronominal possessors, generally follow all other elements of the noun phrase except the demonstrative, if present:

(57) a. *nga hahine katoa loa o te kaenga*

nga hahine katoa loa o te kaenga  
 PL.SP woman all EMPHPOSS SG.SP village  
 ‘all the women of the village’

b. *te nonohine ma a memea tangata e lua o Malae*

te no~nohine ma a memea tangata e lua  
 SG.SP RED~wife CONJ COLL child man GENRtwo  
 o Malae  
 POSS Malae  
 ‘the old woman and the two boy children from Malae’

c. *Ne hahine oki o Pileni ne.*

ne hahine oki o Pileni ne  
 DEM.1 woman again POSS Pileni DEM.1  
 ‘This was also a woman here from Pileni.’

#### 7.4.3. Particles

Some modifying particles (11.3) may appear in noun phrases, modifying the nominal head.

Postnuclear particles follow postnominal possessive pronouns and bare modifying verbs, but generally precede relative clauses (7.4.1). They also precede demonstratives, which as a rule are the final element of the phrase, note, however, example (58), where *kē* ‘just, really’ follows a demonstrative. This reflects the different functions of demonstratives; the demonstrative in (58) has a deictic function, whereas discourse-structuring demonstratives (18.2) are always phrase-final. This example is another indication that the order of modifying elements in a phrase may not be rigidly fixed and in some cases may depend on factors such as pragmatics and scope relations, cf. 9.5.

- (58) *Ko Vaike koi tukuange po hiai, a koe na kē ko nohine oku.* (TAU)  
 ko Vaike ko-i taku-a ange po siai  
 TOP Vaike INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP NEG  
 a koe na kē ko nohine o-ku  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 really TOP wife POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Vaike said: “No, only you are my wife.”’

A modifying term which is difficult to classify is *nabiola* ‘big, huge, monstrous’. It has a very restricted distribution: it is only used with nouns referring to lizards and pigs. This may originally have been a noun borrowed from Äiwoo: *nābilou* ‘lizard’.

- (59) a. *moko nabiola*  
 moko nabiola  
 lizard huge  
 ‘a big lizard’
- b. *poi nabiola*  
 poi nabiola  
 pig huge  
 ‘a huge, man-eating pig’

#### 7.4.4. Demonstratives

The demonstrative particles *ne(i)*, *na*, *la* (cf. 5.3) are normally the final element of any phrase (though see example 58 above for an exception). Their basic function in noun phrases is to modify the noun-phrase head. Typically, they indicate the spatial location of the referent of the head noun or pronoun, with *ne* indicating a location close by, close to the speaker; *na* indicating location some distance away, or close to the addressee; and *la* indicating location far away, away from both speech-act participants:

- (60) a. *Te buka ne ni aku.*  
 te buka ne ni a-ku  
 SG.SP book DEM.1 PP POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘This book is mine.’
- b. *Te buka na ni au.*  
 te buka na ni a-u  
 SG.SP book DEM.2 PP POSS-2SG.POSS  
 ‘That book is yours.’

- c. *A hina a raua te motu ona la ma ko ia.*  
 a hina a taua te motu  
 PERS mother POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS SG.SP island  
 o-na la te-na ko ia  
 POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.3 SG.SP-DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 ‘That is our mother’s island over there.’

In addition to the purely spatial, exophoric uses illustrated above, the demonstrative particles may be used anaphorically, i.e. to indicate that the referent of a noun phrase is one which has previously been evoked in the discourse:

- (61) a. *Lhako laka i te motu lhako uake i te vai.*  
 lha=ko laka i te motu lha=ko ua ake  
 3DU=INCP pass LDA SG.SP island 3DU=INCP paddle go.up  
 i te vai  
 LDA SG.SP water  
 ‘They passed an island and paddled up a stream.’

*Na te vai na na ingoa po te Vainata.*  
 na te vai na na ingoa po  
 DEM.2 SG.SP water DEM.2 3SG.POSS name COMP  
 te Vainata  
 SG.SP Vainata  
 ‘That stream is called Vainata.’

- b. *A ko te tangata la na e noho.*  
 a ko te tangata la na e noho  
 then TOP SG.SP man DEM.3 DEM.2 GENR stay  
 ‘And that man (previously mentioned) stayed.’

Demonstratives also serve as phrase-boundary markers, marking off a phrase in relation to the rest of the clause; for this reason they are particularly frequent in relative clauses, cf. 14.3. For more on the functions of demonstratives, see 5.3 and 18.2.

## 7.5. Nominalized clauses

A special type of noun phrase is the nominalized clause, which is formed from a verbal clause by replacing the tense-aspect-mood particle with an article or a prenominal possessive pronoun (cf. 14.2.2).

Nominalized clauses may occur in any syntactic position normally filled by noun phrases, e.g. subject (62a), direct object (62b), complement of a preposition (62c), or adverbial (62d). Note the postverbal position of the

clausal subject in (62a); this appears to be the norm for clausal subjects, although unmarked order with a nominal subject is SV.

- (62) a. *Ko ipi loa tena lemai oi keinga koe.*  
 ko ipi loa te-na le-mai oi kai-nga koe  
 INCP fast EMPHSG.SP-3SG.POSS go-come CONJ eat-TR 2SG  
 ‘Soon he will be here and he will eat you (lit. his coming here and eating you is fast).’
- b. *Lako pikia pikia na ko matua ia ko ilo oki tei taona a kaikai.* (NUP)  
 lha=ko piki-a piki-a na ko mathua  
 3DU=INCP hold-TR hold-TR DEM.2 INCP old  
 ia ko ilo oki te-i tao-na a kaikai  
 CONJ INCP know again SG.SP-3SG bake-TR COLL food  
 ‘They looked after her until she was grown up and knew how to cook (lit. knew the baking (of) food).’
- c. *Tenggina a ia na ko ia e kiko bokneve, ia ia te aliki o te sūnu ange ki a na vasokana.* (TAU)  
 dekina a ia na ko ia e kiko bokneve  
 because PERS 3SG DEM.2 TOP 3SG GENR small very  
 ia ia te aliki o te thunū ange ki a  
 CONJ 3SG SG.SP chief POSS SG.SP cook go.along to PERS  
 na va-thoka-na  
 3SG.POSS PL-same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Because he is the smallest, he is the chief cook (lit. the chief of cooking) for his brothers.’
- d. *Na nhomaianga i a kakaenga na, na ko a tai no heliange a khapilongo heli.* (TAU)  
 na hano mai-anga i a ka~kaenga na  
 3SG.POSS go.SG come-NMLZ LOC COLL RED~village DEM.2  
 na ko a tai no heili-a ange  
 DEM.2 TOP COLL person IPFV ask-TR go.along  
 a kapuhilongo heli  
 COLL word ask  
 ‘As he went through these villages (lit. his going through the villages), people asked him questions.’

However, the most frequent use of nominalized clauses is as complements to certain verbs which do not occur with regular nominal objects, e.g. *vale* ‘not know, be unable’, *huethū/fkathū* ‘begin’, *mathaku* ‘be afraid’, etc. (cf. 14.2.2):

- (63) a. *E vale te kake.*  
 e vale te kake  
 GENR not.know SG.SP climb  
 ‘She did not know how to climb up.’
- b. *A tai ko mathaku te fulo o kau-kau i thaupē.*  
 a tai ko mathaku te fulo o kau-kau  
 COLL person INCP afraid SG.SP run.PL to RED~swim  
 i thaupē  
 LDA lagoon  
 ‘People were afraid to go and swim in the lagoon.’
- c. *A lako fkatū te vekhai.* (NUP)  
 a la=ko fka-tū te ve-khai  
 then 3DU=INCP CAUS-stand SG.SP DES-eat  
 ‘The two started to feel hungry.’
- d. *A ia e mulohie te utu vai.*  
 a ia e mulohie te utu vai  
 PERS 3SG GENR willing SG.SP draw water  
 ‘She is willing to draw water.’

The examples in (63) all show nominalized clauses introduced by an article rather than a possessive pronoun, and so with no overt indication of subject; the subject of such nominalized complement clauses is necessarily interpreted as being coreferent with the subject of the matrix clause. However, it is equally possible for such complement clauses to be introduced by a possessive pronoun indicating the person and number of the subject; again, this must be coreferent with the matrix clause subject:

- (64) a. *A ia e mae na avanga ne ki Pileni ne.*  
 a ia e mae na avanga ne  
 PERS 3SG GENR refuse 3SG.POSS marry DEM.1  
 ki Pileni ne  
 to Pileni DEM.1  
 ‘He refuses to marry (lit. refuses his marrying) here in Pileni.’
- b. *A iau ne uko tokā taku afio ki muli.* (NUP)  
 a iau ne u=ko tokā t-a-ku  
 PERS 1SG PFV 1SG=INCP stuck SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS  
 afio ki muli  
 return to behind  
 ‘I am unable to return home.’

Malchukov (2004) points out that transcategorial operations, that is, linguistic processes which change the category of a linguistic item, e.g. from nouns to verbs or vice versa, involves two in principle independent processes: *decategorization*, that is, the loss of formal properties associated with the original category, and *recategorization*, the acquisition of properties characteristic of the derived category. In the case of nominalization, decategorization involves the loss of verbal properties, and recategorization involves the acquisition of nominal properties. Both these processes may apply to different degrees in different languages, or in different nominalization constructions within a language.

The main feature of decategorization of Vaeakau-Taumako nominalized clauses is the loss of the tense-aspect-mood marker, as illustrated in all the above examples. This is accompanied by a recategorization feature, the introduction of an article or possessive pronoun to replace the tense-aspect-mood marker.

Other verbal properties are retained to varying degrees. A nominalized transitive clause retains its object argument, encoded in the same manner as in a verbal clause, as seen in (65):

- (65) a. *Latue vale te langa ni tanga.* (NUP)  
 lhatu=e      vale      te      langa ni      tanga  
 3PL=GENR not.know SG.SP weave PL.NSP basket  
 ‘They do not know how to weave baskets.’
- b. *Ko kilatou latuko mathaku loa te toange kilaua.* (NUP)  
 ko      kilatou      lhatu=ko      mathaku loa      te      to-a  
 TOP 3PL      3PL=INCP afraid EMPH SG.SP take-TR  
 ange      kilaua  
 go.along 3DU  
 ‘They were afraid to take them along.’

In NUP, transitive nominalized clauses optionally retain another verbal feature, namely the 3SG *-i* suffix which in verbal clauses occurs on the tense-aspect-mood marker, and which in nominalized clauses may appear on the article or possessive pronoun which replaces the tense-aspect-mood marker, as seen in (62b) and (66):



(66) *Te mokotolo la ko fkatū loa tenai keinga a tai o te kaenga la.* (NUP)

te mokotolo la ko fka-tū loa  
 SG.SP crocodile DEM.3 INCP CAUS-stand EMPH  
 te-na-i kei-nga a tai o te kaenga  
 SG.SP-3SG.POSS-3SG eat-TR COLL person POSS SG.SP village  
 la  
 DEM.3  
 ‘The crocodile then began to eat the people (lit. started its eating people) on the island.’

This retention of the 3SG *-i* suffix could perhaps be considered a counterexample to Malchukov’s (2004: 27) cline of deverbalization, which states that agreement is lost before tense-aspect-mood marking in the decategorization of verbs. However, the highly unusual distribution of the *-i* suffix (cf. 12.5), and the fact that it does not enter into a paradigm of person-number markers, makes it doubtful whether the *-i* suffix could be properly characterized as agreement.

The subjects of nominalized clauses can be expressed in one of three ways: 1) by a prenominal possessive pronoun which replaces the tense-aspect-mood particle of the verbal clause; 2) by a possessive prepositional phrase; or 3) in transitive nominalized clauses, by a postverbal prepositional phrase with the agentive preposition *e*. The former two represent recategorization features, in that possessive marking is a nominal property; the latter preserves a verbal feature. Note, however, that this pattern (67c) is fairly rare.

(67) a. *Iau e mae oki taku taliange oki po inā po ke mathuala.*

iau e mae oki t-a-ku tali-a ange  
 1SG GENR refuse again SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS wait-TR go.along  
 oki po i-na po ke mathua ala  
 again COMP some-DEM.2 COMP HORT old HYP  
 ‘I refuse to wait for these ones to ripen.’

b. *Te valo o te pakhola koi tukuange po siai.*

te valo o te pakhola ko-i taku-a ange  
 SG.SP call POSS SG.SP giant INCP-3SG say-TR along  
 po siai  
 COMP NEG  
 ‘The giant shouted “No!”’

c. *Ne mua te sinia loa e nga Profets.*

ne mua te sini-a loa e nga Profets  
 DEM.1 front SG.SP sign-TR EMPH AG PL.SP prophets  
 ‘This was earlier announced by the prophets.’

In cases where the subject of a transitive nominalized verb is expressed by a postverbal *e*-phrase, the object appears in most cases to be left-dislocated out of the nominalized clause itself (cf. 13.4 on left-dislocation), as in (68):

- (68) *Ko nga taulaitu la ko taloia oki po a tai o malama po latuka mate ala*  
 ko nga taulaitu la ko talo-ia oki po a  
 TOP PL.SP shaman DEM.3 INCP curse-TR again COMP COLL  
 tai o malama po lhatu=ka mate ala  
 person POSS light COMP 3PL=FUT die HYP  
 ‘All the magicians on the island made another spell so that everyone in the world would die’

*i te malama tenai ufiā ala e thaupē.* (NUP)

i te malama te-na-i ufi-a ala e thaupē  
 LDASG.SP light SG.SP-POSS-3SG cover-TR HYP e thaupē  
 ‘when the world was covered by the sea (lit the light its covering by the sea).’

The *o*-possessive encoding of the subject in (67b) is unusual; the vast majority of nominalized clauses have *a*-possessive subjects, which is to be expected in light of the analysis of the *a*-possessive as marking controlled relationships (cf. 5.2.2). However, *o*-possessive subjects do occur, particularly in prohibitive clauses with *auā* ‘don’t’; possibly this is an indication that the subject’s actions are in such cases restricted by forces or authorities beyond his personal control:

- (69) *Auā tō laka atu ki te hai la.*

auā t-ō laka atu ki te hai la  
 PROH SG.SP-2SG.POSS pass go.out to SG.SP side DEM.3  
 ‘(His father had said): “Do not go to that place.”’

*Ko ia nei tukua po opaku nei tukua mai po auā tuku laka atu ki te hai la na po e ā?* (TAU)

ko ia ne-i taku-a po opa-ku ne-i  
 TOP 3SG PFV-3SG say-TR COMP father-1SG.POSS PFV-3SG  
 taku-a mai po auā t-o-ku laka atu  
 say-TR come COMP PROH SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS pass go.out  
 ki te hai la na po e ā  
 to SG.SP side DEM.3 DEM.2 COMP GENR what  
 ‘He said to himself: “My father told me not to go there, but why?”’

Nominalized clauses may also be subjectless, referring to a type of activity and corresponding roughly in function to English infinitives:

(70) *Te angona ko te hano ki mouku o anga.*

te      anga   o-na                      ko      te      hano   ki   mouku  
SG.SP   work   POSS-3SG.POSS   TOP   SG.SP   go.SG   to   bush

o      anga

to      work

‘His job was to go to the bush and work.’

## Chapter 8

### Verbal morphology

#### 8.1. Inflectional morphology

There is no productive verbal morphology in Vaeakau-Taumako which may be termed inflectional; there are, however, a few unproductive affixes indicating plural subject of a few verbs.

The prefix *la-* forms the plural of three stative intransitive verbs:

- (1) *eha* ‘big’ – *laeha* (cf. the alternative plural *helaehaki*, 8.2.6.3)  
*loa* ‘long, tall’ – *laloa*  
*popoto* ‘short’ – *lapoto*

The prefix *va-* or *ve-* (cf. 6.2.1) is found on a few intransitive verbs indicating plural of the subject:

- (2) *kau* ‘swim, wade’ – *vakau, vakhau* (VAE)  
*kake* ‘climb’ – *vakake* (TAU), *vakhei* (VAE, NUP)  
*ihū* ‘stand’ – *vehū* (only attested on Matema)

The circumfix *he-...-aki* forms plural of some verbs, cf. 8.2.6 below. There are also some plurals of intransitives formed with *hua-* or *hua-...-(C)i*; it is unclear whether these are related to the causative prefix *hua-* (8.2.1) or the *he-...-aki* forms. Note that the consonant in the suffix is usually *h* or *k*:

- (3) *eke* ‘surf’ – *huaekeeke*  
*ala(h-)* ‘wake up’ – *hualahi* (cf. *fealafi*, example 4)  
*ino* ‘be pulled up’ – *huainoi*  
*ulu(h-)* ‘enter, dive’ – *hualuhi*  
*emo* ‘fall’ – *huaemoki*

There are also a few cases of *he-...-(C)i* (NUP *fe-...-(C)i*):

- (4) *ala(h)* ‘wake up’ – *fealafi* (NUP)  
*iho(k-)* ‘go down’ – *heihoi, hehoi*  
*eke* ‘grow trailing along the ground, like vines’ – *hekehi*

Other irregular plural verb forms are *taveve* ‘hurry’ (*vave* ‘hurry’), *valoki* ‘call’ (*valo* [SG] ‘call’), *paliki* ‘be small’ (*likiliki* [SG] ‘be small’). Plurality is more frequently expressed on verbs through reduplication, cf. chapter 4.

The function of prefix *ta-* on the form *tapena* ‘be ready, prepare’ is unclear; consultants are unable to indicate any systematic difference between this form and *pepena/penapena* ‘be ready, prepare’.

## 8.2. Derivational morphology

### 8.2.1. Causative prefixes

#### 8.2.1.1. Forms of the causative prefix

Table 16. Forms of the causative prefix

Form	Use
<i>fka-/faka-</i>	NUP
<i>hua-</i>	VAE
<i>ha-</i>	TAU, VAE
<i>haka-</i>	TAU; rare and unproductive, cf. ex. (6)
<i>he-</i>	NUP; rare and unproductive, cf. ex. (8)
<i>va-</i>	Rare and unproductive, cf. ex. (11)

As Table 16 shows, the causative prefix in Vaeakau-Taumako has six alternant forms: *fka-* (occasionally *faka-*), *ha-*, *haka-*, *he-*, *hua-*, and *va-*.<sup>33</sup> Of these, the following are common and productive: *faka-/fka-* (NUP) and *hua-*, *ha-* (TAU, VAE). The conditions governing the alternation *faka-* ~ *fka-* in NUP are not clear, as our spoken-language material from this dialect is scarce. *fka-* appears to be the basic form, but *faka-* is preferred in a few words, which either belong to a solemn or religious style, or have a non-transparent morphological or semantic composition:

- (5) *fakathonu* ‘glory’, cf. *huatonu* ‘to serve’ (VAE, TAU), *thonu* ‘be true, be real’  
*fakatunga* ‘season’, cf. *tau* ‘season’ (VAE)  
*fakautania* ‘send’, cf. *huatonia* ‘send’ (VAE, TAU)

*hua-* is the regular form in VAE. TAU *ha-* results from the process of vowel elision described in 2.3.2. There is an increasing tendency for *ha-* to be used

<sup>33</sup> Ray (1919, 1920, 1921a, 1921b), gives *faka-* as the only causative form, both in Vaeakau and Taumako. Apparently the *hua-/ha-* forms, or at least their modern frequency, represent a recent development.

in VAE as well, and it is likely that before long, *ha-* will be the productive causative prefix for the whole of Vaeakau-Taumako.

The three remaining forms of the causative prefix are all very rare (each attested in 5–10 cases) and non-productive. *haka-* forms are rare in VAE, but somewhat more frequent in TAU. They are likely either borrowed from NUP or relics of an earlier productive form. In VAE, many consultants showed a negative attitude towards *haka-* forms, labelling them as errors or as non-existent, even if they themselves occasionally used them. Some well-attested *haka-* forms are listed in (6):

- (6) *hakala* (TAU) ‘truly’, cf. *huala* (VAE). The root of this word is unknown.  
*hakatele* (VAE, TAU) ‘play with toy canoes’ < *tele* ‘move fast, sail’  
*hakapili, hokopili* (TAU) ‘always, frequently’, cf. *huaphili* (VAE), *fakapili* (NUP);  
*hakamua, hokomua* (TAU) ‘before, formerly’, cf. *fokomua* (NUP), *huamua* (VAE)  
*hakalua* (TAU) ‘for the second time’, cf. *fkalua* (NUP), *hualua* (VAE)  
*hakamemea* (TAU) ‘be pregnant’, cf. *hai tama* (VAE, TAU), *fai tama* (NUP)

These examples (with the possible exception of *hakamemea*) all show the simulative function (8.2.1.2) of the causative prefix, deriving adverbs or intransitive verbs from intransitive roots. There is also at least one example of *haka-* deriving a transitive verb: *hakalia* ‘show’ (TAU) ~ *hualia* (VAE) < *ali* ‘be visible’.

- (7) *Lhatou ko hakalia te hahine ki ngha tai.*  
 lhatou ko haka-ali-a te hahine ki ngha tai  
 3PL INCP CAUS-visible-TR SG.SP woman to PL.SP person  
 ‘They showed the girl to the men (as a potential marriage partner).’

*he-* is only found in a handful of words in NUP. Its etymological origin is not clear. With one exception, this prefix derives transitive causative verbs from transitive non-causative or intransitive verbs.

- (8) *heihokia* ‘take out, drop’ < *ihok-* ‘go down’, cf. *huaihokia* (VAE) ‘unload, bring something down’  
*heiloa* ‘inform’ < *iloa* ‘know’. This is a less frequently used alternative to *huailoa* ‘remind; find out’.  
*hekenukenua* ‘paint’ < *kenukenua* ‘paint’. No semantic difference between *kenukenua* and *hekenukenua* can be established from the text corpus or speakers’ intuitions.  
*hemokia* ‘drop’ < *emo* ‘fall (sg)’, cf. *huaemokia* ‘drop’

*hetakoto* ‘store’, from *takoto* ‘lie’, patterns like a semi-transitive verb, taking an object noun but no transitive suffix (3.3.3, 8.2.2). Compare (9a) to the formally similar, but intransitive *huatakoto* ‘show traces, tracks’ (9b); cf. also VAE *huatakotolia* ‘put down, lay down (vt)’ (example 10).

- (9) a. *Me tapenakina hai fale hetakoto ai ala omo.* (NUP)  
 me ta-pena-akina thai fale he-takoto ai ala  
 PRSC PREF-prepare-APPL one house CAUS-lie OBL.PROHYP  
 omo  
 yam  
 ‘Please prepare a house to store yams in.’
- b. *Ona takapavae e huatakoto i te one.*  
 o-na takapavae e hua-takoto i te one  
 POSS-3SG.POSS footprint GENRCAUS-lie LDA SG.SP sand  
 ‘His footprints are left in the sand.’

- (10) *Lhatko huatakotakotolia loa ia.*  
 lhatu=ko hua-tako~takoto-lia loa ia  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-RED~lie-TR EMPH 3SG  
 ‘They put him down.’

Note also that both *hua-...(C)i* and *he-...(C)i* may form plurals of intransitive verbs, cf. 8.1.

The causative prefix *va-* is found in a few words which may either be relics from an earlier stage of the language or borrowings from Äiwoo (where the causative prefix is *wâ-*) or other Austronesian languages. These forms show no differences between dialects, which may indicate that they are not recent borrowings.

*va-*prefixed verbs show a variety of valencies. Forms which lack a transitive suffix (8.2.2) may be intransitive, extended intransitive or semi-transitive:

- (11) a. Intransitive forms:  
*vakinokino* (vi) ‘be disgusting’ (PPN \*kino ‘bad’ – not attested in Vaeakau-Taumako)  
*vakhamo* (vi) ‘flash (of lightning)’ (*khamo* (vi) ‘flash’)  
*vakhamu* (vi) ‘share or distribute betelnut’<sup>34</sup> (*kamu* (vi) ‘chew betel’)  
*vakata*, *vakatakata* (vi-ext) ‘joke’ (*kata* (vi) ‘laugh’). Cf. also *vakatakataina*  
 ‘make fun of, make jokes about’ (*kataina* (vt) ‘laugh at’)  
*vakhona* (vsem) ‘catch fish in net’ (*khona* (vi) ‘be caught’)

<sup>34</sup> Possibly a calque of Äiwoo *wâ-ego* ‘CAUS-chew.betel’, with the same meaning.

b. Transitive forms:

*vakahuia* (vt) ‘cover with cloth’, (*kahu* (vi) ‘be dressed, covered with cloth’;

no \**kahuia*)

*vakahia* (vt) ‘burn sth’ (*khā* (vi) ‘burn’, *khahia* (vi) ‘start burning, catch fire’)

*vakhakea* (vt) ‘put up, make sb get up into sth’ (*kake* (vi) ‘climb’; no \**kakea*)

*vakhapoa* (vt) ‘grab, snatch’ (*khapa* (vi) ‘reach out’; no \**khap(h)oa*)

### 8.2.1.2. *Functions of the causative prefixes*

The causative prefixes have two main functions: *simulative* and *causative*; a similar dual function for the causative morpheme(s) is attested in many other Polynesian languages (e.g. Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 175–179, Besnier 2000: 594–595).

The simulative function derives forms meaning ‘to be like, to have the quality of, to do as if’. In this function, the causative prefix derives intransitive verbs or adverbs from intransitive verbs (12–13), or nouns from nouns (14), cf. 6.2.6.

(12) *hihi* ‘look’ > *huahihi* ‘look around, peep, spy (lit. as if looking, similar to looking)’

*iho* ‘down, go down’ > *huaiho* ‘appear to go down’

*kiko* ‘small’ > *huakiko* ‘smallish’

*lua* ‘two’ > *hualua* ‘do for the second time’

*mā* ‘shameful, shy’ > *huamā* ‘do something shameful’

*lavoi* ‘good’ > *hualavoi* ‘slowly, easily (lit. similar to being good)’

(13) *Nghai no huaihoho.*

ng hai no hua-iho-o-ho

some IPFV CAUS-go.down-go.vertically

‘Some appeared to be going down (from the ship).’

(14) *huahale* ‘small house on a *puke*-canoe (lit. something like a house)’ (< *hale* ‘house’)

*huahiahi* ‘evening, in the evening’ < *ahiahi* ‘evening, be evening’

The simulative function of the causative forms the basis for some rather subtle distinctions in meaning. For instance, the intransitive verb *hihi* ‘look’ can be transitivized to give *hihia* ‘watch, spy on’. From these can be formed both the causative intransitive *huahihi* ‘look around, spy, peep’ and the causative transitive *huahihia* ‘peep on, gaze at’:



- (15) a. *Ioko te tai ei hihia mai lhaua la.*  
 ioko te tai e-i hihia-a mai lhaua la  
 CONJ SG.SP person GENR-3SG look-TR come 3DU DEM.3  
 ‘And the man was watching the two.’
- b. *A ia koi huahihiange te hahine.*  
 a ia ko-i hua-hihi-a ange te hahine  
 PERS 3SG INCP-3SG CAUS-look-TR go.along SG.SP woman  
 ‘He peeped at the woman.’

The use of the causative here appears to indicate that something is being done indirectly or in an underhand way; ‘as if’ looking, but secretly and perhaps with dishonest intentions rather than as a straightforward act performed in the open.

The opening passages of a story about the murder of Bishop Patteson on Nukapu in 1871 (Hovdhaugen and Næss 2006: 22–27) has two instances of *mnamnatunga* and one of *huamnamnatunga*; *mnamnatunga* is a nominalization of the verb *manatu* ‘think, decide’. The examples in (16) show that *mnamnatunga* is used with the meaning ‘thought, plan, idea’; a direct result of the bishop’s thinking, plans whose realization are under his control:

- (16) a. *No au na, ko ia mnamnatunga ana*  
 no au na ko ia a mana~manatu-nga  
 IPFV come DEM.2 TOP 3SG COLL RED~think-NMLZ  
 a-na  
 POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘When he came, he thought’
- po ka lasi loa la na i muane i Nukapu.*  
 po ka lasi loa la na i mua ne  
 COMP FUT last EMPHDEM.3 DEM.2 LDA place DEM.1  
 i Nukapu  
 LDA Nukapu  
 ‘that it would be the last time he came here to Nukapu.’

- b. *Anā no lemai i a kakaenga na,*  
 a-na no le-mai i a ka-kaenga na  
 then-DEM.2 IPFV go-come LDA COLL RED~village DEM.2  
 ‘At that time he was going from island to island,’

*ioko na te tai mathua na, a mnamnatunga ana po ke thae mai ala  
 ne ki Nukapu ne.*  
 ioko te tai mathua na a mana-manatu-nga  
 CONJ SG.SP person old DEM.2 COLL RED~think-NMLZ  
 a-na po ke thae mai ala ne  
 POSS-3SG.POSS COMP HORT reach come HYP DEM.1  
 ki Nukapu ne  
 to Nukapu DEM.1  
 ‘and the old man’s plan was to visit us here on Nukapu.’

*huamnamnatunga*, on the other hand, is used to refer to thoughts concerning circumstances over which he has no control, the bishop’s guesses about other people’s plans; in other words a more “indirect” form of thinking:

- (17) *A ioko i a huamnamnatunga na iloa loa po te tapena penā po mdea po  
 mui hinga ala ka lau ala i te ia.*  
 a ioko i a hua-mana~manatu-nga na ilo-a loa  
 then CONJ LDA COLL CAUS-RED~think-NMLZ PST know-TR EMPH  
 po te ta-pena phe-na po matea po  
 COMP SG.SP PREF-prepare like-DEM.2 COMP maybe COMP  
 mui hinga ala ka lau ala ite ia  
 little thing HYP FUT reach HYP LDA 3SG  
 ‘And in his thoughts he had realized that such preparations might indicate that something could happen to him.’

A less direct or less complete event is also implied by the contrast between *uia* (vt) ‘change’ and *huauia* (NUP *fkauia*) in the following examples. *Fkauia* is used with reference to people changing their clothes because they have got wet; they change their external appearance, but remain basically the same. However, one protagonist, Kamulautoa, transforms his body completely, turning into another person; here the noncausative transitive *uia* is used:

- (18) *Latune ō ki o latu fale po latu fkauia o latu malo siu na*  
 lhatu=ne ō ki o latu fale po latu  
 3PL=PFV go.PL to POSS 3PL.POSS house COMP 3PL.HORT  
 fka-ui-a o latu malo siu na  
 CAUS-change-TR POSS 3PL.POSS clothes wet DEM.2  
 ‘When they went to their houses to change their wet clothes,’

*ko Kamulautoa noi uia na sino ki te aliki e maki na*

ko Kamulautoa no-i ui-a na sino ki te aliki  
 TOP Kamulautoa IPFV change-TR 3SG.POSS body to SG.SP chief  
 e maki na  
 GENR ill DEM.2

‘Kamulautoa changed his body into (the body of ) the dying chief’

*a ko leifo ko nofo i te alo o latou.* (NUP)

a ko le-ifo ko nofo i te alo o latou  
 CONJ INCP go-come INCP stay LDA SG.SP canoe POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘and went down and sat on their canoe.’

The causative function of the causative prefix involves the introduction of an agentive participant into the event structure, prototypically also the argument structure, of a base verb. However, in order to have a formally transitivity function, the causative prefix must be combined with a transitive suffix (8.2.2). This is not a common property of the causative construction in Polynesian languages in general; however, an exact parallel to the Vaeakau-Taumako causative structure is found in Äiwoo, where the addition of the causative prefix *wâ-* to an intransitive verb with no further modification derives a semi-transitive verb, whereas transitive causatives must necessarily include a suffix whose most frequent forms are *-wâ* or *-eâ* (Næss 2006c: 18).

In Vaeakau-Taumako, forms with the causative prefix but no suffix are generally stative intransitive verbs or adverbs: *mua* ‘front’ – *huamua* ‘first, before (adv)’; *thupu* ‘grow’ – *huathupu* ‘be heaped up (vi)’. At least in the latter case, a participant would appear to have been added to the event structure (i.e. someone caused the items to be in a heap), but not to the argument structure; the agent is not overtly encoded, and the verb remains intransitive. The corresponding transitive form is *huatupulia* ‘collect, pile up’.

There are also a few cases where a causative prefix derives a semi-transitive verb; this implies the addition of an agentive argument to the verb’s argument structure, but the lack of a transitive suffix means that the patient is not construed as highly individuated or fully affected:

(19) *Ioko Dui koi tapanioki po ne lavoi ange oki kite ia*

ioko Dui ko-i tapani-a oki po ne lavoi  
 CONJ Dui INCP-3SG replace-TR again COMP PFV good  
 ange oki kite ia  
 go.along again to 3SG

‘Dui replied that it was OK with him,’

*ko hasae longo ange oki ki a ngona ova katoa na.* (TAU)  
 ko hua-thae longo ange oki ki a  
 INCP CAUS-reach word go.along again to PERS  
 ngh-o-na ova katoa na  
 PL.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS relative all DEM.2  
 ‘and sent word to all his relatives.’

Cf. also *vakhona* (vsem) ‘catch fish in net’ < *khona* (vi) ‘be caught’.

It is fairly common crosslinguistically for causative morphology to apply only to formally intransitive verbs. Given that fully transitive causative forms in Vaeakau-Taumako necessarily include a transitive suffix, it is difficult to determine whether any such restrictions obtain here; is a form like *huainumia* ‘make someone drink’ derived from the intransitive or semi-transitive root *inu*, with the transitive suffix added to obtain a transitive causative, or from a causativization of the transitive form *inumia*? Given that there are very few underived transitive roots in Vaeakau-Taumako, the question may not even be relevant. There are certainly transitive causatives of intransitive roots where no corresponding non-causative transitive form exists, implying that the transitive suffix is added as part of the causativization process:

(20) *huamokia* ‘drop (lit. cause to fall)’ < *emo* (vi) ‘fall’ (no \**emokia*)  
*huakaitalaina* ‘tame (vt)’ < *kaitala* (vi) ‘be tame’ (no \**kaitalaina*)

But there are also forms where the causative prefix might have been added either to an intransitive root, or to a suffixed transitive form which is also in use in the language, as in *inu* (vi/vsem) ‘drink’ ~ *inumia* (vt) ‘drink’ ~ *huainumia* ‘make drink’, *ilo* (vi) ‘know’ ~ *iloa* (vt) ‘know’ ~ *huailoa* ‘tell, inform’.

Related to the causative function is the use of causative morphology to focus on aspects of the event’s transitive semantics. Causativization is prototypically a formally transitivizing process, but may in some cases also serve to increase or emphasize *semantic* transitivity, with no necessary concomitant increase in formal transitivity (Kittilä 2009). Thus the transitive verb *ahangia* ‘open’ (< *aha* [vi] ‘be open’) has a causative variant *huahangia* with what appears to be the same meaning. The difference is that *ahangia* is used with reference to the act of opening itself, whereas *huahangia* focuses on the *result* of the transitive act, the fact that something is open or uncovered as a result of someone performing the act of opening. Presenting an act as concluded, with a perceptible result, is a key component of semantic transitivity (e.g. Hopper and Thompson 1980, Næss 2007; cf. 8.2.2.1).

(21) *Lhako hulokua na, lhako ahangiake.*

lha=ko hulokua na lha=ko aha-ngia ake  
 3DU=INCP go.PL DEM.2 3DU=INCP open-TR go.up  
 ‘They went and uncovered it (a well).’

*Lhako huahangiake, tukuange po lekē ni vai tne.* (MAT)

lha=ko hua-aha-ngia ake taku-a ange po  
 3DU=INCP CAUS-open-TR go.up say-TR go.along COMP  
 lekē ni vai te-ne  
 INTJPL.NSP water SG.SP-DEM.1  
 ‘When they had uncovered it, they said: “Oh, this here is fresh water.”’

The forms *mateatu* and *huamateatu* both apparently mean ‘want to die in a certain place’. We have not been able to establish a semantic difference here, nor is it clear how the causative contributes to the meaning of the overall form (CAUS-die > ‘want to die’):

(22) a. *A iau no mateatu i Pileni.*

a iau no mate-atu i Pileni  
 PERS 1SG IPFV die-go.out LDA Pileni  
 ‘I would like to die on Pileni.’

b. *Iau no huamateatu i te kaenga outou.*

iau no hua-mate-atu i te kaenga o-utou  
 1SG IPFV CAUS-die-go.out LDA SG.SP village POSS-2PL.POSS  
 ‘I will die in your village.’

It should also be noted that there are verbs which look like causatives, but where no corresponding noncausative form is attested, e.g. *huahuia* ‘attach outrigger to canoe’.

## 8.2.2. Transitive suffixes

### 8.2.2.1. Basic function of transitive suffixes

With a very few exceptions, listed in 3.3.4, all transitive verbs have a transitive suffix. In some cases the root to which the suffix attaches is an intransitive verb, e.g. *aha* ‘be open’ – *ahangia* ‘open something’. In other cases the corresponding unsuffixed root is semi-transitive (3.3.3), i.e. it occurs with a noun referring to an indefinite or nonreferential object which is incorporated into the verb-phrase nucleus (3.3.3, 9.3.3). Most transitive verbs have such a corresponding semi-transitive form, which is used to refer to a generic or habitual event, or with an object low in individuation:

- (23) a. *Tuhituhia a pokoula!*  
 tuhi~tuhi-a a pokoula  
 RED~pick-TR COLL rubbish  
 ‘Pick up the rubbish!’
- b. *Lhakō ki mouku o tuhi talie ei.*  
 lha=ko o ki mouku o tuhi talie ai  
 3DU=INCP go.PL to bush to pick talie OBL.PRO  
 ‘They went into the bush and picked *talie* nuts there.’

The transitive suffix *-ina* is also used on intransitive verbs modifying a transitive head; cf. 9.3.4.

In the vast majority of cases, the transitive suffix indicates formal transitivity, that is, a verb with a transitive suffix shows formally transitive behaviour in that it will take the suffix *-i* on its tense-aspect-mood marker if occurring with a 3SG subject (12.5), and if its subject is postposed to the verb, it will be marked with the agentive preposition *e* (10.6.1). In terms of the structural and semantic differences between verbs with transitive suffixes and the corresponding intransitive or semi-transitive verbs, the suffixes may be said to add an affected, individuated patient to the verb’s argument structure.

There are, however, a few cases where the suffix does not necessarily correlate with formal transitivity, and where its semantic contribution is less clear-cut; it clearly relates to the semantic complex known to characterize transitive clauses crosslinguistically (Hopper and Thompson 1980, Næss 2007), but its precise effect in these aberrant cases is not predictable.

Table 17. Transitivity features, Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252)

	High	Low
A. Participants	2 or more participants, A and O	1 participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Some of these features have been debated, and they may not all be independent (e.g. “volitionality” and “agency”), but there is general agreement on the overall nature of the semantic transitive prototype as incorporating approxi-

mately this set of properties (see Næss 2007: 85–122 for a discussion of a possible underlying principle from which these properties ultimately derive).

In most cases, then, it is the parameters of affectedness and individuation of O that are most relevant to the use of the Vaeakau-Taumako transitive suffix. With the verb *tahaia* ‘cut’ discussed in 3.3.7, the suffix appears to indicate the presence of an affected patient, but does not necessarily imply formal transitivity; instead, the argument structure is manipulated to express distinctions in semantic transitivity, so that a formally transitive clause with a direct object is used when the act is construed as voluntary (parameter E, volitionality), while intransitive or extended intransitive structures are used when the act is construed as involuntary (example 42, chapter 3).

A different kind of anomalous behaviour is found with the verb *khahia* ‘catch fire, start burning’, from *khā* ‘burn (vi)’. *khahia* shows what appears to be a transitive suffix, but is formally intransitive:

- (24) *Te hahie ko khahia.*  
 te hahie ko khā-hia  
 SG.SP firewood INCP burn-TR  
 ‘The firewood caught fire.’

The transitivity parameter indicated by the transitive suffix here appears to be C, aspect, and perhaps also D, punctuality. Catching fire is a change of state, a telic event as opposed to the atelic process of burning. Thus *khahia* may be said to be *semantically* more transitive than its unsuffixed counterpart, although this is not reflected in the formal properties of the clause.

Such exceptional cases are, however, rare; in most cases the function of the transitive suffixes is regular and predictable. There are two types of transitive suffixes: suffixes with thematic consonants, and suffixes without thematic consonants; these will be discussed in turn in the following sections.

#### 8.2.2.2. Transitive suffixes with thematic consonants

The suffixes with thematic consonants (“-Cia-suffixes”) are not productive; they are generally attested in between one and ten words each. The thematic consonant (the suffix-initial C) at an earlier stage of Austronesian was a root-final consonant which was lost in word-final position, but was retained before suffixes and eventually reanalyzed as part of the suffix, as illustrated for *inu* ‘drink’ (POc \*inum) in (25):

- (25) \*inum > *inu*  
 \*inum-ia > *inu-mia*

The forms of the *-Cia* suffix found in Vaeakau-Taumako, and examples of their use, are shown in Table 18.

Table 18. Forms of the *-Cia* suffix

Form	Examples
<i>-hia</i>	<i>apihia</i> ‘open’, <i>kavuhia</i> ‘cover’ (cf. ENG <i>cover</i> )
<i>-kia</i>	<i>valokia</i> ‘invite’, <i>telekia</i> ‘carry away’, <i>unukia</i> ‘stick into the ground’
<i>-lia</i>	<i>tulia</i> ‘stand up against, fight’, <i>huatulia</i> ‘start, put up, put on’, <i>huatupulia</i> ‘collect, put together, heap up’
<i>-mia</i>	<i>folomia/lhomia</i> ‘swallow’, <i>kumia</i> ‘hold tight’, <i>hualanumia</i> ‘rinse in fresh water’, <i>inumia</i> ‘drink’, <i>huainumia</i> ‘make someone drink’
<i>-ngia</i>	<i>haeleangia</i> ‘care for, look after’, <i>ahangia/huahangia</i> ‘open’, <i>langia</i> ‘heat or dry over a fire’, <i>elengia</i> ‘deny’, <i>hapolengia</i> , <i>huapolengia</i> ‘frighten, startle’, <i>tongia</i> ‘fall on, rain on’
<i>-nia</i>	<i>kahania</i> ‘tie coconuts into pairs using a strip of the husk’, <i>taulania</i> ‘anchor’, <i>fakautania</i> , <i>huatonia</i> ‘send’
<i>-sia</i>	<i>mafasia</i> ‘be too heavy for; weigh down’, <i>fkaekesia</i> ‘surf on’

### 8.2.2.3. Transitive suffixes without thematic consonants

The transitive suffixes without thematic consonants are *-a*, *-ia*, *-ina*, *-na*, and *-nga*. All are frequent in our material, but only *-ina* appears to be productive today (cf. 9.3.4).

The most common transitive suffix is *-a*:

- (26) *angā* ‘work on something’ (*anga* (vi) ‘work’)  
*iloa* ‘know’ (*ilo* (vi) ‘know’)  
*ngaea* ‘tear’ (*ngae* (vi) ‘be torn’)  
*ongia* ‘kiss’ (*ongi* (vi) ‘kiss each other, be engaged in kissing’)  
*tangia* ‘cry over sth, cry for sth’ (*tangi* (vi) ‘cry’)  
*takua* ‘say sth’ (*taku* (vi) ‘say, speak’)  
*tetuā* ‘refuse, reject’ (*tetua* (vi) ‘refuse’)  
*valea* ‘not know’ (*vale* (vi) ‘be ignorant, be unable’)  
*vaua* ‘mix’ (*vau* (vi) ‘be mixed’)  
*vahia* ‘break’ (*vahi* (vi) ‘be broken, break’)

There are no phonological restrictions on the use of *-a*, but it usually does not appear on roots with three or more syllables, or on causatives; in such cases *-ina* is mostly used instead, cf. below. There are exceptions to this, however, e.g. *huatemua* ‘make quiet, comfort’:



- (27) *Te kovā koi hatekina po ke huatemua te meme.*  
 te kovā ko-i hatekina po ke hua-temu-a  
 SG.SP heron INCP-3SG try COMP HORT CAUS-quiet-TR  
 te meme  
 SG.SP baby  
 ‘The heron tried to keep the baby quiet.’

When a verb root has a final *-i*, e.g. *tangi* ‘cry’, it is impossible to determine whether the transitive form *tangia* ‘cry for something, cry over something’ has the *-a* or *-ia* suffix. However, since there are clear restrictions on the use of *-ia* (cf. below), it is likely that the transitive suffix in such cases is *-a*.

The suffix *-ia* is mainly found with roots ending in *-u* (28), and on roots with the structure *CoCa*, which becomes *CoCo* before *-ia* (29):

- (28) *hanauia* ‘give birth to’ (*hanau* (vi) ‘give birth’)  
*motia* (NUP *motuia*) ‘cut’ (*motu* ‘be cut’)  
*namuia* ‘smell sth’ (*namu* ‘a smell, to smell’)
- (29) *holoia* ‘spread out’ (*hola* ‘be spread out, be flat’)  
*tokoia* ‘watch, observe, look after’ (*thoka* ‘stare, look’)

*-ia* is sometimes found in alternation with *-ina*, cf. below.

*-ina* is the most productive of the transitive suffixes. It is the most common variety found with trisyllabic verb roots (example 30), and it is frequent in causatives (31). It is also the suffix found on recent loanwords from English or Pijin (32) and on verbs modifying a transitive head in asymmetrical verb serialization (9.3.4 and 15.2).

- (30) *avangaina* ‘consummate marriage’ (*avanga* ‘marriage, spouse, to marry’)  
*kataina* ‘laugh at’ (*khata* ‘laugh’)  
*ngalueina* ‘make pudding from something’ (*ngalue* ‘make pudding’)  
*talingaina* ‘hear something’ (*talinga* ‘ear, listen’)
- (31) *huakaitaina* ‘tame (TR)’ (*kaitala* ‘be tame’)  
*huataheaina* ‘make someone or somebody drift away’ (*tahea* ‘drift’)  
*huateaina* ‘cleanse, clarify, enlighten’ (*huatea* ‘be very clear’, *thea* ‘be white’)
- (32) *alaoina* ‘allow’ (ENG *allow*)  
*helpina* ‘help’ (ENG *help*)  
*lainina* ‘line up’ (ENG *line*)

There are a few cases of verbs with *-ina* which deviate from the expected pattern of derivation. A striking case is *lheuethakina* ‘get close to (vi-ext)’ <

*leuethaki* ‘be close to (vi-ext)’. The use of *-ina* to derive an extended intransitive verb from another extended intransitive verb, the variation in aspiration, and the semantic change from stative to inceptive (‘be close’ > ‘get close’) are all unique in our material.

- (33) a. *Te thaunga e leuethaki ange ki te ala.*  
 te thaunga e leuethaki ange ki te ala  
 SG.SP house GENR close go.along to SG.SP road  
 ‘The house is close to the road.’
- b. *Lape ko hatekina po ke lheuethakina ange ki a Dui.* (TAU)  
 Lape ko hatekina po ke leuethaki-ina ange  
 Lape INCP try COMP HORT close-TR go.along  
 ki a Dui  
 to PERS Dui  
 ‘Lape tried to get closer to Dui.’

Another deviant derivation is *sikaina* ‘the right thing to do’, a noun derived from *sika* (vi) ‘be straight, be right’.

Trisyllabic roots ending in *-i* delete their final *-i* before *-ina*, resulting in forms like *lavoi* ‘be good’ > *lavoina* ‘like, love, help’:

- (34) *hetuakina* ‘work hard to obtain something, earn’ (*hetuaki* ‘earn’)  
*lumakina* ‘put aside or behind something’ (*lumaki* ‘be sheltered from wind’)  
*siakina* ‘throw away, leave’ (*siaki* ‘throw away, leave’ – note that both verbs are transitive)  
*thutakina* ‘join’ (*thutaki* ‘be joined together’)

Forms such as these may be segmented in two ways: *lavo-ina* or *lavoi-na*. Possibly on analogy with the latter, we find a few examples of a suffix *-na* to non-*i*-final stems: *tokoina* or *tokona* ‘pole a raft or canoe’, from *toko* (vi) ‘pole’; *pepioina* or *pepiona* ‘lie to sb’, from *pepio* (vi) ‘lie’, (n) ‘liar’.

- (35) a. *Ta totoko ake mua.*  
 ta to~toko ake mua  
 1DU.INCL.HORT RED~pole go.up just  
 ‘Let us pole ashore.’
- b. *Koi tokoina ki loto.*  
 ko-i toko-ina ki loto  
 INCP-3SG pole-TR to inside  
 ‘He poled (his canoe) into shallow water.’

- c. *Ko tokona atu ai i thaupe na honu.*  
 ko toko-na atu ai i thaupē na honu  
 INCP pole-TR go.out OBL.PROLDA lagoon IRR full  
 ‘They will pole it for you when the tide is high.’

The transitive suffix *-nga* is only attested in the form *keinga* ‘eat (TR)’, from *kai* (vi/vsem) ‘eat’. *Keinga* is only found in NUP and occasionally in TAU; the VAE form is *keina* or *kina*.

In a few words, the suffixes *-ia* and *-ina* alternate, apparently without any semantic or dialectal difference:

- (36) *amoamoia* ~ *amoamoina* ‘apply custom powder to’, (*amoamo* n. ‘custom powder, turmeric’)  
*huatahaia* ~ *huatahaina* ‘put away, move aside, remove’, (*taha* n. ‘side’)  
*huamanavaia* – *huamanavaina* ‘relieve from work, make rest, cause to stop’,  
 (*huamanava* ‘rest’, *manava* ‘breathe, rest’)

An unresolved problem is the relationship between the noun *hualoia* ‘pain’ and the verb *hualoina* ‘to feel pain from’.

### 8.2.3. The applicative suffix

The applicative suffix *-akina* is quite frequent and productive. In some cases it overlaps with the transitive suffix, in the sense that the semantic difference between a regular transitive and an applicative form based on the same root for some verbs appears to be marginal. The suffix applies only to intransitive roots, and the resulting form is always transitive; from a typological perspective, it is quite unusual for an applicative marker to be restricted to intransitive bases (Polinsky 2005: 443).

The function of the applicative suffix is to promote a peripheral participant to syntactic object status. The promoted participant most commonly has a comitative role, e.g. *kauakina* ‘to carry or transport someone/something while swimming’ (*kau* [vi] ‘swim, bathe, wade’), *leleakina* ‘fly with someone/something, carry someone/something while flying’. Various other types of participants may also be promoted through applicativization, e.g. cause (*malelakina* ‘be happy for sth’ < *malela* [vi] ‘be happy’), purpose (*anumakina* ‘celebrate with dancing, arrange a dance for a specific purpose’), topic or subject matter (*menakina* ‘gossip about someone’ > *mena* ‘speak’).

- (37) a. *Lharko anumakina te hahine.*  
 lhātu=ko anu-makina te hahine  
 3PL=INCP dance-APPL SG.SP woman  
 ‘They danced for the woman (in order for her to choose a husband she liked).’
- b. *Lhano malelekina a memea laua la.*  
 lha=no malela-akina a memea a laua la  
 3DU=IPFV happy-APPL COLL child POSS 3DU.POSS DEM.3  
 ‘They were happy for their children.’
- c. *Ko bisop na nei kauakina ange i te tiba na.*  
 ko bisop na ne-i kau-akina ange  
 TOP bishop DEM.2 PFV-3SG swim-APPL go.along  
 i te tiba na  
 LDA SG.SP plank DEM.2  
 ‘She swam along carrying the bishop on the plank.’
- d. *Te thualele noi leleakina te tangara.*  
 te athua lele no-i lele-akina te tangata  
 SG.SP spirit fly IPFV-3SG fly-APPL SG.SP man  
 ‘The flying spirit was flying away with the man.’
- e. *A Holland koi nohoakina a nohine ana i te klinik.*  
 a Holland ko-i noho-akina a nohine a-na  
 PERS Holland INCP-3SG stay-APPL PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 i te klinik  
 LDA SG.SP clinic  
 ‘Holland stayed with his wife in the clinic.’

In the examples above, the intransitive verbs from which the applicative forms are derived have no corresponding transitive verbs derived with the transitive suffixes (8.2.2). However, in many cases the same intransitive verb may take both a transitive and an applicative suffix, giving contrasting forms such as *menaina* ‘tell, inform’, where the information given is the object, vs. *menakina* ‘gossip about’, where the person gossiped about is the object. Compare also *tokoakina* in (38) with the transitive-suffixed examples in (35) above:

(38) *Te memea na nei tokoakina te puke o te aliki o Lomlom ni āna ko kaveake ai ki Deni.*

te	memea	na	ne-i	toko-akina	te	puke	o
SG.SP	child	DEM.2	PFV-3SG	pole-APPL	SG.SP	puke	POSS
te	aliki	o	Lomlom	ni	ā	a-na	ko
SG.SP	chief	POSS	Lomlom	PL.NSP	what	POSS-3SG.POSS	INCP
kave-a	ake	ai	ki	Deni			
bring-TR	go.up	OBL.PRO	to	Santa.Cruz			

‘That child is poling the *puke*-canoe of the chief of Lomlom with his things to bring to Santa Cruz.’

*Tokoina/tokona* are regular transitive verbs with a patient object; the canoe or raft is construed as the entity directly affected by the act of poling. *Tokoakina* in (38), on the other hand, construes the canoe as an instrument, a means of transporting something. Compare also *kavea* ‘bring, transport’ and *kaveakina* ‘bring for a specific purpose’ in (39):

(39) a. *Ue kaveange ala khoulua ki a hinaku.*

u=e	kave-a	ange	ala	khoulua	ki	a
1SG=GENR	bring-TR	go.along	HYP	2DU	to	PERS
hina-ku						
mother-1SG.POSS						

‘I’ll bring you two to my mother.’

b. *Te tangata koi kaveakina te hahine.*

te	tangata	ko-i	kave-akina	te	hahine
SG.SP	man	INCP-3SG	bring-APPL	SG.SP	woman

‘The man brought the woman (to present her as his future wife).’

On the other hand, there are cases where no semantic difference is apparent between an ordinary transitive verb and a corresponding applicative derivation, e.g. *palea* ~ *paleakina* ‘to turn (a boat).

The contrast between the transitive and applicative suffixes in Vaeakau-Taumako clearly reflects the contrast between the reconstructed PPN forms \*-i and \*akin[i]. Evans (2003) proposes that \*-i was a transitive suffix with both causative and applicative uses, and that in the latter function it served to introduce O arguments with the semantic roles of location, goal, addressee, stimulus, and patient; whereas \*akin[i] served to introduce instruments, beneficiaries, concomitants, cause or stimulus of psychological and emotional states, content of verbs of speech and cognition, and product of verbs of excretion or secretion (Evans 2003: 304).

When the applicative suffix is attached to a root ending in /e/ or /i/, there is frequently assimilation of *ea* to *e* or *ia* > *ea* > *e* (2.3.3); the contracted forms tend to gradually become standard:

- (40) *leleakina* [leleakina, lelekina] ‘fly with something’  
*paleakina* [paleakina, palekina] ‘turn’  
*silekina* ‘throw (vt)’, cf. *sili* ‘throw (vi)’ (*siliakina* > *silekina*)  
*tekekina* ‘run with someone’, cf. *teki* ‘run (sg)’ (*tekiakina* > *tekekina*)

- (41) *Ko te tangata koi toa koi silekinange loa e kotasi.*  
 ko te tangata ko-i to-a ko-i sili-akina  
 TOP SG.SP man INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG throw-APPL  
 ange loa e ko-tahi.  
 go.along EMPH GENRCLASS-one  
 ‘The boy threw her one (raw fish).’

The form *ahiohoakina* ‘return (vt)’ (< *ahio* ‘return’) is the only attested example where the applicative suffix attaches to a directional following the verb root; there is also a regular applicative form *ahioakina* ‘return’. Note that (42) was produced by a young speaker who may conceivably have reanalyzed *ahioho* as a single form.

- (42) *Huahea lhako ahiohoakina mai oki a lheni ai ne?*  
 hua-hea lha=ko ahio-oho-akina mai oki  
 CAUS-where 3DU=INCP return-go.vertically-APPL come again  
 a lheni ai ne  
 COLL money OBL.PRO DEM.1  
 ‘Why did they return the money?’

There are some cases of verb-final *-akina* which are only superficially similar to the applicative suffix, as they result from the transitive suffix *-ina* being added to a base ending in *-ki*:

- (43) *hehoakina* ‘sell (vt)’, cf. *hehoaki* ‘sell, advertise for sale (vi)’  
*akoakina* ‘teach’, cf. *akoaki* ‘teach (vi)’

Since the phonological sequence /akina/ is so strongly associated with the applicative suffix, other formations resulting in the phonological surface sequence /akina/ may occasionally be semantically influenced by the applicative verbs, e.g. *hoakina* ‘travel around with, carrying when travelling’ < *hoaki* ‘go out.PL, walk.PL, travel.PL, come.PL’.

(44) *Latunoko laka loa ki Deni o foakina ai a ika o latou po ke tauia ai ni kaikai.*  
(NUP)

lhatu=noko laka ki Deni o hoaki-na ai a ika  
3PL=IPFV pass to Santa Cruz to travel-TR OBL.PRO COLL fish  
o latou po ke tauia ai ni kaikai  
POSS 3PL.POSS COMP HORT pay-TR OBL.PROPL.NSP food  
'They used to pass over to Santa Cruz carrying the fish they had in order to buy  
some food.'

The applicative suffix is functionally and etymologically related to the oblique pro-form *akinai*, cf. 5.2.3.

#### 8.2.4. The intransitive prefix *ma-*

The Vaeakau-Taumako verbal lexicon shows a handful of examples of an unproductive prefix *ma-*. In the most straightforward cases, *ma-*-prefixed verbs are clearly intransitive versions of transitive verbs lacking the prefix, either with the meaning of 'being in the state resulting from verbal action' or 'action happening spontaneously, without a causative agent': *malingi* 'pour, spill (vi)' ~ *lingia* 'pour out, empty (vt)', *mavae* 'be separated (vi)' ~ *vaea* 'separate, distribute, share (vt)', *maveta* 'open spontaneously, come loose (vi)' ~ *vetā* 'untie (vt)'. Cognate prefixes with similar functions are found e.g. in Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 184–186) and Tuvaluan (Besnier 2000: 442–445).

In other cases, however, the exact relationship between a *ma-*-prefixed verb and a corresponding form without *ma-* is more unclear; it is possible that some of these pairs should rather be considered "long" vs. "short" forms of the same lexeme (2.5.3): *mahola* 'be calm, flat, wide (vi)' ~ *hola* 'be spread out (vi)', *mathapeoina* 'hate (vt)' ~ *thapoina* 'hate, treat badly (vt)', *tapeo* 'be bad (vi)', *mavihi* 'rise (vi)' ~ *vihi* 'jump, bounce, rise (vi)'.

#### 8.2.5. Nominalizing affixes

##### 8.2.5.1. The general nominalizing suffix *-nga*

The productive suffix *-nga* forms nouns from verbs:

- (45) *anunga* ‘dance’ < *anu* ‘dance’  
*emonga* ‘falling down, setting (of the sun)’ < *emo* ‘fall’  
*huailonga* ‘monument, memorial’ < *huailo* ‘remind’  
*kakenga* ‘ladder’ < *kake* ‘climb up’  
*lavonga* ‘goodness’ < *lavoi* ‘be good’  
*malelanga* ‘joy, celebration, game’ < *malela* ‘be happy’  
*matenga* ‘death’ < *mate* ‘die’  
*popoulinga* ‘darkness, night’ < *popouli* ‘be dark’  
*ilailanga* ‘story’ < *ilatā, ilāilā* ‘tell a story’  
*tolenga* ‘leftovers’ < *tole* ‘remain’  
*vethakinga* ‘fight (n)’ < *vethaki* ‘fight (vi)’

There are a few examples of the suffix attaching to complex verb-phrase nuclei, that is, serialized verbs (cf. 9.3.4): *hanokenga* ‘going away’ (*hano* [vi] ‘go’, *kē* [vi] ‘different; away’), *henakenga* ‘rising’ (*hano* [vi] ‘go’, *ake* ‘go up’), *huatumainga* ‘beginning’ (*hua-* ‘CAUS’, *tū* ‘stand’, *mai* ‘come’), *vihiakenga* ‘rising; sunrise’ (*vihī* ‘jump, rise, originate’, *ake* ‘go up’)

A few nouns ending in *-nga* have no corresponding verb attested in our corpus:

- (46) *fakatunga* ‘season’ (NUP)  
*huilonga* ‘birthmark, mark’ (cf. *huilongahia* ‘to mark, to put a mark on’)  
*lilinga* ‘hafting of a stone axe’

In some cases the nominalizing suffix has a thematic consonant (cf. 8.2.2.2), taking the form *-Canga*, either as the only attested form or as an alternative to *-nga*:

- (47) *anumanga* ‘dance’ < *anu* ‘dance’, cf. *anunga* above  
*huatupulanga* ‘heap, collection’ < *huatupu* ‘be heaped up, be piled up’  
*kutulanga* ‘meeting, group’ < *kutu* ‘live, stay, come together (PL)’  
*malamatanga* ‘light’ < *malama* ‘be clear, be open, dawn’  
*uluhanga* ‘entering’ < *ulu(h-)* ‘enter’

We have attested two words with the alternant suffix *-anga*: *nepuluanga* ‘the *nepulu* dance’ < *nepulu* ‘to dance the *nepulu* dance’, and *nohoanga* ‘chair; occupation, living condition’ < *noho* ‘sit, stay, live’, in addition to the complex nominalized verb *hano-mai-anga* ‘go.SG-come-NMLZ = coming’.

#### 8.2.5.2. The prefix *tatuko-* ‘number of persons’

The prefix *tatuko-* is used on numerals from 2 to 9 and derives nouns referring to a specific number of human beings, e.g. *tatukotolu* ‘three people’:



- (48) a. *Ko avange loa ki a tatukolua ne ō oho.*  
 ko av-ange loa ki a tatuko-lua  
 INCP bring-go.along EMPH to PERS person-two  
 ne ō oho  
 PFV go.PL go.vertically  
 ‘They gave it to the two people who had come.’
- b. *Na lhaua loa ne tatukolua ko toa ne kavea ake.*  
 na lhaua loa ne tatuko-lua ko to-a  
 DEM.2 3DU EMPHDEM.1 person-two INCP take-TR  
 ne kave-a ake  
 PFV bring-TR go.up  
 ‘The two of them found it and brought it.’

### 8.2.6. The circumfix *he-...-aki*

The circumfix *he-...-aki* has several, partly interrelated functions. Diachronically speaking, the reciprocal meaning (8.2.6.1) is clearly the original one, reconstructed for PPN as \**fe-* ‘reciprocal prefix’ + \**-qaki* ‘formative suffix’. However, the reciprocal use is not productive in Vaeakau-Taumako today, and is limited to less than ten words in our material; see 8.2.6.2 for productive reciprocal constructions in Vaeakau-Taumako and their relationship to reflexive constructions. We nevertheless gloss the form as ‘RECP’, as it is difficult to find a gloss which covers all its different uses.

Somewhat surprisingly, NUP too in most cases has *he-...-aki* rather than *fe-...-aki*. This may indicate borrowing, but on the other hand NUP has several *he-...-aki* derivations not attested in the other dialects.

Almost all the non-reciprocal use of *he-...-aki* contain a core sense of intensity and plurality with verbs of activity like ‘go, run, fight, walk’. With this function the circumfix appears to be mildly productive. There are some *he-...-aki* forms in NUP which are not found in the other dialects; whether they are due to innovation or retention of older forms is difficult to decide.

#### 8.2.6.1. Reciprocal use of *he-...-aki*

As noted above, this use of the circumfix is no longer productive, and is attested only in the following words:

*heilaki* ‘look at each other, look around’, cf. *ila* ‘look’; the fully reduplicated form *heileilaki* (cf. *ileila*, the fully reduplicated form of *ila*) is much more common than *heilaki*.

- (49) a. *Ioko lhatou ko heileilaki lharou.*  
 ioko lhatou ko he-ila~ila-aki i lhatou  
 CONJ 3PL INCP RECP-RED~see-RECP LDA 3PL  
 ‘And they looked at each other.’
- b. *A iau no heileilaki i mouku.*  
 a iau no he-ila~ila-aki i mouku  
 PERS 1SG IPFV RECP-RED~see-RECP LDA bush  
 ‘I looked around me in the bush.’

*heiloaki* ‘know each other’, cf. *iloa* ‘know’:

- (50) *Hilaua e heiloaki.* (TAU)  
 hilaua e he-ilo-aki  
 3DU GENR RECP-know-RECP  
 ‘The two know each other.’

*hekuteaki* ‘see each other’, cf. *kutea* ‘see’:

- (51) *Lhaua siai no hekuteaki na lhaua.*  
 lhaua siai no he-kute-a-aki na lhaua  
 3DU NEG IPFV RECP-see-TR-RECP DEM.2 3DU  
 ‘The two did not see each other.’

*helauaki* ‘meet (lit. find each other)’, cf. *lau* ‘reach, find’:

- (52) a. *Lhatko helauaki oki i Kahula.* (TAU)  
 lhat=ko he-lau-aki oki i Kahula  
 3PL=INCP RECP-reach-RECP again LDA Kahula  
 ‘They met again in Kahula.’
- b. *A iau ko helauaki ma koe.* (TAU)  
 a iau ko he-lau-aki ma koe  
 PERS 1SG INCP RECP-reach-RECP with 2SG  
 ‘I met you.’
- c. *Lhako halauaki<sup>35</sup> i te pakhola.* (TAU)  
 lha=ko he-lau-aki i te pakhola  
 3DU=INCP RECP-reach-RECP LDA SG.SP giant  
 ‘The two met the giant.’

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<sup>35</sup> *halauaki* instead of *helauaki* is a TAU alternant.

*helauaki* is also one of the few reciprocal verbs that has a derived transitive form *helauakina* which has the same meaning as *helauaki*, but differs syntactically in that it takes a direct object rather than a prepositional complement; compare *te tangata* in (53) with *ma koe* (52b) and *i te pakhola* (52c).

- (53) a. *Te hahine nei helauakina te tangata la.*  
 te hahine ne-i he-lau-aki-ina  
 SG.SP woman PFV-3SG RECP-reach-RECP-TR  
 te tangata la  
 SG.SP man DEM.3  
 ‘The woman met the man.’
- b. *Lhako helauakina lhaua i loto la.*  
 lha=ko he-lau-aki-na lhaua i loto la  
 3DU=INCP RECP-reach-RECP-TR 3DU LDA inside DEM.3  
 ‘The two meet each other inside.’

*hemenamenaki* ‘speak to each other’, cf. *menamena* ‘speak, talk’:

- (54) a. *Hilaua no hemenamenaki.* (TAU)  
 hilaua no he-mena~mena-aki  
 3DU IPFV RECP-RED~speak-RECP  
 ‘The two were speaking to each other.’
- b. *Lhako hemenamenaki ki hilaua.*  
 lha=ko he-mena~mena-aki ki hilaua  
 3DU=INCP RECP-RED~speak-RECP to 3DU  
 ‘The two talked.’

*hetapaniaki* ‘exchange’ is related to *tapani* ‘replace, answer, retaliate’ where the basic meaning would appear to have been ‘transfer on request, give something to someone when it has been asked for or provoked in some way’:

- (55) a. *Lhako hetapaniaki i a penpenu.*  
 lha=ko he-tapani-aki i a penu~penu  
 3DU=INCP RECP-replace-RECP LDA COLL RED~thing  
 ‘The two exchanged things.’
- b. *Hilaua ko hetapaniaki i te lala.* (TAU)  
 hilaua ko he-tapani-aki i te lala  
 3DU INCP RECP-replace-RECP LDA SG.SP ring  
 ‘The two exchanged rings.’

*hetauaki* ‘quarrel’, cf. *tau* ‘grab at’ (a transitive verb \**taua* ‘grab’ is not attested in our corpus):

- (56) a. *Thau avanga lhako hetauaki.*  
 thau avanga lha=ko he-tau-aki  
 DY spouse 3DU=INCP RECP-grab-RECP  
 ‘The couple quarreled.’
- b. *Lharko huatū lhatuna hetauakia i lharou.*  
 lhatu=ko hua-thū lhatu=na he-tau-aki ai  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-stand 3PL=IRR RECP-grab-RECP OBL.PRO  
 i lhatou  
 LDA 3PL  
 ‘They started to argue among themselves about it.’

*hetoaki* ‘fight (usually with bow and arrows)’ may be a derivation from *toa* ‘take’, but the semantics involved is not clear.

- (57) *Mhaka hetoaki loa i a loku.*  
 mha=ka he-to-aki loa i a loku  
 1DU.EXCL=FUT RECP-take-RECP EMPH LDA COLL bow  
 ‘We will fight with bows.’

#### 8.2.6.2. *Productive reciprocal constructions*

As noted above, *he-... -aki* is not productive as a reciprocal marker. The productive way of forming reciprocal constructions is with a transitive clause where the subject and direct object are coreferential:

- (58) *Lhako olia hilhaua.*  
 lha=ko oli-a loa kilhaua  
 3DU=INCP thank-TR EMPH 3DU  
 ‘They thank each other.’

Some otherwise intransitive verbs can take a prepositional complement coreferent with the subject, yielding a reciprocal interpretation:

- (59) a. *Lhatou ne vakatakata i lhatou.*  
 lhatou ne va-kata-kata i lhatou  
 3PL PFV PL-RED~laugh LDA 3PL  
 ‘They made fun of each other.’

- b. *Lhatuko huaŋū loa na menamena i lhatou.*  
 lhatu=ko hua-thū loa na mena~mena i lhatou  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-stand EMPH IRR RED~talk LDA 3PL  
 ‘They began to talk to each other.’

Both these structures are also used to form reflexive constructions:

- (60) a. *Ngha tai ko angoia kilatou.* (NUP)  
 ngha tai ko ango-ia kilatou  
 PL.SP person INCP decorate-TR 3PL  
 ‘The people decorated themselves.’
- b. *Aia no vakata ite ia.*  
 a ia no va-kata ite ia  
 PERS 3SG IPFV CAUS-laugh LDA 3SG  
 ‘He made fun of himself.’

Certain verbs carry an inherently reciprocal meaning. *tukua/takua* ‘say’ is interpreted as meaning ‘say to oneself’ when used without a following directional verb:

- (61) *Thai langi na lhatko tukua po latu ō ki Lua.*  
 thai langi na lhatu=ko taku-a po latu ō  
 one day DEM.2 3PL=INCP say-TR COMP 3PL.HORT go.PL  
 ki Lua  
 to Lua  
 ‘One day they said to themselves that they would go to Lua.’

### 8.2.6.3. Plural use of *he-...-aki*

As noted in 8.1 above, with a number of verbs the *he-...-aki* circumfix indicates plurality, either of the subject or of the action. Some of these forms have an additional meaning of moving about, moving around, cf. 8.2.6.4 below:

*hehoaki* ‘walk around, stroll about’ can only be used with plural subjects, but there is no corresponding singular form *\*hoa*; there is a semantically corresponding verb *tahao* ‘wander about, stroll’, but this verb may take both singular and plural subjects.

- (62) *Lhatou ko hehoaki ma ngha tangata.*  
 lhatou ko he-hoa-aki ma ngha tangata  
 3PL INCP RECP-?-RECP with PL.SP man  
 ‘They walked around with the men.’

*hemaohaki* ‘be spread out, be scattered (PL)’ derives from *maoha* ‘be spread out, be scattered’. *Maoha* may combine with both singular and plural subjects (63); the meaning of *hemaohaki* appears to be ‘be scattered or spread out in all directions’, though according to consultants there is no clear difference between *hemaohaki* and *maoha* used with plural subjects.

- (63) a. *Te avanga ko moha.*  
 te avanga ko maoha  
 SG.SP spouse INCP scatter  
 ‘The couple got divorced.’
- b. *Te paua ko moha.*  
 te paua ko maoha  
 SG.SP giant.clam INCP scatter  
 ‘The clam broke into pieces (lit. was scattered).’
- c. *Nga tai ko moha i Malimi.*  
 nga tai ko maoha i Malimi  
 group<sup>36</sup> person INCP scatter LDA Malimi  
 ‘The men were scattered on Malimi.’
- (64) a. *Lhatou ko moha i te bele.*  
 lhatou ko maoha i te bele  
 3PL INCP scatter LDA SG.SP bell  
 ‘They went in all directions after the service.’
- b. *Lhatuko hemaohaki i mouku.*  
 lhatu=ko he-maoha-aki i mouku  
 3PL=INCP RECP-scatter-RECP LDA bush  
 ‘They were scattered in the bush.’
- c. *A ipu ko hemaohaki.*  
 a ipu ko he-maoha-aki  
 COLL cup INCP RECP-scatter-RECP  
 ‘The cups were scattered.’

NUP has two plurals formed with *he-...-aki* which do not exist in the other dialects:

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<sup>36</sup> According to consultants, the mensural noun *nga* ‘group’, rather than the plural article *ngha*, is used here to indicate that the men came as a group (like a school of fish) and were scattered after the group arrived on Malimi.

- (65) *hevaki* ‘be off the ground, fly.PL’ – NUP plural of *eva* ‘be off the ground, fly’  
*hevaki* ‘run.PL’ – NUP plural of *vatheki* ‘run’. (VAE and TAU have *vetheki*  
‘run. SG’ – *hulo* ‘run.PL’.)

There are two attested cases of *he-...-aki* plurals on the basis of already plural verb forms. It is unclear what the difference is, if any, between the two plural forms, except that one of them (*hetaoaki*) is restricted to TAU:

*helaheaki* ‘be big.PL’, cf. *laeha* ‘be big.PL’ and *eha* ‘be big.SG’:

- (66) *Lhatko toa a lakau helaehaki na.*  
lhat=ko to-a a lakau he-la-eha-aki na  
3PL=INCP take-TR COLL tree RECP-PL-big-RECPDEM.2  
‘They took many big trees.’

*hetaoaki* ‘run away, escape.PL’ cf. *tao* ‘rush out.PL’

- (67) *Lhatko hetaoaki.*  
lhat=ko he-tao-aki  
3PL=INCP RECP-rush.out-RECP  
‘They ran away.’

#### 8.2.6.4. Other uses of *he-...-aki*

With three verbs of movement, *he-...-aki* is used to signify that the movement is performed for some time, aimlessly, moving about with no particular purpose. The subject can be singular or plural.

*hekauaki* ‘swim around’, cf. *kau* ‘swim’:

- (68) a. *Ngha mathua na hekaukauaki na.*  
ngha matua na he-kau~kau-aki na  
PL.SP old.man PST RECP-RED~swim-RECP DEM.2  
‘The old men were swimming around.’
- b. *A iau ko hekauaki.*  
a iau ko he-kau-aki  
PERS 1SG INCP RECP-swim-RECP  
‘I swam around.’

*helelekaki* ‘fly all about’, cf. *lele* ‘fly’, with a thematic stem-final *k*, cf. 8.2.2.2:

(69) *Ne helelekaki na, ko lele ake loa ki nghauta.*

ne he-lelek-aki na ko lele ake loa ki nghauta  
 PFV RECP-fly-RECP DEM.2 INCP fly go.up EMPH to shore  
 ‘It flew all about, it flew up to the village.’

With the same meaning as *helelekaki*, we find the transitive verb *helelekina*. It is unclear whether this is a complex derivation combining *he-...-aki* with a transitive suffix *-(i)na*, or rather a combination of the applicative suffix *-akina* plus a prefix *he-*.

(70) *Te manu koi helelekina te kaenga.*

te manu ko-i he-lele-aki-ina te kaenga  
 SG.SP animal INCP-3SG RECP-fly-RECP-TR SG.SP village  
 ‘The bird flew about the village.’

*hetlekaki* ‘wander around’ is clearly related to *tele* ‘go, move fast, sail’ (cf. also *hetaki* ‘walk about [PL]’), but also has a thematic stem-final *k*.

(71) *Te memea la ne hetlekaki i vaho na.*

te memea la ne he-telek-aki  
 SG.SP child DEM.3 PFV RECP-run-RECP  
 i vaho na  
 LDAoutside DEM.2  
 ‘The child wandered around outside.’

A few examples of *he-...-aki* in our corpus appear to have an emphatic or intensifying function:

*hemaooki* ‘be far apart’ < *mao* ‘be far’:

(72) *Te anga o a kaenga e hemaooki.*

te anga o a kaenga e he-mao-aki  
 SG.SP gap POSS COLL village GENR RECP-far-RECP  
 ‘The gap between the villages is huge.’

*hetangiaki* ‘cry (with bitterness, for something very bad, in great pain)’ < *tangi* ‘cry’:

(73) *Te aliki o latou ne hetangiaki i moana.*

te aliki o latou ne he-tangi-aki i moana  
 SG.SP chief POSS 3PL.POSS PFV RECP-cry-RECP LDA sea  
 ‘Their chief cried out (for his life) at sea.’



*hetuaki* ‘earn’ is not related to any known root,<sup>37</sup> but has a transitive derivation *hetuakina* ‘earn, work hard to obtain something’.

- (74) a. *A koe ko hetuaki pehea po ni muahau?*  
 a koe ko hetuaki phe-hea po ni muahau  
 PERS 2SG INCP earn like-where COMP PL.NSP money  
 ‘How do you earn money?’
- b. *Te tangata koi hetuakina a anga ona.*  
 te tangata ko-i hetuaki-ina a anga  
 SG.SP man INCP-3SG earn-TR COLL work  
 o-na  
 POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘The man worked hard to achieve his aims.’

The two forms *heilavoiaki* ‘kindness’ (a nominalized form) and *heithapeoaki* ‘be in conflict with’, derived from *lavoi* ‘be good’ and *tapeo* ‘be bad’, are deviant in form, and may be a hybridization of the verb *hei* ‘do’ (cf. *hei tama* ‘be pregnant’) and the *he-...-aki* circumfix. Note that *heithapeoaki* has a clear reciprocal meaning.

- (75) a. *tō heilavoiaki*  
 t-ō hei-lavoi-aki  
 SG.SP-2SG.POSS RECP?-good-RECP  
 ‘your kindness’
- b. *ngai mhatou e heithapeoaki*  
 ngai mhatou e hei-tapeo-aki  
 some 1PL.EXCL GENR RECP?-bad-RECP  
 ‘those with whom we have hostile relations’
- c. *Lhatou ko heithapeoaki i lhatou.*  
 lhatou ko hei-tapeo-aki i lhatou  
 3PL INCP RECP?-bad-RECP LDA 3PL  
 ‘They were in conflict with each other.’

### 8.2.7. The desiderative prefix

The desiderative prefix, expressing a meaning of ‘want to do X’, is *fete-* in TAU,<sup>38</sup> *fie-* in NUP, and *hie-* in VAE. They are mainly used on verbs denoting basic physical needs: *moe* ‘sleep’, *kai* ‘eat’, and *inu* ‘drink’:

<sup>37</sup> It is tempting to assume a link with *taui* ‘buy, pay’, but the phonological changes involved would be unusual.

- (76) a. *Te flemoe e mahatu ite koe.* (TAU)  
 te fele-moe e maha atu ite koe  
 SG.SP DES-sleep GENR heavy go.out LDA 2SG  
 ‘You are very sleepy.’
- b. *Koko flemoe la koko takoto ake mua o hilitua.* (TAU)  
 ko=ko fele-moe la ko=ko takoto ake mua  
 2SG=INCP DES-sleep DEM.3 2SG=INCP lie go.up just  
 o hilitua  
 to rest  
 ‘If you are sleepy, you should lie down and rest a little.’
- c. *Na ngutu ko mangoa i na hie-kai.*  
 na ngutu ko mangoa i na hie-kai  
 3SG.POSS mouth INCP dry LDA 3SG.POSS DES-eat  
 ‘His mouth had dried up from hunger.’

### 8.2.8. Numeral classifiers and the distributive numeral prefix

The numeral classifiers apply only to a small subset of Vaeakau-Taumako verbs, namely the cardinal numerals; *toka-* may also be used on other verbs referring to quantities, e.g. *vō* ‘many’. There are two numeral classifiers in Vaeakau-Taumako: *toka-* [toko, toka] for human beings, and *tau-* general classifier referring to any non-human countable object. The latter classifier is declining in use, a bare numeral verb being preferred instead.

- (77) a. *Lhate tokokaro.*  
 lhatu=e toko-kato  
 3PL=GENR CLASS-ten  
 ‘They are ten.’
- b. *luona vetuahine tokolua*  
 lu-o-na ve-tuahine toko-lua  
 two-POSS-3SG.POSS PL-sister CLASS-two  
 ‘his two sisters’
- c. *a etai e tokovō* (NUP)  
 a etai e toko-vō  
 COLL person GENR CLASS-many  
 ‘many people’

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<sup>38</sup> Verbs with *fele-* are the only words consistently pronounced with *f* in TAU.

- (78) a. *A langi ko tauhā.*  
 a langi ko tau-hā  
 PERS day INCP CLASS-four  
 ‘It was the fourth day.’
- b. *Une vuhia ika taulima.*  
 u=ne vuhi-a a ika tau-lima  
 1SG=PFVpull-TR COLL fish CLASS-five  
 ‘I caught five fish.’

Another prefix which is restricted to numeral verbs is the distributive *taki-*, which derives distributive numerals with the meaning ‘one by one’, ‘two by two’ etc:

- (79) *Lhatou ko ahioki takitahi oki.*  
 lhatou ko ahio oki taki-tahi oki  
 3PL INCP return again DISTR-one again  
 ‘They started coming again, one by one again.’

The numeral *tahi* ‘one’ when used predicatively or attributively appears with the prefix *ko-*, similarly to e.g. Māori (Bauer 1993: 496). Mostly the prefixed form combines with a tense-aspect-mood marker (80a), but occasionally the marker is dropped (80b).

- (80) a. *Moeange te pō e korahi na.*  
 moe ange te pō e ko-tahi na  
 sleep go.along SG.SP night GENR PREF-one DEM.2  
 ‘(He) slept there one night.’
- b. *Hahine e lua, tangara korahi.*  
 hahine e lua tangata ko-tahi  
 woman GENR two man PREF-one  
 ‘There were two girls and one boy.’

For the nominalizing prefix *tatuko-* ‘number of persons’, see 8.2.5.2 above.

## Chapter 9

### Verb phrase structure

#### 9.1. Introduction

By a verb phrase, we mean the verb plus the elements which are distributionally dependent on it, i.e. which occur in a fixed position relative to the verb. This includes tense-aspect-mood particles and associated clitic pronouns, as well as the various elements (nouns, verbs, adverbs, particles) which may modify the verb. Thus our notion of verb phrase includes the “incorporated” objects of semi-transitive verbs (cf. 3.3.3), but excludes direct objects of fully transitive verbs, which may occur in different positions in the clause.

The use of the demonstrative *na* as a phrase demarcator (18.2.2) provides a useful diagnostic for establishing the boundaries of the Vaeakau-Taumako verb phrase. Given that it can only be inserted at phrase boundaries, we can demonstrate that direct objects are not part of the verb phrase, as a demonstrative may intervene between the verb and the object:

- (1) a. *Koi toa koi motia loa na mua na.*  
 ko-i to-a ko-i motu-ia loa na  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG cut-TR EMPH DEM.2  
 mua na  
 place DEM.2  
 ‘It cut through that place.’
- b. *Inā po lhatu taia ala loa na te memea tau Thulā na.* (MAT)  
 i-na po lhatu ta-ia ala loa na  
 LDA-DEM.2 COMP 3PL.HORT hit-TR HYP EMPH DEM.2  
 te memea tau Thulā na  
 SG.SP child of Thula DEM.2  
 ‘That was because they were going to kill the child from Thula.’

Note that this is a strictly negative criterion, only valid for establishing that an element is external to the verb phrase. It cannot be employed as a means of showing that an element is included in the verb phrase, because being followed by a demonstrative is not necessarily an indication of verb phrase-internal position. The demonstrative marks a phrase boundary, but the phrase in question need not be the verb phrase; it can be the object noun phrase, or an

adverbial phrase modifying the verb phrase. In (2a) *huahiahi* ‘in the evening’ is a verb phrase-external adverb modifying the whole verb phrase ‘they ate’; the fact that it can also be placed in clause-initial position (2b) shows that it is not internal to the verb phrase. The demonstrative in (2a) must therefore be understood as occurring at the end of the adverbial phrase, not the verb phrase.

- (2) a. *Lako kaikai huahiahi na.*  
 lha=ko kai-kai huahiahi na  
 3DU=INCP RED-eat evening DEM.2  
 ‘They ate in the evening.’
- b. *Huahiahi na lhako thunthunu lavoi na, ko valake a hana i na mā.*  
 huahiahi na lha=ko thun-thunu lavoi na  
 evening DEM.2 3DU=INCP RED~cook good DEM.2  
 ko valo ake a han-na i na  
 INCP call go.up PERS woman-DEM.2 LDA 3SG.POSS  
 mā  
 sister.in.law  
 ‘In the evening, when they had cooked, the woman called to her sister-in-law.’

Vaeakau-Taumako verb-phrase structure is quite complex, with a fairly large number of possible elements whose combination and internal ordering depends as much on pragmatics and scope relations as on rigid grammatical rules. Nevertheless, the only obligatory element of the Vaeakau-Taumako verb phrase is the nucleus, minimally consisting of a single verb. Typically, however, the nucleus will be preceded by a tense-aspect-mood particle, commonly also a bound pronoun, and followed by various lexical modifiers and particles. The general order of elements in the verb phrase can be schematized as follows:

BOUND	PRENUCL.	NUCLEUS	ADVERB(S)	PARTICLE(S)	DEM.
PRON=TAM	MODIFIER				

Figure 1. Verb-phrase structure

The nucleus contains one or more verbs, and may include the object of a semi-transitive verb (9.3.3). Verb phrase-internal adverbs (9.4) follow all nuclear elements, but precede postverbal particles (9.5).

## 9.2. Prenuclear elements

### 9.2.1. Clitic pronouns and tense-aspect-mood particles

Tense-aspect-mood particles are usually obligatory except in imperatives, hortative clauses, and certain subordinate clauses (12.1). The range of tense-aspect-mood particles occurring in negated clauses is restricted (16.2). The semantics and function of the individual tense-aspect-mood particles is treated in chapter 12.

The bound pronouns described in 5.2.1.3 are procliticized to the tense-aspect-mood particle; their distribution and syntactic status is discussed in 13.3.2.

### 9.2.2. Prenuclear modifiers

While most modifiers to verbs follow the nucleus, there are two which precede it: *mua* ‘briefly, for a short while’ and *poi* ‘a little, a bit’. *mua* is also found in noun phrases (11.3.5); cf. also the adjective *mua* ‘small, little’ (3.4).

- (3) *Ko longo ange e mua pokiki ake na, ko lele ake.*  
 ko longo ange e mua pakiki ake na  
 INCP hear go.along GENRsmall make.sound go.up DEM.2  
 ko lele ake  
 INCP fly go.up  
 ‘He heard a brief sound and flew up.’

*Poi* typically combines in the phrase with the directional verb *ange* ‘go along, go out’ used to indicate comparison (5.4.2) giving the reading ‘a little more’:

- (4) a. *E poi lumaki ange.*  
 e poi lumaki ange  
 GENR little sheltered go.along  
 ‘It was a bit more sheltered from the wind.’
- b. *A iau ne poi lavo i ange ai na.*  
 a iau ne poi lavo i ange ai na  
 PERS 1SG PFV little good go.along OBL.PRODEM.2  
 ‘I was a bit better off because of that.’
- c. *Thai na tuokana poi momoilo ange.* (TAU)  
 thai na tuoka-na poi momoilo ange  
 one DEM.2 brother-3SG.POSS little clever go.along  
 ‘His other brother was a bit wiser.’

### 9.3. Nuclear elements

#### 9.3.1. Simple nuclei

The nuclear element of a verb phrase is, by definition, a verb, but not necessarily a single verb on its own; verb-phrase nuclei may be made up of two or more verbs or of a semi-transitive verb plus its object noun.

The relationship between the verb and other elements in such cases is not always easy to characterize. For instance, given the paucity of verbal morphology in Vaeakau-Taumako, it can be difficult to establish reliable criteria for distinguishing compounding from modification; and the properties of different types of verb serialization constructions (9.3.4 and chapter 15) vary with respect to the cohesion between the verbal elements and the nature of the serialized units.

In addition, the modifying elements themselves may be difficult to classify. Verbs may be modified by lexemes which themselves may also function as independent verbs, but there are also adverbs which have no independent verbal function. We analyze such modifying elements as occupying different positions in the verb phrase – modifying verbs within the nucleus, adverbs directly following it – but in the absence of additional intervening material it is not always possible to determine whether a lexeme is included in the verb-phrase nucleus or following immediately after it.

In the simplest case, a verb-phrase nucleus consists of a single lexical verb. This may be a simple verb root (5a), a reduplicated verb root (5b) or a root plus one or more affixes (5c):

(5) a. *Ko hano ki Thula.*

ko hano ki Thulā  
INCP go.SG to Thula  
'(He) went to Thula.'

b. *Lhako nonoho na i te kaenga o laua.*

lha=ko no~noho na i te kaenga  
3DU=INCP RED~stay DEM.2 LDA SG.SP village  
o laua  
POSS 3DU.POSS  
'They lived in their village.'

- c. *Mdea uka huanohoia loa houlua ne i mua ne.*  
 matea u=ka            hua-noho-ia    loa    khoulua    ne  
 maybe 1SG=FUT    CAUS-stay-TR    EMPH2DU    DEM.1  
 i        mua    ne  
 LDA    place    DEM.1  
 ‘Maybe I will settle you (lit. make you stay) here in this place.’

### 9.3.2. Compound verbs

The main criteria which may be applied to distinguish compounding from modification and verb serialization in Vaeakau-Taumako are phonology and semantics. A compound behaves like a single word phonologically, with a single main stress and a single intonation contour, whereas modification and serialization constructions involve distinct phonological words. Semantically, the meaning of a compound may be unpredictable from the meanings of its parts, whereas the semantics of modification is typically regular and predictable. Note that this is not a sufficient criterion in itself, as it is possible for compounds to have regular and predictable meanings.

On this criterion, forms like *mate nubona* ‘faint’, from *mate* ‘die’ and *nubona* ‘old, overripe’, or *ileila sika* ‘feel safe’, from *ileila* ‘look’ and *sika* ‘straight’, might be considered compounds in that they clearly have conventionalized meanings not directly inferable from the meaning of the parts. Somewhat more complex is the case of *heimata lavoi* ‘be beautiful’, formed from the noun *heimata* ‘face’ and the verb *lavoi* ‘be good’; the whole functions as a verb. Insofar as this expression is used for human beings, it may be considered to have a predictable meaning: ‘have a good face, be good-faced’ = ‘be beautiful’. On the other hand, the expression may in fact also be used for inanimate entities which do not have faces, and it must therefore be considered to have a lexicalized meaning independent of the meaning of its parts:

- (6) *Te thaunga e heimata lavoi.*  
 te        thaunga    e        hei-mata    lavoi  
 SG.SP    house        GENR    side-eye    good  
 ‘The house is beautiful.’

There are also a few cases of verbs which are clearly morphologically complex, but where some of the individual parts no longer have identifiable meanings; e.g. *moekhini* ‘close one’s eyes’ (*moe* ‘sleep’; *khini* ‘?’), *ungaungamea* ‘be red, reddish’ (*unga* ‘?’, *mea* ‘red’).

Morphologically, a compound also behaves like a single word; but as Vaeakau-Taumako has very little bound verbal morphology, this criterion has limited applicability in practice. A complex form like *namu khala* ‘smell good; taste good’ might be considered to be a compound in that the construc-



tion as a whole appears to be able to act as a single semi-transitive verb taking an “incorporated” object (cf. 9.3.3):

- (7) *Koi epohia na, po ī, e namu khala vai nei.* (MAT)  
 ko-i        epo-hia    na        po        ī        e        namu khala  
 INCP-3SG lap-TR    DEM.2    COMP    INTJ    GENR smell sweet<sup>39</sup>  
 vai        nei  
 water    DEM.1  
 ‘He tasted it, and exclaimed: “Ii! This tastes like fresh water.”’

### 9.3.3. Semi-transitive objects

As noted in 3.3.3, what we have called “semi-transitive verbs” form a tight syntactic bond with a noun representing their semantic object. While this is a regular process found with indefinite, non-specific, or otherwise low-individuation objects, some such verb+noun constellations are so frequent and so tightly integrated that they are probably perceived by speakers as lexicalized units, e.g. *phiki lima* ‘shake hands’ (*phiki* ‘pick, hold’, *lima* ‘hand’), *phiki muahau* ‘be rich’ (*muahau* ‘money’), *vuhika* ‘fish with a line’ (*vuhi* ‘pull’, *ika* ‘fish’).

Unlike the objects of fully transitive verbs, these nouns do not act as arguments to the verb, but must rather be considered to be incorporated into the verb phrase nucleus. Besnier (2000: 530–533) considers similar constructions in Tuvaluan to form a compound; among the arguments he cites for this is that nothing can intervene between the verb and the incorporated object; that the objects cannot be moved from their postverbal position; and that clauses with incorporated objects are formally intransitive. The same holds to a large extent for semi-transitive constructions in Vaeakau-Taumako (though see example 9a below), and on the same grounds one might therefore consider them to be compounds, which are a kind of complex nuclei.

Further evidence that semi-transitive objects form part of the verb-phrase nucleus is that they may be followed by directional verbs, which themselves are nuclear elements (cf. 9.3.5 below):

- (8) *Siai ne fano fefela ika ange ma te pakeo la.* (NUP)  
 siai ne        hano fe~fela        ika        ange  
 NEGPFV go.SG RED~look.for    fish    go.along  
 ma te        pakeo la  
 BENSG.SP shark DEM.3  
 ‘He did not go to find fish for the shark.’

<sup>39</sup> The basic meaning of *khala* is ‘smart, be sore, itch’. Only in combination with *namu* does it mean ‘sweet’.

We have a single attested example of the postnuclear particle *loa* intervening between a semi-transitive verb and its object (9a), but this appears to be exceptional; in general, postnuclear particles follow the whole complex of semi-transitive verb plus object (9b–c), as is to be expected from our analysis. The occurrence of (9a) may be an indication that ordering rules within the verb phrase are not absolute, but governed to some extent by scope relations, as suggested in 9.5 as well.

- (9) a. *Foki ki Mngalumu na, lharko tao loa mona.*  
 hoki ki Makalumu na lhat=ko tao loa mona  
 return to Makalumu DEM.2 3PL=INCP bake EMPHpudding  
 ‘They went back to Makalumu and baked pudding.’
- b. *Lhako tupu peka loa.*  
 lha=ko tupu peka loa  
 3DU=INCP grow flying.fox EMPH  
 ‘They turned into flying foxes.’
- c. *Ko hano ko tū-tū lakau loa ma loku.*  
 ko hano ko tū-tū lakau loa ma loku  
 INCP go.SG INCP RED~cut tree EMPHBEN bow  
 ‘He went and cut trees for (=to make) bows.’

#### 9.3.4. Verb-verb modification (nuclear-layer serialization)

A verbal nucleus may be modified by another verb in what can be formally described as nuclear-layer verb serialization (cf. chapter 15); i.e. two verbs forming a complex verb-phrase nucleus, with a single tense-aspect-mood marker and a single set of postverbal modifiers. In such constructions, the initial element may be any verb, transitive or intransitive, while the modifying verb is typically selected from a fairly restricted set. Among the most common verbs found in this modifier position are *katoa* ‘completely, all’, *lavoi* ‘good’, *tapeo* ‘bad’, *themu* ‘quiet’. The meaning of the modifying verb is often restricted in this position compared to when the verb is used independently; for example, *lavoi* ‘good’ in this construction typically means ‘properly, really’; *thapeo* ‘bad’ may also get the interpretation ‘really, very’ if the situation denoted by the head verb is considered to be negative (*maki thapeo* ‘very ill’). A few examples of the construction with an intransitive V1 are given in (10).

- (10) a. *Na ahahine ne e tapu na hanohano uabelia.*  
 na ahahine ne e tapu  
 3SG.POSS daughter DEM.1 GENR forbid  
 na hano~hano uabelia  
 IRR RED~go.SG aimless  
 ‘His daughter had been forbidden to go wandering around.’
- b. *Me ke mena maoli, ko tamatea i thaupē?*  
 me ke mena maoli ko ta-mate-a i thaupē  
 PRSC HORT speak true INCP hit-die-TRLDA lagoon  
 ‘Tell the truth, did you kill him at sea?’
- c. *Ko Tulikabe ko maki pepio loa.*  
 ko Tulikabe ko maki pepio loa  
 TOP Tulikabe INCP ill lie EMPH  
 ‘Tulikabe pretended to be ill.’

When the initial verb (V1) is transitive and the modifying verb (V2) is intransitive, the V2 generally shows the productive transitive suffix *-ina*. This form of the suffix is used regardless of which transitive suffix the verb in question would take if used independently as a verb, and also appears on verbs which are otherwise not attested with a transitive suffix at all, such as *paliki* ‘small’ in (11b). This indicates that the suffixing of *-ina* in nuclear-layer serialization constructions is an agreement-like process triggered by the presence of a transitive head verb rather than an independent marker of the transitivity of the modifying verb.

- (11) a. *Ana ni ou ko pikia lavoina.*  
 a-na ni o-u ko piki-a lavoi-na  
 then-DEM.2 PP POSS-2SG.POSS 2SG.HORT hold-TR good-TR  
 ‘This one is yours, take good care of it.’
- b. *Noi motimotoia palikina a taveli.*  
 no-i moti~motu-ia pa-likina a taveli  
 IPFV-3SG RED~cut-TR PL-small-TR COLL banana  
 ‘He is cutting the bananas into small pieces.’
- c. *Ni ā a matou na, nei kavea katoina loa.*  
 ni ā a matou na  
 PL.NSP what POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS DEM.2  
 ne-i kave-a katoa-ina loa  
 PFV-3SG carry-TR all-TR EMPH  
 ‘Everything we had was carried away (by the cyclone).’

Note that *katoa* ‘all’ in (11c) does not have an independent verbal use with this meaning, though it is presumably related to the numeral *katoa* ‘ten’. However, both the fact that it takes the transitive suffix in (11c), and that it can also be used to modify nouns (example 12 and 7.4.2), suggests that it should be analyzed as a verb, albeit with a restricted distribution.

- (12) *Koi takua po ka fano loa o fela vakai loa i te kaenga katoa na.* (NUP)  
 ko-i taku-a po ka fano loa o fela vakai  
 INCP-3SG say-TR COMP FUT go.SG EMPHto search encircle  
 loa i te kaenga katoa na  
 EMPH LDA SG.SP village all DEM.2  
 ‘She decided to go and search around the whole island.’

The fact that *katoa* may modify nouns as well as verbs probably explains why, in (13) it does not take the transitive suffix, even though it directly follows a transitive verb:

- (13) *Thai makavā thai pakhola fafine na ingoa ko Nugolu ei lavoina katoa a tai o Nanumanga.* (NUP)  
 thai makavā thai pakhola fafine na ingoa ko Nugolu  
 one time one giant woman 3SG.POSS name TOP Nugolu  
 e-i lavoi-ina katoa a tai o Nanumanga  
 GENR-3SG good-TR all COLL person POSS Nanumanga  
 ‘Once upon a time a giant woman whose name was Nugolu loved all the people of Nanumanga.’

In (13), *katoa* functions as a modifier of the noun phrase *a tai o Nanumanga*, even though it directly follows the verb; this distribution, effectively like a floating quantifier, is fairly common for *katoa*. Accordingly, (13) is not an instance of a complex serialized nucleus [*lavoina katoa*], and therefore *katoa* does not show the transitive suffix here.

For another form which appears to show the same kind of double distribution – occurring with or without *-ina* following a transitive verb – the explanation appears to be a somewhat different one. *themu* in (14a–b) does not pattern like a floating quantifier, and both instances of *themu* modify the verb, though with different meanings: ‘quietly’ in (14a) and ‘in the same way’ in (14b). The combination of a distributional difference and a semantic difference suggests that this is not a case of a single lexeme with two different meanings; rather, there are two homophonous lexemes *themu*: a verb meaning ‘be quiet’, which does take the *-ina* suffix when modifying another verb, and an adverb meaning ‘always, in the same way’, which does not take the suffix because it is not part of a complex nucleus, but rather modifies the nucleus as a whole (cf. section 9.4 on adverbs):

- (14) a. *Koluno maoli la khoulua kipina themuina.*  
 kolu=no maoli la khoulua kipi-na themu-ina  
 2DU=IPFV true DEM.3 2DU keep-TR quiet-TR  
 ‘If you are telling the truth, keep it quiet.’
- b. *A langi e pele na ei fngafngaina themu loa te pakeo ana.* (NUP)  
 a langi e pele na e-i fnga~fngai-na themu  
 COLL day GENR many DEM.2 GENR-3SG RED~feed-TR same  
 loa te pakeo a-na  
 EMPH SG.SP shark POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Every day he fed his shark in the same way.’

The difference can further be seen in the following pair of examples, where *themu* in the first example precedes the directional verb, while in the second it follows it. Given that adverbs follow all verbal elements of the nucleus, including directional verbs (cf. 9.3.5 below), we would expect the ‘be quiet’ reading – that is, the verb – for *themu* when it precedes the directional, and the ‘in the same way’ reading – the adverb – when it follows the directional. This is indeed what we see in these examples. Example (15a) is from a story of a man who goes out to sea with his son but comes back alone; his wife begs him to tell her what has happened, but he refuses to answer – *nofo themu ange* here means ‘sit quietly, without speaking’. *themu* ‘be quiet’ is a verb, and it precedes the directional. (15b), on the other hand, tells of the repeated harassment of a young boy by a group of fishermen, which takes place every day in the same way. *Faia ange themu* here means ‘do in the same way’; the adverb *themu* ‘in the same way’ follows the directional.

- (15) a. *Ko te tangata la e nofo themu ange loa ki te keu noko mulu ai po ke mafana.* (NUP)  
 ko te tangata la e nofo themu ange loa  
 TOP SG.SP man DEM.3 GENR stay quiet go.along EMPH  
 ki te keu noko mulu ai po ke mafana  
 to SG.SP fire IPFV lie.by.fire OBL.PROCOMP HORT warm  
 ‘The man just sat quietly warming himself by the fire.’
- b. *A langi e osi na ko ia loa, lhatune faia ange themu loa mua na i te ia.* (MAT)  
 a langi e osi na ko ia loa lhatu=ne  
 COLL day GENR finish DEM.2 TOP 3SG EMPH3PL=PFV  
 hai-a ange themu loa mua na ite ia  
 do-TR go.along same EMPH just DEM.2 LDA 3SG  
 ‘Every day, they did the same thing to him.’

## 9.3.5. Directional verbs

As discussed in 5.4.1, we consider directionals in Vaeakau-Taumako to be verbal; as such, they enter into a complex nuclear unit in the verb phrase. This accounts in a straightforward manner for the distributional properties of verbs and adverbs in the verb phrase: two or more verbs, including directional verbs, may form a complex nucleus, and may show different internal orderings according to relations of modification and scope. Adverbs, on the other hand, always follow the nucleus as a whole, i.e. all verbal elements; cf. (14–15) above.

Directional verbs can form a verb-phrase nucleus by themselves, as shown in 5.4.1; some examples are repeated here for illustration:

- (16) a. *Mai ta ake o toa!*  
 mai ta ake o to-a  
 come 1DU.INCL.HORT go.up to take-TR  
 ‘Come, let us go up and take it!’
- b. *Ko iho ma ia e thū.*  
 ko iho ma ia e thū  
 INCP go.down with 3SG GENR stand  
 ‘She went down with it and stood.’

They may also stand as the initial verb in a complex nucleus:

- (17) *Ko te memea la ko ifo tapeo loa.* (NUP)  
 ko te memea la ko ifo tapeo loa  
 TOP SG.SP child DEM.3 INCP go.down bad EMPH  
 ‘The child was unlucky when climbing down (lit. went down badly).’

Most frequently, however, directional verbs occur as non-initial elements of a complex verb-phrase nucleus. If there is more than one nuclear element in addition to the directional verb, the directional may follow either the initial verb (18a) or a following verb (18b):

- (18) a. *Ioko ia hiai ne kuteange lavoina.*  
 ioko ia siai ne kute-a ange lavoi-ina  
 CONJ 3SG NEG PFV see-TR go.along good-TR  
 ‘He could not see her properly.’

- b. *Ko thahea siki ange loa ki te matua na, ki a John.* (NUP)  
 ko tafe-a siki ange loa ki te matua na  
 INCP drift-TR roll go.along EMPH to SG.SP old.man DEM.2  
 ki a John  
 to PERS John  
 ‘It drifted straight towards that old man, towards John.’

Example (19) has two directionals following one non-directional verb; the adverb *huamua* ‘before’ follows the entire sequence:

- (19) *Na e kastom loa ro rārou nekepo tokoro mai ange huamua.*  
 na e kastom loa t-o tātou  
 DEM.2 GENR tradition EMPH SG.SP-POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS  
 nekepo tokoto mai ange hua-mua  
 like lie come go.along CAUS-front  
 ‘That is our tradition which was laid down long ago.’

Note that directional verbs in non-initial position differ from other verbs in that they do not show the transitive agreement suffix *-ina* (see e.g. 18a, where the directional *ange* does not take the suffix, while the following modifying verb *lavoi* does). One possible explanation for this is that directional verbs are “defective” as verbs, i.e. they show some but not all of the morphosyntactic properties characteristic of verbs (cf. 3.3). Alternatively, the semantic relationship between a verb and a following directional is conceived of as different from that holding between the verbs in constructions such as those in (11), which is essentially one of manner modification. Either way, it is interesting to note that a very similar situation obtains in Äiwoo, where an intransitive verb modifying a transitive head verb in a complex verb stem will take the transitive suffix *-i* or *-nyi*; the exception to this is the set of directional verbs *ito* ‘go in’, *ilâ* ‘go out’, *iee* ‘go up’, and *iwoli* ‘go down’ (Næss and Boerger 2008: 196–197).

There are occasional examples of what appears to be complex nuclei consisting of two non-directional verbs each followed by a directional verb:

- (20) *Lhatuko omai lesaki ange ki hai ihi.* (TAU)  
 lhatu=ko o mai levethaki ange ki thai ihi  
 3PL=INCP go.PL come close go.along to one chestnut  
 ‘They came close to a chestnut tree.’

It is not clear, however, whether (20) is in fact a complex nucleus consisting of four verbs, or rather an instance of the motion+purpose construction discussed in 15.4; in the latter case, example (20) consists of two verb-phrase

nuclei, and is equivalent to a subordination construction with the subjunction *o* (14.4.5.2).

Verb phrase-internal adverbs always follow the directionals, as is to be expected if the directionals are verbs in a complex verb-phrase nucleus:

- (21) a. *Ko ia ne mohimohi oho hualavoi ala.*  
 ko ia ne mohi~mohi oho hua-lavoi ala  
 TOP 3SG PFV RED~creep go.vertically CAUS-good HYP  
 ‘He crept slowly up to her.’
- b. *Thai langi te ua e tō na ko te meitama la ko menamenange fkalavoi ki te manumanu la.* (NUP)  
 thai langi te ua e tō na  
 one day SG.SP rain GENR fall DEM.2  
 ko te mei-tama la ko mena~mena ange  
 TOP SG.SP small-child DEM.3 INCP RED~speak go.along  
 fka-lavoi ki te manu~manu la  
 CAUS-good to SG.SP RED~animal DEM.3  
 ‘One rainy day, the boy spoke quietly to the bird.’

Note the contrast between *hualavoi/fkalavoi* in (21), a derived adverb, and the corresponding verb *lavoi* in (22); the verb may precede the directional verb in the complex nucleus, whereas the adverb must follow all verbal elements:

- (22) *Ko te tangata nei laua te tofe la ko fkalongolongo lavoi ange loa ki te lhongo anu la.* (NUP)  
 ko te tangata ne-i lau-a te tofe la  
 TOP SG.SP man PFV-3SG find-TR SG.SP gold.lips.shell DEM.3  
 ko fka-longo~longo lavoi ange loa  
 INCP CAUS-RED~listen good go.along EMPH  
 ki te lhongo anu la  
 to SG.SP song dance DEM.3  
 ‘The boy who had found the shell listened carefully to the dancing song.’

It is, however, possible for certain adverbs to be followed by a directional when they are verb phrase-external and modify the entire verb phrase or clause rather than just the nucleus (cf. chapter 11):

- (23) *Hokomua mai i Nula, hai tai ma nohine ana nonoho ai.*  
 hoko-mua mai i Nula thai tai ma nohine  
 CAUS-frontcome LDA Nula one person CONJ wife  
 a-na no~noho ai  
 POSS-3SG.POSS RED~stay OBL.PRO  
 ‘Long ago on Nula island there lived a man and his wife.’



9.3.6. *oki*

The modifier *oki* ‘back; again’ is something of a borderline case. It does not function as an independent verb, though it is obviously closely related to the verb *hoki* ‘return, again’. However, it shows verb-like characteristics in several respects. Firstly, it can modify not only verbs, but also the quantifiers *thai* ‘a, one’, *i* ‘some’ (cf. 7.3.3.6):

- (24) a. *A iau ue tulia i tuku ngakau po me nghainange oki mua thai oki pukenga.* (MAT)  
 a iau u=e tuli-a i t-o-ku  
 PERS 1SG 1SG=GENR like-TR LDA SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ngakau po me nghai-ina ange oki mua  
 guts COMP PRSC make-TR go.along again just  
 thai oki pukenga  
 one again net  
 ‘I would like you to make me another net.’
- b. *Ko avange a kaula ma i oki kamu ana a ia ko ahio oki ki Kalua.* (TAU)  
 ko av-ange a kaula ma i oki kamu  
 INCP give-go.along COLL betelnut CONJ some again betelnut  
 a-na a ia ko ahio oki ki Kalua  
 POSS-3SG.POSS PERS 3SG INCP return again to Kalua  
 ‘They gave him some more betel nuts, and he went back home to Kalua.’

Though *oki* typically follows all other verbal elements of the verb phrase, it may occasionally be followed by a directional verb, another verb-like characteristic:

- (25) *Nokoi mnatua po latu afio mai oki ange po latu nofo malela fkatasi.* (NUP)  
 noko-i manatu-a po latu afio mai oki ange  
 IPFV-3SG think-TR COMP 3PL.HORT return come again go.along  
 po latu nofo malela fka-tasi  
 COMP 3PL.HORT stay happy CAUS-one  
 ‘He wished they would come back again so they could all live happily together.’

However, in other respects *oki* patterns like an adverb (see 9.4 below). Like an adverb, it may occur either inside the verb phrase, immediately following the verb, or outside it, following the phrase-final demonstrative if there is one:

- (26) a. *Ko ia nei tukuange po te langi po ke lekange oki ai ala o toa ia.*  
 ko ia ne-i taku-a ange po te langi  
 TOP 3SG PFV-3SG say-TR go.along COMP SG.SP day  
 po ke lek-ange oki ai ala  
 COMP HORT come-go.along again OBL.PROHYP  
 o to-a ia  
 to take-TR 3SG  
 ‘He told her a day on which he would come back and take her.’
- b. *Lhako nohonoho na oki lhako huatulia po ko vela na.*  
 lha=ko noho~noho na oki lha=ko  
 3DU=INCP RED~stay DEM.2 again 3DU=INCP  
 hua-thū-lia po ko vela na  
 CAUS-stand-TR COMP INCP cooked DEM.2  
 ‘They waited again until they thought that it was cooked.’

Indeed, example (27) has two occurrences of *oki*, one verb phrase-internal, one verb phrase-external:

- (27) *A mohine na ma nha rama ko halahiake, lhaua ko hatū oki na oki ki hale o laua i Takulu.* (TAU)  
 a te nohine na ma t-a-na tama  
 PERS SG.SP wife DEM.2 CONJ SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS child  
 ko hua-ala-hia ake lhaua ko hua-thū oki na  
 INCP CAUS-wake-TR go.up 3DU INCP CAUS-stand again DEM.2  
 oki ki hale o laua i Takulu  
 again to house POSS 3DU.POSS LDA Takulu  
 ‘The woman and her boy woke up and continued on their way back to their house at Takulu.’

Note, however, that a similar double distribution also occurs with certain verbs; see 9.6.

Examples (26–27) might suggest that the positional contrast corresponds to a difference in meaning between “restitutive” ‘again’, i.e. restoring a situation which has previously held, vs. “repetitive” ‘again’, i.e. repeating an action which one has performed previously. In (27), the verb phrase-internal *oki* appears to have a restitutive meaning (‘starting to go back’), whereas the verb phrase-external occurrence has a repetitive meaning (‘again’). However, this is at best a tendency, as examples of verb phrase-internal *oki* with a repetitive meaning also occur:

(28) *Ioko ia na kaukau oki ai.*

ioko ia na kau~kau oki ai  
 CONJ 3SG PST RED~swim again OBL.PRO  
 ‘And he was swimming there again.’

It should also be noted that *oki* shows some similarities with a modifying particle in that it may be repeated over several constituents of a clause (cf. 11.3.9):

(29) *Auoki tō haiange oki la manei oki la.*

auā oki t-ō hai-a ange oki la  
 PROH again SG.SP-2SG.POSS do-TR go.along again DEM.3  
 mua nei oki la  
 place DEM.1 again DEM.3  
 ‘Don’t ever do that any more here.’

#### 9.4. Adverbial modifiers

There are two positions for adverbial modifiers in relation to the verb phrase. The first is immediately following the nucleus, preceding any postverbal particles (9.5). The second is outside the verb phrase itself, following the postverbal particles and the phrase-final demonstrative, if present.<sup>40</sup> The difference is illustrated in (30), where *huatahi/fakatasi* ‘together’ in (30a) modifies the nucleus directly, giving the expression *noho huatahi* ‘live together, i.e. get married’; whereas in (30b) it modifies the entire verb phrase, including postverbal particle, and the meaning is ‘stay together’:

(30) a. *Lhako noho huarahi loa.*

lha=ko noho hua-tahi loa  
 3DU=INCP stay CAUS-one EMPH  
 ‘They got married (lit. lived together).’

b. *Kimaua e nofo loa fakatasi.* (NUP)

kimaua e nofo loa faka-tasi  
 1DU.EXCL GENRstay EMPH CAUS-one  
 ‘We two are always together.’

Similarly, in (31a) *huamua* ‘first, before’ modifies the nucleus directly, preceding the oblique pro-form *ai* and the phrase-final demonstrative; whereas in (31b) *fkamua* follows the direct object, which according to the criteria set out

<sup>40</sup> For clausal adverbs, other positions are also possible; cf. 11.4.

above is outside the verb phrase. The English translations suggest a corresponding meaning contrast ‘first’ vs. ‘before’, but it is difficult to determine whether this is an artefact of translation or a genuine semantic difference.

- (31) a. *Te hehine tau Pleni lhatne le huamua ai la.*  
 te hahine tau Pleni lhat=ne lea hua-mua  
 SG.SP woman of Pleni 3PL=PFV speak CAUS-front  
 ai la  
 OBL.PRO DEM.3  
 ‘The woman from Pleni whom they had spoken to first.’
- b. *A Tupua Ika noko i oina mai loa kitatou fkamua la ka ne kosi ai.* (NUP)  
 a Tupua Ika noko-i oi-na mai loa kitatou  
 PERS Tupua Ika IPFV-3SG help-TR come EMPH 1PL.INCL  
 fka-mua la ka ne k-osi ai  
 CAUS-front DEM.3 but DEM.1 INCP-finish OBL.PRO  
 ‘Tupua Ika used to help us before, but now it has ended.’

Note that *fkatasi/huatahi* in (30) can occur verb phrase-internally or modifying the verb phrase, but cannot function as a clausal adverb; that is, *fkatasi* in (30b) cannot be moved from its immediate post-VP position. By contrast, *fkamua* in (31b) functions as a clausal adverb and may, for example, be fronted to clause-initial position. For more on the contrast between clausal adverbs and verb phrase-modifying adverbs, see 11.4.5.

As noted above, adverbs may be derived from stative verbs by means of the causative/simulative prefix. However, there are also monomorphemic adverbs which occur in the postnuclear verb phrase-internal modification slot; these include e.g. *themu* ‘always, in the same way’, *phī* ‘very, much’. We have no unambiguous examples of these adverbs occurring in the post-VP modification slot.

- (32) a. *A ia e hangota themu loa.*  
 a ia e hangota themu loa  
 PERS 3SG GENR fish same EMPH  
 ‘He is always fishing.’
- b. *E ā no mamaki phī ei?*  
 e ā no ma~maki phī ai  
 GENR what IPFV RED~ill very OBL.PRO  
 ‘Why is he so very ill?’

A few items are only attested once or twice in our corpus, or only as modifiers to a single verbal lexeme; it is therefore difficult to state anything definite

concerning their precise distribution or meaning, and sometimes their status as verbs or adverbs. These include *bokneve* ‘very, much’ and *moemoe* ‘very’:

- (33) a. *Te poi na e kila bokneve loa.*  
 te poi na e kila bokneve loa  
 SG.SP pig DEM.2 GENRblack very EMPH  
 ‘The pig is black all over.’
- b. *Te lakau e sika moemoe loa ki lunga.*  
 te lakau e sika moemoe loa ki lunga  
 SG.SP tree GENRstraight very EMPH to top  
 ‘The tree is very straight all the way to the top.’

## 9.5. Postverbal particles

### 9.5.1. Adverbs vs. postverbal particles

It is common in descriptions of Polynesian languages to distinguish between adverbs, which have a relatively flexible distribution in the verb phrase, and particles, whose position is fixed. As a general tendency, this is true in Vaeakau-Taumako, in that adverbs may occur either inside the verb phrase, following the verbal elements, or outside it; whereas particles are typically verb phrase-internal and collectively follow the verb phrase-internal adverbs. However, there is a certain amount of flexibility in the internal ordering of the particles, and some of them are occasionally found in the post-VP position outside the verb phrase. They cannot, however, occur in any other positions outside the verb phrase, unlike some adverbs (cf. 11.4). Another difference is that adverbs may be morphologically complex; for instance, some adverbs are derived by causativization of stative verbs. Modifying particles, on the other hand, are monomorphemic.

### 9.5.2. Oblique pro-forms: *ai* and *akinai*

As discussed in 5.2.3, *ai* and *akinai* are pro-forms for prepositional phrases with the prepositions *i* and *ki* respectively. While such prepositional phrases are external to the verb phrase, the pro-forms most frequently occur inside it.

- (34) a. *Me tapenakina tai fale hetakoto ai ala omo.* (TAU)  
 me ta-pena-kina thai fale he-takoto ai ala  
 INCP PREF-prepare-APPL one house CAUS-lie OBL.PRO HYP  
 omo  
 yam  
 ‘Please prepare a house to store the yams in.’
- b. *A ko longo akinai a nhanolaua.*  
 a ko longo akinai a hina-na  
 then INCP listen OBL.PRO PERS mother-3SG.POSS  
 o laua  
 POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ‘And their mother listened to it (= a song).’

In a corresponding clause with a full prepositional phrase rather than the pro-form in (34b), the most natural order would be for the prepositional phrase to follow the postverbal subject:

- (35) *A ko longo a nhanolaua ki te longo.*  
 a ko longo a hina-na o laua  
 then INCP listen PERS mother-3SG.POSS POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ki te longo  
 to SG.SP song  
 ‘And their mother listened to the song.’

As a general tendency, the oblique pro-forms tend to follow *oki* ‘back, again’ (cf. 9.3.6), but precede the modifying particles described in 9.5.3 below. However, other orderings are possible, and reflect the relative scope of the morphemes in question. In (36a), *oki* has scope over *ai*; the English translation would be ‘hang it there again’, i.e. repeat an action of hanging something in a certain place. In (36b), on the other hand, the reading is ‘go fishing there too’; *ai* has scope over the entire sequence *hangota oki*, i.e. [[fish also] in that place] (in addition to other places):

- (36) a. *Ko kavea ki thaunga ko hukua ai oki.*  
 ko kave-a ki thaunga ko huku-a ai oki  
 INCP bring-TR to house INCP put-TR OBL.PRO again  
 ‘They took it to the house and put it there again.’

- b. *Huanga mai oki ki Kahula po hangora oki ai.* (TAU)  
 hua-anga mai oki ki Kahula po hangota  
 CAUS-face come again to Kahula COMP fish  
 oki ai  
 again OBL.PRO  
 ‘They also came to Kahula to fish there too.’

Similar alternations in scope are seen with *ai* and *loa* ‘emphatic’ in (37):

- (37) a. *Ko ulu loa ki thaunga na e noho ai loa.*  
 ko ulu loa ki thaunga na e noho ai  
 INCP enter EMPH to house DEM.2 GENR stay OBL.PRO  
 loa  
 EMPH  
 ‘He went into his house and stayed there.’
- b. *A mdaiu katoa na e nofo loa ai a unga.* (NUP)  
 a mdaiu katoa na e nofo loa ai  
 COLL point all DEM.2 GENR stay EMPH OBL.PRO  
 a unga  
 COLL snail  
 ‘At every point there were snails.’<sup>41</sup>

### 9.5.3. Modifying particles

The modifying particles in Vaeakau-Taumako are described in 11.3. As a group, they occur outside the verbal nucleus, following any nuclear modifiers; the internal ordering between them is to some extent determined by scope relations, though certain patterns can be established.

Firstly, *mua* ‘just’ rarely cooccurs with other postverbal modifiers in our material. It follows all verbal elements including directional verbs and *oki* ‘back, again’ (cf. 9.3.5 and 9.3.6). In a few cases it is found following the hypothetical particle *ala*; the combination appears to indicate a particularly high degree of politeness:

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<sup>41</sup> *unga* in VAE and TAU means ‘hermit crab’. In our NUP material it is translated as ‘snail’.

- (38) *Me hano ala mua o tukuange ki a hinau po ke au ala mua halengiangere memea raua.*

me hano ala mua o taku-a ange ki a  
 PRSC go.SG HYP just to say-TR go.along to PERS  
 hina-u po ke au ala mua haele-ngia ange  
 mother-2SG.POSS COMP HORT come HYP just look.after-TR go.along  
 te memea a taua  
 SG.SP child POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS  
 ‘Go and tell your mother that she should come and look after our child.’

A single example shows the order *mua ala*. Note, however, that *mua* here appears to have a different meaning, namely indicating that the event goes on for a short while; cf. the uses of preverbal *mua* discussed in 9.2.2 above.

- (39) *Kone noho mua ala tu atu latuko teia loa a koe.* (MAT)

ko=ne noho mua ala thū atu lhatu=ko te-ia loa  
 2SG=PFV stay just HYP stand go.out 3PL=INCP hit-TR EMPH  
 a koe  
 PERS 2SG  
 ‘If you stayed there a while, when you stood up they would kill you.’

*Loa* is followed by *ala* in a few examples (40b); though the order *ala loa* is much more frequent (40a):

- (40) a. *Lhaka vlituale ala loa atiao.*

lha=ka vilituale ala loa atiao  
 3DU=FUT marry HYP EMPH tomorrow  
 ‘They will get married in the morning.’

- b. *Lane kutea na lako mathaku loa ala ko theki.* (NUP)

lha=ne kute-a na lha=ko mathaku loa ala  
 3DU=PFV see-TR DEM.2 3DU=INCP afraid EMPHHYP  
 ko theki  
 INCP run.PL  
 ‘When they saw her, they were very frightened and ran away.’

In general, *loa* will be the final element of the verb phrase except for the phrase-final demonstrative, if present. Very occasionally, however, we find *loa* following a phrase-final demonstrative, suggesting that it may also be placed outside the verb phrase to modify the verb phrase as a whole:



- (41) *Lhatuko toa loa kaikai a laua, lharuko hukuai huarahi na loa.*  
 lhatu=ko to-a loa a kaikai a laua  
 3PL=INCP take-TR EMPHCOLL food POSS 3DU.POSS  
 lhatu=ko hukuai hua-tahi na loa  
 3PL=INCP put CAUS-one DEM.2 EMPH  
 ‘They took the food for the two, they put it together.’

## 9.6. Post-VP modifiers

As noted in 9.4, there are two slots for adverbial modifiers in relation to the verb phrase: directly following the nucleus, or following the entire verb phrase. Examples of this contrast were given in (30–31).

In fact, not only adverbs, but also certain verbs occur in this position. It is the common position for the verbal demonstratives when these are used adverbially (cf. 5.3.4):

- (42) a. *Lharko faia loa phenā.*  
 lhat=ko fai-a loa phe-na  
 3PL=INCP do-TR EMPHlike-DEM.2  
 ‘They did it like that.’
- b. *Lharko uake na na penā na ingoa ma hinana lhaua.*  
 lhat=ko ua ake na na phe-na  
 3PL=INCP paddle go.up DEM.2 DEM.2 like-DEM.2  
 na ingoa ma hina-na a laua  
 3SG.POSS uncle CONJ mother-3SG.POSS POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ‘So they paddled like that, his uncle and their mother.’

*vave* ‘be quick, hurry’ is used as an independent verb (43a), but patterns like an adverb when used to modify other verbs, occurring either directly following the nucleus (43b) or following the entire verb phrase (43c):

- (43) a. *Lu vave oki ki kaenga!*  
 lu vave oki ki kaenga  
 2DU.HORT hurry again to village  
 ‘Hurry back home!’
- b. *Ioko houlu ko hulo vave loa ki te kaenga oulua la.* (TAU)  
 ioko khoulu ko hulo vave loa ki te kaenga  
 CONJ 2DU.HORT INCP run.PL.hurry EMPHto SG.SP village  
 oulua la  
 2DU.POSS DEM.3  
 ‘Run home to your village as fast as you can.’

- c. *Ko malama mai na ko fano loa vave po ke anga i te alo ona.* (NUP)  
ko malama mai na ko fano loa vave  
INCP light come DEM.2 INCP go.SG EMPH hurry  
po ke anga i te alo o-na  
COMP HORT work LDA SG.SP canoe POSS-3SG.POSS  
'In the morning he hurried off to work on his canoe.'

# Chapter 10

## Prepositions

### 10.1. Introduction

Prepositions indicate relations between entities. Which types of relations, and which entities, differ between prepositions; they may be spatial relations between two entities, social relations between two entities (possessive or benefactive), or grammatical or pragmatic relations within a clause. Vaeakau-Taumako has about a dozen prepositions, including a few forms whose precise classification is unclear, as they share some but not all of the distributional properties of typical prepositions. There are no postpositions in Vaeakau-Taumako.

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by a noun phrase. Some prepositions are restricted in the type of noun phrase they combine with; this is discussed for each preposition below.

### 10.2. Spatial prepositions

The prepositions *i* and *ki* have the basic spatial meanings ‘in, at, on’ (locative) and ‘to, towards’, respectively.

- (1) a. *Lhano noho mai i nghauta.*  
lha=no        noho mai i        nghauta  
3DU=IPFV stay come LDA shore  
‘The two lived here on the shore.’
- b. *Koi siaki te memea la okhoia i te kaenga.*  
ko-i        siaki te        memea la        okhoia  
INCP-3SG throw SG.SP child        DEM.3        3SG.self  
i        te        kaenga  
LDA SG.SP village  
‘He left the child by himself on that island.’

- c. *Lhatou ko moe i thaunga o latou.*  
 lhatou ko moe i thaunga o latou  
 3PL INCP sleep LDA house POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘They slept in their house.’

- (2) a. *Tele ki hea?*  
 tele ki hea  
 run to where  
 ‘Where are you going?’

- b. *Koi avange te velana ki a thai hahine.*  
 ko-i av-ange te vela a-na  
 INCP-3SG give-go.along SG.SP sun POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ki a thai hahine  
 to PERS one woman  
 ‘He gave his watch to a woman.’

*i* is furthermore used to indicate instrument or source (3); it is also found with a directional use, overlapping with that of *ki* (4). Because of this broad range of spatial uses, we gloss *i* ‘locative-directional-ablative’ (LDA):

- (3) a. *Lhako halokiake i o la lima i nghauta.*  
 lha=ko haloki ake i o la lima  
 3DU=INCP call.PL go.up LDA POSS 3DU.POSS hand  
 i nghauta  
 LDA shore  
 ‘The two signaled with their hands to (people on) the shore.’

- b. *A iau ko emo i te lakau.*  
 a iau ko emo i te lakau  
 PERS 1SG INCP fall LDA SG.SP tree  
 ‘I fell down from the tree.’

- (4) *Ko fano i thai kaenga kē.*  
 ko fano i thai kaenga kē  
 INCP go.SG LDA one village different  
 ‘He went to another village.’

*i* and *ki* combine in principle with any type of noun phrase, though they have the forms *ite* and *kite* before singular personal pronouns and *ai* ‘who’ (5), and *ie* and *kie* before the local noun *lunga* ‘top’ (6):

- (5) a. *A koe na hai pele na e leu ite koe na.*  
 a koe na thai pele na e lau  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 one sickness DEM.2 GENRreach  
 ite koe na  
 LDA 2SG DEM.2  
 ‘You have been struck by some disease (lit. a disease has reached you).’
- b. *Anē ko ia ko thae mai oki kite iau.*  
 a-nē ko ia ko thae mai oki kite iau  
 then-DEM.1 TOP 3SG INCP reach come again to 1SG  
 ‘Now he has come back to me.’
- (6) a. *Ko ia ko longo i thai fafine noko kata ie lunga o thai lakau.* (NUP)  
 ko ia ko longo i thai fafine noko kata  
 TOP 3SG INCP hear LDA one woman IPFV laugh  
 ie lunga o thai lakau  
 LDA top POSS one tree  
 ‘He heard a woman laughing in the top of a tree.’
- b. *Valo po ē, tū kie lunga o kai.*  
 valo po ē thū kie lunga o kai  
 call COMP INTJ stand to top to eat  
 ‘She called, “Hey, stand up and eat.”’

The use of *i* and *ki* to mark complements of extended intransitive and extended transitive verbs is discussed in 10.6.2 below.

The preposition *mai* ‘from’ occurs only sporadically in our data:

- (7) a. *Ioko a ika na ma hinga ko pilau i ngha mouku na, ika mai te loma na.*  
 ioko a ika na ma hinga ko pilau  
 CONJ COLL fish DEM.2 CONJ thing INCP stink  
 i ngha moukuna ika mai te loma na  
 LDA SP.PL bush DEM.2 fish from SG.SP wave DEM.2  
 ‘And fish and other things were stinking in the bush, fish from the wave (i.e. fish which had been washed up by a tidal wave).’
- b. *A iau ne une tefea mai Ulawa.* (NUP)  
 a iau ne u=ne tefea mai Ulawa  
 PERS 1SG DEM.1 1SG=PFV drift from Ulawa  
 ‘I have drifted from Ulawa.’

The preposition-like particle *tau* may be said to some extent to have spatial reference in that one of its main functions is to indicate geographical origin. However, the restrictions on the types of noun with which it may cooccur

mean that this form is better classified as a particle rather than a preposition; see 6.3.6.

- (8) *ngha hahine tau Taumako*  
 ngha hahine tau Taumako  
 PL.SP woman of Taumako  
 ‘the women of Taumako’

### 10.3. Possessive prepositions

The prepositions *a* and *o* indicate a relationship between two noun phrases. They encode the distinction between “a-possession”, where the possessor has some degree of control over the possessive relationship, and “o-possession”, where no such control exists (cf. 5.2.2).

- (9) a. *te ika a laua*  
 te ika a laua  
 SG.SP fish POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ‘their (du.) fish’
- b. *te talinga o te kuli*  
 te talinga o te kuli  
 SG.SP ear POSS SG.SP dog  
 ‘the dog’s ear’

As can be seen from the examples, possessive prepositions combine either with full noun phrases (9b) or with postnominal possessive pronouns (9a, cf. 5.2.2.3).

The morpheme *i*, which forms associative constructions denoting various kinds of non-possessive relationships between nouns (cf. 6.3.5), resembles a preposition, but is restricted in its distribution in that the following noun must be nonreferential and may not take an article:

- (10) *te pala i pakeo*  
 te pala i pakeo  
 SG.SP fin of shark  
 ‘a shark fin’

#### 10.4. Benefactive prepositions

The prepositions *mo* and *ma* have a benefactive meaning ‘for, for the benefit of’. They show the same distinction between an *a*-form and an *o*-form as the possessive prepositions (10.3), and the difference between the two relates to the nature of the possessive relationship resulting from the benefactive act; whether the beneficiary is ascribed control of the resulting possessive relationship (*ma*) or is considered to have no such control (*mo*), cf. 5.2.2.

Such forms consisting of possessive prepositions plus an initial element *m*-are common in Polynesian languages; Clark (2000: 262) suggests that they derive historically from an irrealis or optative marker *me* (cf. Vaeakau-Taumako *me* ‘prescriptive’, 12.4.3) and indicate the intention or anticipation that something will be possessed.

- (11) a. *Me kave oho ni kaikai ma te tangata na.*  
 me kave oho ni kaikai ma te tangata na  
 PRSC bring go.vertically PL.NSP food BEN SG.SP man DEM.2  
 ‘Bring some food for that man.’
- b. *Koi tukua po kē, te meitaine na mo tuku ataliki ange.*  
 ko-i taku-a po kē te mei-taine na  
 INCP-3SG say-TR COMP INTJ SG.SP small-girl DEM.2  
 mo t-o-ku ataliki ange  
 BEN SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS son go.along  
 ‘He said to himself: “Oh! How about that girl for my son (to marry).”’

Like the possessive prepositions, benefactive prepositions combine either with full noun phrases or with postnominal possessive pronouns; they may also combine directly with the possessive suffixes (6.2.2). The latter forms might perhaps be labelled benefactive pronouns, on analogy with what we have called possessive pronouns, which are similarly based on the possessive prepositions plus person/number marker (5.2.2).

- (12) a. *Pnepenange mua mui kaikai maku.*  
 pene~pena ange mua mui kaikai ma-ku  
 RED~prepare go.along just small food BEN-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Please prepare a little food for me.’
- b. *Ta hehenga mua mdea hai hehine mona.*  
 ta he~henga mua matea  
 1DU.INCL.HORT RED~search just maybe  
 thai hahine mo-na  
 one woman BEN-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Maybe we should look for a girl for him (to marry).’

These prepositions also have purposive uses, indicating the intention or purpose of an entity, typically in combination with the complementizer *po*, which has as one of its main functions to mark purpose clauses (14.4.5.1). The extension from benefactive to purposive is typologically common, as can be seen e.g. with the English preposition *for* (*a knife for him/a knife for cutting*); the semantic link between ‘intended recipient = benefactive’ and ‘intended use = purpose’ is fairly clear.

- (13) a. *Ia plaka ma talo o te pela latu no taona po mo te khainga.*  
 ia pulaka ma talo o te pela  
 CONJ giant.taro CONJ taro POSS SG.SP swamp  
 lhatu=no tao-na po mo te kai-nga  
 3PL=IPFV bake-TR COMP BEN SG.SP eat-NMLZ  
 ‘And they baked giant taro and swamp taro for the feast.’

- b. *Koi takuange ki ana tuohine nei kaveange ana kaikai*  
 ko-i taku-a ange ki a-na tuohine  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to POSS-3SG.POSS sister  
 ne-i kave-a ange a-na kaikai  
 PFV-3SG bring-TR go.along POSS-3SG.POSS food  
 ‘He told his sister who brought his food’

*po kei fkatuliange te manumanu la ki loto po ma kanovaka ona.* (NUP)  
 po ke-i fka-thū-lia ange te manu~manu  
 COMP HORT-3SG CAUS-stand-TR go.along SG.SP RED~animal  
 la ki loto po ma kano-vaka o-na  
 DEM.3 to inside COMP BEN member-canoe POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘to let the bird in so it could be his friend.’

Because purpose-marked participants are often nonreferential, referring to something which is to come into existence or take on a new function, the noun following the benefactive preposition most frequently lacks an article or quantifier. This is seen in (13b) and in (14):

- (14) a. *Uka toa loa ma nohineaku.*  
 u=ka to-a loa ma nohine a-ku  
 1SG=FUT take-TR EMPHBEN wife POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘I’ll take her as my wife.’

- b. *A khoulua ka toa loa ma aliki o Lomlom.*  
 a khoulua ka to-a loa ma aliki o Lomlom  
 PERS 2DU FUT take-TR EMPHBEN chief POSS Lomlom  
 ‘You two will become chief of Lomlom.’



(14b) exemplifies a common expression for ‘become, turn into’ with an interesting structure: the subject of the verb *toa* ‘take’ is the entity becoming or turning into something, and the verb takes only a benefactive complement referring to the goal of the transformation, and lacks a direct object which is normally obligatory with this verb. Possibly this construction is formed on analogy with the ‘take X as Y’ structure exemplified in (14a).

Benefactive prepositional phrases may also function directly as benefactive or recipient adjuncts of verbs, without being preceded by *po*, and without forming an object noun phrase with a head noun referring to the object received or benefited from. This is particularly frequent with verbs referring to the acquisition of food:

- (15) a. *Hatu ō mua hangora ma rarou.*  
 thatu                    ō        mua    hangota    ma    tatou  
 1PL.INCL.HORT    go.PL    just    fish        BEN    1PL.INCL.POSS  
 ‘Let us go fishing (for fish) for ourselves.’
- b. *Epū, a mhaua ka ō o taumi mua ma tatou.*  
 apū                    a        mhaua    ka        ō        o    taumi    mua  
 grandparent    PERS    1DU.EXCL    FUT    go.PL    to    trap.fish    just  
 ma    tatou  
 BEN    1PL.INCL.POSS  
 ‘Grandmother, we (du.) will go and trap fish for all of us.’

## 10.5. Comitative prepositions

Vaeakau-Taumako has two comitative prepositions: *ia* and *ma*, both translatable as ‘with’. They differ from the homophonous conjunctions *ia* ‘and’ and *ma* ‘and’ in that conjoined noun phrases are grammatically dual or plural, and trigger plural subject agreement in verbs that have a distinct plural form (cf. 17.2.1–2), whereas prepositional phrases with a comitative preposition function as adjuncts to the verb and do not influence verbal number marking:

- (16) a. *Lhako toa a huapotu o laua, lhako toa lhako fokina ia omo.*  
 lha=ko        to-a        a        huapotu    o        laua  
 3DU=INCP    take-TR    COLL    basket    POSS    3DU.POSS  
 lha=ko        to-a        lha=ko        foki-na    ia        omo  
 3DU=INCP    take-TR    3DU=INCP    fill-TR    with    yam  
 ‘They took their baskets and filled them with yams.’

- b. *Ko tu ake ka hano na,*  
 ko thu ake ka hano na  
 INCP stand go.up FUT go.SG DEM.2  
 ‘As she got up to go,’

*ko ia mnetua loa a hatu babukene nei avange e hinana na,*  
 ko ia manatu-a loa a hatu babukene  
 TOP 3SG think-TR EMPHCOLL stone pumpkin  
 ne-i av-ange e hina-na na  
 PFV-3SG give-go.along AG mother-3SG.POSS DEM.2  
 ‘she remembered the pumpkin seeds which her mother had given her,’

*koi toa ko hano ma ia.*  
 ko-i to-a ko hano ma ia  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP go.SG with 3SG  
 ‘and she took them and went off with them.’

## 10.6. Role-marking prepositions

Certain prepositions are used to indicate the syntactic or pragmatic role of an argument in a clause. The distinction between these and other prepositions is more of a cline than a sharp divide – for instance, the benefactive prepositions described in 10.4 may also be said to indicate a “role”, and the use of *i* and *ki* to mark oblique arguments (10.6.2) is clearly related to their spatial use (10.2). Nevertheless, we have found it useful to treat under this heading cases where the use of a preposition must be understood mainly in terms of the formal relationship of a noun phrase to the clause in which it occurs, rather than the semantic content of the preposition itself.

### 10.6.1. Agentive *e*

The preposition *e* marks the subject of a transitive verb when this argument is displaced from its unmarked preverbal position:

- (17) a. *A tuku tungane e pikia tapoina a iau.*  
 a t-o-ku tungane e piki-a tapeo-ina  
 PERS SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS brother AG hold-TR bad-TR  
 a iau  
 PERS 1SG  
 ‘My brother did not take good care of me.’

- b. *A iau ne ungā mai e tō tungane.*  
 a iau ne unga-a mai e t-ō tungane  
 PERS 1SG PFV send-TR come AG SG.SP-2SG.POSS brother  
 ‘Your brother sent me.’
- c. *Koi hahalengia e hinana a ia ko thuabē na.*  
 ko-i ha~haele-ngia e hina-na a ia  
 INCP-3SG RED~care.for-TR AG mother-3SG.POSS PERS 3SG  
 ko thuabe na  
 INCP big DEM.2  
 ‘Her mother took care of her until she had grown up.’

Although we describe *e* as a preposition, it does not mark an argument as oblique; a phrase introduced by *e* retains properties of core arguments such as being able to trigger the 3rd person singular suffix *-i* on the tense-aspect-mood marker (cf. 12.5):

- (18) *Nei kāmai mhaua e te ngata na.*  
 ne-i kā-mai mhaua e te ngata na  
 PFV-3SG bring-come 1DU.EXCL AG SG.SP snake DEM.2  
 ‘A snake brought us here.’

To some extent, *e* functions as a case marker, but one which only applies when non-basic word order makes explicit identification of the subject necessary; see 13.2.4 for further discussion.

#### 10.6.2. *i* and *ki* as oblique markers

In addition to their spatial uses (10.2), *i* ‘locative-directional-ablative’ and *ki* ‘directional’ also function to mark oblique arguments of extended intransitive and extended transitive verbs (3.3.2, 3.3.5).

While some verbs require one or the other, a number of verbs can occur with a complement marked by either *i* or *ki*. Typically, an *i*-marked complement is associated with a more direct effect of the action, while a *ki*-marked complement is associated with less direct effects. For instance, the verb *valo* with an *i*-complement means ‘call to come, summon’, where *i* marks the person summoned, while with a *ki*-complement it means ‘call out to’, and *ki* marks the goal of the call:

- (19) a. *Ko valo loa i a te kole po ke fenange.* (NUP)  
 ko valo loa i a te kole po ke  
 INCP call EMPHLDA PERS SG.SP spider<sup>42</sup> COMP HORT  
 fano ange  
 go.SG go.along  
 ‘He called the spider to come.’
- b. *Ko valo i a taulaitu katoa o te kaenga po latuō ange o kutea ange a Manutele.*  
 ko valo i a taulaitu katoa o te kaenga  
 INCP call LDA COLL shaman all POSS SG.SP village  
 po lhatu=ō ange o kute-a ange a  
 COMP 3PL=go.PL go.along to see-TR go.along PERS  
 Manutele  
 Manutele  
 ‘She invited all the magicians on the island to come and see Manutele.’
- c. *Ko ia ko valo i ana memea po latuo ange kite ia.*  
 ko ia ko valo i a-na memea  
 TOP 3SG INCP call LDA POSS-3SG.POSS child  
 po lhatu=ō ange kite ia  
 COMP 3PL=go.PL go.along to 3SG  
 ‘He called for all his children to come to him.’
- (20) a. *Ko valo ange la ki la mokupuna o te nonohine la,*  
 ko valo ange la ki la mokopu-na  
 INCP call go.along DEM.3 to DEM.3 grandchild-3SG.POSS  
 o te no~nohine la  
 POSS SG.SP RED~wife DEM.3  
 ‘He called out to the old woman’s grandchildren,’
- ko valo ange la po meitainē, thai lape maku.*  
 ko valo ange la po mei-tainē  
 INCP call go.along DEM.3 COMP small-girl.VOC  
 thai lape ma-ku  
 one fish.sp BEN-1SG.POSS  
 ‘he called, “Girls, give me a lape fish!”’

<sup>42</sup> Vaeakau-Taumako makes a lexical distinction between spiders which spin webs (*kole*) and spiders which do not (*tukutuku*).

- b. *Ko valo a hana ki a tangata na, hē! Tū mua kie lunga.*  
 ko valo a han-na ki a tangata  
 INCP call PERS woman-DEM.2 to PERS man  
 na hē thū mua kie lunga  
 DEM.2 INTJ stand just to top  
 ‘The woman called to the man, “Hey! Stand up.”’

The verbs *longo* and *talinga*, both meaning ‘hear, listen’, with an *i*-complement translate as ‘hear’, while with a *ki*-complement both verbs translate as ‘listen to’:

- (21) a. *Ko ia ko longo i thai fahine noko kata ie lunga o thai lakau.* (NUP)  
 ko ia ko longo i thai hahine noko kata  
 TOP 3SG INCP hear LDA one woman IPFV laugh  
 ie lunga o thai lakau  
 LDA top POSS one tree  
 ‘She heard a girl laughing up in a tree.’

- b. *Ko lhatou no longo ange ki te memea na.*  
 ko lhatou no longo ange ki te memea na  
 TOP 3PL IPFV hear go.along to SG.SP child DEM.2  
 ‘They listened to the child.’

- (22) a. *A ia e talinga mai kite au.*  
 a ia e talinga mai kite au  
 PERS 3SG GENRlisten come to 1SG  
 ‘He listens to me.’

- b. *A ia ko talinga ange ia mena au.*  
 a ia ko talinga ange i a  
 PERS 3SG INCP listen go.along LDA COLL  
 mena a-u  
 talk POSS-2SG.POSS  
 ‘She heard what you said.’

*kapihia* ‘be blocked, be stuck’ can take either the entity stuck in something or the object that it is stuck in as a subject, while the other participant is encoded with an oblique phrase. If the object which something is stuck in is the subject, the entity which is stuck takes *i*, and the reading is ‘be blocked’:

- (23) *Te mathoka ko kapihia ia memea.*  
 te mathoka ko kapi-hia i a memea  
 SG.SP door INCP stuck-TR LDA COLL child  
 ‘The door was blocked with children.’

If the entity stuck is the subject, on the other hand, the object in which it is stuck takes *ki*:

- (24) *Ko te pakola la ko kapihia loa ki loto o te pakonga la a ko mate loa.* (NUP)  
 ko te pakohola la ko kapi-hia loa ki loto  
 TOP SG.SP giant DEM.3 INCP stuck-TR EMPH to inside  
 o te pakonga la a ko mate loa  
 POSS SG.SP hole DEM.3 then INCP die EMPH  
 ‘The giant got stuck inside the hole and died.’

The verb *knghū* translates as ‘agree with’ with an *i*-complement, but as ‘be pleased with’ with a *ki*-complement:

- (25) a. *A ia ko knghu ange i te hahine.*  
 a ia ko knghū ange i te hahine  
 PERS 3SG INCP agree go.along LDA SG.SP woman  
 ‘He agreed with the woman.’
- b. *Ko kngū ange ki thaunga ona.*  
 ko knghū ange ki thaunga o-na  
 INCP agree go.along to house POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He was happy with his house.’

In some cases, however, it is difficult to identify a semantic difference between the use of *i* or *ki* with the same verb. For example, no clear difference is evident between the following two examples with *lau* ‘reach, touch, find’:

- (26) a. *Te thapeo na lau ange i Nupani.*  
 te thapeo na lau ange i Nupani  
 SG.SP cyclone PST reach go.along LDA Nupani  
 ‘The cyclone hit Nupani.’
- b. *A kakaenga na ne lau katoa ki ei.*  
 a ka-kaenga na ne lau katoa ki ai  
 COLL RED~village DEM.2 PFV reach all to OBL.PRO  
 ‘Every village was hit by it (= the cyclone).’

### 10.6.3. Topicalizing *ko*

Noun phrases introduced by the preposition *ko* function either as core arguments or as nominal predicates, meaning that they differ from most other prepositional phrases which typically serve as adjuncts, oblique arguments, or modifiers to nouns. In this respect there are parallels between *ko* and the agentive preposition *e* (10.6.1) which also marks a noun phrase in core argument

function. Note, however, the appositional use described below, where the *ko*-marked phrase cannot be understood as an argument.

The use of *ko* is considerably less frequent in Vaeakau-Taumako than is the case for its cognates in many other Polynesian languages (e.g. Samoan ‘*o*, Tokelauan *ko*, Tuvaluan *ko*), possibly because Polynesian languages tend to have verb-initial word order and use the form in question to mark a clause-initial noun phrase (e.g. Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 464–471, Besnier 2000: 235). In Vaeakau-Taumako, with its basic SVO order, this function is less important. Rather, *ko* may be said to mark contrast or emphasis, as in (27):

- (27) a. *Lhatuko vakhakea ki thai oki puke ke, ko te puke la ko pulu oki.*  
 lhatu=ko va-kake-a ki thai oki puke kē  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-climb-TR to one again puke different  
 ko te puke la ko apulu oki  
 TOP SG.SP puke DEM.3 INCP sink again  
 ‘They let her get into another canoe, and that canoe sank too.’
- b. *Matea ei takua na ko te ngata o Nukapu.*  
 matea e=i taku-a na ko te ngata  
 maybe GENR=3SG say-TR DEM.2 TOP SG.SP snake  
 o Nukapu  
 POSS Nukapu  
 ‘Perhaps the one she likes is the snake of Nukapu (since she will not marry any of the local men).’
- c. *Lhatuko noho na, no anga loa i mouku na ko te matuana loa.*  
 lhatu=ko noho na no anga loa i mouku na  
 3PL=INCP stay DEM.2 IPFV work EMPHLDA bush DEM.2  
 ko te matua a-na loa  
 TOP SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS EMPH  
 ‘They stayed, and the husband worked in the bush (but not the wife, as would be expected).’
- d. *Ko hinana e lāvoi, ko na ko te memeana na e tai e thu ai a tona e laefa la.*  
 ko hina-na e lavoī ko na  
 TOP mother-3SG.POSS GENR good TOP DEM.2  
 ko te memeā a-na na e tai  
 TOP SG.SP child POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.2 SG.NSP person  
 e thu ai a tona e la-efa la  
 GENR stand OBL.PRO COLL sore GENRPL-bigDEM.3  
 ‘The mother was okay, but the child had big sores on his body.’

Cf. Tuvaluan, where *ko* is said to mark constituent emphasis (Besnier 2000: 235).

*Ko* is frequently found in narratives when there is a change in subject or topic:

- (28) a. *Ko lekange ko uluhange na, ko te tai tau Pleni la koi tukuange po*  
 ko lek-ange ko uluh-ange na ko te  
 INCP go-go.along INCP enter-go.along DEM.2 TOP SG.SP  
 tai tau Pleni la ko-i taku-a ange po  
 person of Pleni DEM.3 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP  
 ‘He went and entered the house, and the man from Pleni said.’

*thokana, a koe na no tahao?*

thoka-na a koe na no tahao  
 same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS PERS 2SG DEM.2 IPFV stroll  
 ‘‘Brother, were you going for a walk?’’

- b. *Ko te fafine la koi feiliange po a tna taine po nei kuteange ma o siai.* (NUP)  
 ko te fafine la ko-i feili-a ange po  
 TOP SG.SP woman DEM.3 INCP-3SG ask-TR go.along COMP  
 a t-a-na taine po ne-i kute-a  
 PERS SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS girl COMP PFV-3SG see-TR  
 ange mua o siai  
 go.along just or NEG  
 ‘The woman asked him if he had seen her daughter.’

*Ko te matua na koi tukuange po a ia la nei plusia e thanga thua lele.*

ko te matua na ko-i taku-a ange  
 TOP SG.SP old.man DEM.2 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along  
 po a ia la ne-i pulu-sia  
 COMP PERS 3SG DEM.3 PFV-3SG catch-TR  
 e thanga athua lele  
 AG group spirit fly  
 ‘The old man said that she had been taken by a group of flying spirits.’

This resembles the use of *ko* to mark topic-switch in Māori (Bauer 1993: 236–238).

A central function of *ko* is to form specific nominal predicates (cf. 13.3.4); the phrase *(te)na ko ia* ‘that’s it’ (29a) is particularly frequent in Vaeakau-Taumako discourse:

- (29) a. *Na ko ia!*  
 na ko ia  
 DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 ‘That’s it!’



- b. *Ko Kola ko te papā ne.*  
 ko Kola ko te papā ne  
 TOP Kola TOP SG.SP village.area DEM.1  
 ‘This area is Kola.’
- c. *A koe na ke ko nohine oku.*  
 a koe na kē ko nohine o-ku  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 really TOP wife POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Only you are my wife.’

*Ko* is also used to mark a noun phrase which is in apposition to another noun phrase and functions to further specify it:

- (30) *Koi laua a ivi o nha tama ko te pakeo.*  
 ko-i laua-a a ivi o t-a-na tama  
 INCP-3SG find-TR COLL bone POSS SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS child  
 ko te pakeo  
 TOP SG.SP shark  
 ‘She found the bones of her son, the shark.’

*Ko* rarely cooccurs with the personal marker *a*; in noun phrases which would otherwise be expected to take this marker *ko* appears to replace *a*. However, there are a few attested exceptions:

- (31) a. *Ko/A hanla ko hano.*  
 ko/a han-la ko hano  
 TOP/PERS woman-DEM.3 INCP go.SG  
 ‘The girl went’.
- b. *Hai langi na, ne laka a akahu e tauhā na,*  
 hai langi na ne laka a akahu e  
 one day DEM.2 PFV pass COLL moon GENR  
 tau-hā na  
 CLASS-four DEM.2  
 ‘One day, after four months had passed,’
- ko a Heli ko hano po kei kutea mua te moeanga.*  
 ko a Heli ko hano  
 TOP PERS Heli INCP go.SG  
 po ke-i kute-a mua te moe-anga  
 COMP HORT-3SG see-TR just SG.SP sleep-NMLZ  
 ‘Heli went to check the grave.’

### 10.7. Prepositional phrases

A prepositional phrase in Vaeakau-Taumako is a phrase which is headed by one of the prepositions described above. The complement of a preposition is always a noun phrase, with the exception of the benefactive prepositions (10.4), which may take a possessive suffix instead of a noun phrase.

As should be clear from the above discussions, prepositional phrases in Vaeakau-Taumako may fill a variety of syntactic functions, depending on the preposition involved. Prepositional phrases may function as core arguments (*e*, *ko*), oblique arguments (*i*, *ki*, *mo*, *ma*), appositions (*ko*), adjuncts (*i*, *ki*, *mo*, *ma*, *ia*, *ma*), nominal predicates (*ko*), or noun modifiers (*o*, *a*, *mo*, *ma*). As described in 13.3.5, locative prepositional phrases with *i* may also function as locative predicates taking a tense-aspect-mood particle.

A Vaeakau-Taumako prepositional phrase constitutes an indivisible unit, and it is impossible to move the object out of the phrase; in other words, Vaeakau-Taumako prepositions cannot be stranded. It is possible to front the object of a locative/directional preposition (*i/ki*), for example in relativization; but then the preposition is replaced by the corresponding oblique pro-form (*ai/akinai*, 5.2.3), which may be considered functionally similar to a preposition plus resumptive pronoun:

- (32) a. *te langi po latu ka fulo ai*  
 te langi po lhatu=ka fulo ai  
 SG.SP day COMP 3PL=FUT run.PL OBL.PRO  
 ‘the day on which they would go (lit. the day that they would go on it)’
- b. *te hinga uno ileila loa akinai*  
 te hinga u=no ile~ila loa akinai  
 SG.SP thing 1SG=IPFV RED~look EMPHOBL.PRO  
 ‘the thing I am looking at (lit. the thing I am looking at it)’

The oblique pro-forms are only used for prepositional phrases with a spatial meaning; when *i/ki* mark complements of extended intransitive verbs, they pattern like other prepositions, meaning that fronting of the object requires the preposition to remain in situ and take a resumptive pronoun coreferent with the fronted object (cf. 13.4):

- (33) a.
- A koe na hai pele na e leu ite koe na.*

a koe na hai pele na e lau  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 one disease DEM.2 GENRreach  
 ite koe na  
 LDA 2SG DEM.2

‘You have been struck by some disease.’

- b.
- Te hehine na ei taklihia na e ia te hehine tau Mdemā na.*

te hahine na e-i ta-kili-hia na  
 SG.SP woman DEM.2 GENR-3SG hit-kill-TR DEM.2  
 e ia te hahine tau Matema na  
 AG 3SG SG.SP woman of Matema DEM.2

‘That woman was the one who had killed the woman from Matema (lit. that woman, the woman from Matema had been killed by her).’

# Chapter 11

## Modifiers

### 11.1. Introduction

This chapter treats the various types of expressions in Vaeakau-Taumako which have as their only function to modify other expressions – nouns, verbs, verb phrases, or clauses. Not included here, therefore, is the modification of nouns by verbs or relative clauses (see 7.4.1 and 14.3), or manner modification by means of nuclear-layer verb serialization (see 9.3.4 and chapter 15). We do, however, include the various types of phrases which may function as clausal adverbials, since these differ to some extent from non-adverbial uses of these phrase types. Adverbial clauses are treated in chapter 14.

Forms which function exclusively as modifiers are a small class in Vaeakau-Taumako. We group the modifiers into three classes: adjectives, particles, and adverbs. Adjectives function only as modifiers to nouns, and share distributional properties which distinguish them from modifying verbs and particles. Adverbs may modify verbs, verb phrases, or clauses. Particles are more of a heterogeneous category; though they are most frequent in verb phrases, at least some of them may also modify nouns, or occur in adverbial phrases.

### 11.2. Adjectives

Adjectives are a small, closed class of items which precede the noun in a noun phrase. The following adjectives are attested in Vaeakau-Taumako: *memei* ‘small’, *mhī* ‘particular, different from others’, *mua* ‘small, a little’, *mui* ‘small, a little’, *tamai* ‘small’, *tua* ‘last’. None of these forms are very frequent in our material, and it is possible that the precise distribution of the various forms may differ to some extent; the available examples do not allow for a detailed analysis.

- (1) a. *A ko tahuli ko te hinana na koi toa koi tataiange te memei loku.*  
 a ko tahuli ko te hina-na na  
 then INCP turn TOP SG.SP mother-3SG.POSS DEM.2  
 ko-i to-a ko-i tatai-a ange  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG carve-TR go.along  
 te memei loku  
 SG.SP small bow  
 ‘Then his mother carved him a little bow.’
- b. *A mhi memea na ko lekoho koi toa a muahau sika laeha la.*  
 a mhi memea na ko lek-oho  
 PERS particular child DEM.2 INCP go-go.vertically  
 ko-i to-a a muahau sika la-eha la  
 INCP-3SG take-TR COLL money straight PL-bigDEM.3  
 ‘That very child went down and took the big rolls of feather money.’
- c. *Lhatou ko nghaina mai mua vai.* (MAT)  
 lhatou ko nghai-na mai mua vai  
 3PL INCP make-TR come little water  
 ‘They gave us a little water.’

### 11.3. Modifying particles

#### 11.3.1. Overview and distribution

Modifying particles differ from adverbs in central aspects of their distribution:

- they occur in verb phrases, but also to some extent in noun phrases and phrases with an adverbial function (cf. 11.5);
- they have a fixed position in the phrase, normally following all other elements except for a phrase-final demonstrative, if present; this means that they differ from adverbs in their distribution within the verb phrase, as particles follow verb phrase-internal adverbs (cf. 9.5). They also differ from clausal adverbs, which may occur in different positions in the clause.

The following modifying particles are found in Vaeakau-Taumako: *ala* ‘hypothetical’, *hua* ‘just’, *kē* ‘really’, *ko* ‘completely’, *loa* ‘emphatic’, *mua* ‘just’, *mui* ‘a little’. Note that the particles *mua* ‘just’, and *mui* ‘a little’ are identical in form, and very similar in meaning, to the pronominal modifiers *mua* and *mui* which we have classified as adjectives (11.2). Compare also the nouns *mua* and *mui*, which both mean ‘place’. We thus find the form pair *mua* and *mui*, with very similar meanings within each pair, in three environments: as pronominal adjectives meaning ‘small, a little’, as postnuclear modifiers

meaning ‘just, a little’, and as nouns meaning ‘place’. What has caused this peculiar distribution we do not know.

### 11.3.2. *ala* ‘hypothetical’

The particle *ala* has a range of uses relating to futurity, uncertainty, and modality:

- (2) a. *Lhaua ka saki ala hārou i te Saturday.*  
 lhaua ka saki ala thātou i te Saturday  
 3DU FUT leave HYP 1PL.INCP LDA SG.SP Saturday  
 ‘They are going to leave us on Saturday.’
- b. *Iau ko valevlea po lhatune kave ala ki hea.*  
 iau ko vale~vale-a po lhatu=ne kave ala  
 1SG INCP RED~not.know-TR COMP 3PL=PFV carry HYP  
 ki hea  
 to where  
 ‘I don’t know where they brought him.’
- c. *Thai vai me e thū ala i thai hai ne.* (MAT)  
 thai vai te-ne e thū ala i  
 one water SG.SP-DEM.1 GENRstand HYP LDA  
 thai hai ne  
 one place DEM.1  
 ‘There must be a source of water somewhere here (because fresh water was dripping from the wings of a bird).’

It may be used in requests, and in expressions of intention or promise:

- (3) a. *A koe lemai ala, thatu ka ō.*  
 a koe le-mai ala thatu=ka ō  
 PERS 2SG go-come HYP 1PL.INCL=FUT go.PL  
 ‘Come back here, then we will go.’
- b. *Lhako tukua loa po siai ala lhane avanga.* (TAU)  
 lha=ko taku-a loa po siai ala lha=ne avanga  
 3DU=INCP say-TR EMPHCOMP NEG HYP 3DU=PFVmarry  
 ‘The two of them promised never to marry.’

- c. *Lu hukua ange a iau dekina ku oina atu ala a houlua thai langi.*  
 lu hukua-*a* ange a iau dekina k=*u*  
 2DU.HORT put-TR go.along PERS 1SG because HORT=1SG  
 oi-na atu ala a khoulua thai langi  
 help-TR go.out HYP PERS 2DU one day  
 ‘Let me go, because one day I will help you.’

The use to mark habitual events, as in (4), is probably related to the modal use; compare the use of the English modal verb *would* to indicate past habituality (Palmer 2001: 55):

- (4) *Lhatu na ko vakhao ala na, lhatuna o mai i Thulā na,*  
 lhatu=na ko vakhao ala na lhatu=*na* o mai  
 3PL DEM.2 INCP encircle HYP DEM.2 3PL=IRR go.PL come  
 i Thula na  
 LDAThula DEM.2  
 ‘They would go round the island and arrive here at Thula’

*lhatuko tuatuakia ala a ika a lātou.*

lhatu=*ko* tua~tua-kia ala a ika a lātou  
 3PL=INCP RED~gut-TR HYP COLL fish POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘and clean their fish.’

*Lhatuko avange ala ona tae. (MAT)*

lhatu=*ko* av-ange ala o-na tae  
 3PL=INCP give-go.along HYP POSS-3SG.POSS waste  
 ‘Then they would give him the guts.’

In addition to being used with verbs, *ala* is frequently found following temporal adverbials with future reference:

- (5) *Atiao ala thaua kō ki a hinau.*  
 atiao ala thaua ka o ki=*a* hina-u  
 tomorrow HYP 1PL.INCL FUT go.PL to=PERS mother-2SG.POSS  
 ‘Tomorrow we will go to your mother.’

It is also commonly used to form temporal and conditional adverbial clauses (14.4.2, 14.4.6), and in such constructions frequently occur both in the adverbial clause and the matrix clause:

- (6) *Lhatue toa ala a alo latou na, ko lhaua ko hulokange ala.*  
 lhatu=e          to-a          ala          a          alo          o          latou          na  
 3PL=GENR    take-TR    HYP    COLL    canoe    POSS    3PL.POSS    DEM.2  
 ko lhaua ko    hulokange          ala  
 TOP 3DU    INCP    go.PL-go.along    HYP  
 ‘When they (PL) took their canoes, the two would go to them.’

While the exact meaning of *ala* is difficult to pin down, its distribution in our corpus is suggestive. In general, it is fairly frequent throughout our texts; however, in our collection of four short stories about the 1993 cyclone (Hovdhaugen and Næss 2006: 6–21), there is only a single instance of *ala*. Note that these are first-hand reports of past events, and in most cases the narrators are careful to emphasize that they can only describe what they themselves experienced. The exception is the story from Matema, which is told in the third rather than the first person, and where we find the following sentence.

- (7) *Ngha Mdemā na ko toa ala a penupenu a lhatou na, lhatuko kave a ake loa ki ngha mouku.*  
 ngha    Matema na          ko    to-a          ala          a          penu~penu  
 PL.SP    Matema DEM.2    INCP    take-TR    HYP    COLL    RED~thing  
 a          latou          na          lhatu=ko          kave-a          ake          loa  
 POSS    3PL.POSS    DEM.2    3PL=INCP    carry-TR    go.up    EMPH  
 ki    ngha    mouku  
 to    PL.SP    bush  
 ‘The people of Matema took their belongings and brought them to the bush.’

The fact that this is a third-person narrative may suggest that the narrator is here describing events he did not actually observe. The complete absence, except for this one example, of *ala* in these texts seems to confirm the use of *ala* to mark uncertainty, hypotheticality, or modality. Accordingly, we gloss *ala* ‘hypothetical’ (HYP).

The core use of *ala* is as a modifier in verb phrases. However, it does occasionally occur in noun phrases in certain contexts: Firstly, when noun phrases function as temporal adverbials with future reference, cf. 11.5.3. Secondly, if the noun phrase itself expresses uncertainty or hypotheticality, as with *ko ai* ‘who’ in (8a) which refers to a competition not yet resolved; by contrast, the interrogative pronoun *ai* does not take *ala* when it is used to ask about the identity of a specific person which is fixed at the time of asking (8b):



- (8) a. *Ko a tai katoa o te kaenga la ko ō mai katoa loa po latu kutea po ko ai ala e makhona.*  
 ko a tai katoa o te kaenga la  
 TOP COLL person all POSS SG.SP village DEM.3  
 ko ō mai katoa loa po latu kute-a  
 INCP go.PL come all EMPH COMP 3PL.HORT see-TR  
 po ko ai ala e makhona  
 COMP TOP who HYP GENR strong  
 ‘All the people of the village came to see who was the strongest.’
- b. *Na te meitaine no leho na ko ai a mhana?*  
 na te mei-taine no le-o ho na  
 DEM.2 SG.SP small-girl IPFV go-go.vertically DEM.2  
 ko ai a mha-na  
 TOP who PERS father-3SG.POSS  
 ‘That girl coming over there, who is her father?’

In example (9), it is unclear whether *ala* denotes uncertainty with respect to the noun phrase itself (something unknown might happen) or whether it is simply a case of repeating *ala* over several constituents of a clause, cf. 11.3.9.

- (9) *A ioko i a huamnarnatunga na iloa loa po te tapena phena po mdea po mui hinga ala ka lau ala ite ia.*  
 a ioko i a hua-mana~manatu-nga na ilo-a  
 then CONJ LDA COLL CAUS-RED~think-NMLZ DEM.2 know-TR  
 loa po te ta-pena phe-na po matea  
 EMPH COMP SG.SP PREF-prepare like-DEM.2 COMP perhaps  
 po mui hinga ala ka lau ala ite ia  
 COMP little thing HYP FUT reach HYP LDA 3SG  
 ‘And maybe he thought such preparations could indicate that something would happen to him.’

### 11.3.3. *hua* ‘just’

*Hua* ‘just’ occurs only in a handful of examples in our material. It is found with both nouns and verbs:

- (10) a. *Ne ni ngata hua loa ne kutu i kaenga oku.*  
 ne ni ngata hua loa ne kutu  
 DEM.1 PL.SP snake just EMPH PFV stay.PL  
 i kaenga o-ku  
 LDA village POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘These are just some snakes that live in my village.’

- b. *Thatuka o hua ala thanuko taia ala ia.*  
 thatu=ka      o      hua      ala      thatu=ko      ta-ia  
 1PL.INCL=FUT go.PL just HYP 1PL.INCL=INCP hit-TR  
 ala      ia  
 HYP 3SG  
 ‘Let’s just go and kill him.’

11.3.4. *kē* ‘really’

Like *hua* ‘just’, *kē* ‘really’ may modify both nouns and verbs. It has an emphatic function in both environments:

- (11) a. *Na ko te lala kē!*  
 na      ko      te      lala      kē  
 DEM.2 TOP SG.SP ring really  
 ‘That is indeed the ring!’
- b. *Koi pikipikia kē te memea ana.*  
 ko-i      piki~piki-a      kē      te      memea      a-na  
 INCP-3SG RED~hold-TR really SG.SP child POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘She really took good care of her child.’
- c. *Siai, a koe na kē ko nohine oku.*  
 siai      a      koe      na      kē      ko      nohine      o-ku  
 NEG PERS 2SG DEM.2 really TOP wife POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘No, only you are my wife.’

11.3.5. *mua* ‘just’

*mua* (alternative forms *moa* [TAU], *ma* [NUP]) ‘just, please’ is a marker of politeness used to soften requests or commands:

- (12) a. *Itē, tele mua ki thaunga o mhaku.*  
 itē      tele      mua      ki      thaunga      o      mha-ku  
 mother run just to house POSS father-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Mother, please go to my father’s house.’
- b. *Koa noho mua i nghauta.*  
 ko=a      noho      mua      i      nghauta  
 2SG=OPT stay just LDA shore  
 ‘You just stay at home.’

- c. *Thaka ō mua?*  
 tha=ka            ō        mua  
 1DU.INCL=FUT go.PL just  
 ‘Should we go?’

It is also used in expressions of intention, where it functions to present the plan in question as a small undertaking of little significance:

- (13) *Iau ka uake oki mua ki Pileni.*  
 iau ka    ua    ake    oki    mua    ki Pileni  
 1SG FUT   paddle go.up again just    to Pileni  
 ‘I’ll just paddle on to Pileni.’

This meaning of insignificance is obviously central also to the use in requests: casting the thing requested as relatively insignificant makes the request appear less forceful, and thereby more polite.

Note also example (14), where *mua* seems to indicate respect or approval (the example was uttered in a farewell speech at the end of a 1997 visit to Pileni by Even Hovdhaugen and anthropologist Ingerd Hoëm; a major point was made in this speech of the visitors’ willingness to adapt to the local life-style):

- (14) *Hiai loa lhano keina mua mui kaikai sika.*  
 siai    loa        lha=no        kai-na    mua    mui    kaikai sika  
 NEG    EMPH    3DU=IPFV eat-TR just little food straight  
 ‘They do not eat only “real food” (i.e. European-style food).’

### 11.3.6. *mui* ‘a little’

*Mui* has similar functions to *mua* (cf. above), i.e. as a marker of politeness; but it occurs mainly after the existential verb *ai* and the prohibitive marker *auā* (cf. 16.2.1.1). We gloss it ‘(a) little’ both as a reflection of its semantics of politeness and humility, and to emphasize the formal and semantic similarities with the adjective *mui* ‘a little’ (cf. 11.2).

- (15) a. *Ē ai mui ni tai e noho i nghauta, hiai.*  
 e    ai    mui    ni        tai        e    noho    i  
 GENR exist little PL.NSP person    GENR stay LDA  
 nghauta siai  
 shore    NEG  
 ‘Is there anybody still on shore?’

- b. *Auā mui!*  
 auā mui  
 PROH little  
 ‘Please don’t!’

11.3.7. *loa* ‘emphatic’

*loa* ‘really, emphatic’ is highly frequent; it occurs most often in verb phrases, but is also found in noun phrases:

- (16) a. *E noho loa i te holau loa.*  
 e noho loa i te holau loa  
 GENR stay EMPHLDA SG.SP men’s.house EMPH  
 ‘He lived in the men’s house.’
- b. *E thū na ko thaunga tapu loa okhoia loa.*  
 e thū na ko thaunga tapu loa okhoia loa  
 GENR stand DEM.2 TOP house forbid EMPH3SG.self EMPH  
 ‘Only the church was left standing.’

*loa* may itself be modified by *aliali* ‘very much’, cf. 11.4.2.

- (17) a. *E lavoī loa aliali!*  
 e lavoī loa aliali  
 GENR good EMPH very  
 ‘Very good indeed!’
- b. *Hiei loa aliali.*  
 siai loa aliali  
 NEG EMPH very  
 ‘Not at all.’

11.3.8. *ko* ‘emphatic; completely’

The particle *ko* is very rare in our data, and only occurs following verbs. It indicates a strong emphasis; ‘very, completely’.

- (18) a. *Te kahu ne e hou ko.*  
 te kahu ne e hou ko  
 SG.SP clothing DEM.1 GENR new completely  
 ‘This shirt is brand new.’

- b. *Hei ne e kē ko, ē?*  
 thai ne e kē ko ē  
 one DEM.1 GENRdifferent completely yes  
 ‘This is a whole different one, right?’

### 11.3.9. Particles in multiple constituents

While the modifying particles are most frequently found modifying verbs, sometimes also nouns, it is not uncommon for a particles to be repeated over several, or in some cases all, constituents of a clause. This is particularly frequent with *loa*, the emphatic function of which may be enhanced by being repeated over several constituents; but it also occurs with other particles. In this construction, any constituent type may in principle receive a modifying particle; in (19a), the verb and all the constituents following it, including the verbal demonstrative *phenē* ‘like this’ and a prepositional adjunct, show the emphatic particle *loa*, while in (19b) both the preverbal adverbial phrase and the verb phrase show the hypothetical particle *ala*.

- (19) a. *Uko au o hanohano loa penē loa ki te valenga loa.*  
 u=ko au o hano~hano loa  
 1SG=INCP come to RED~go.SG EMPH  
 phe-ne loa ki te valenga loa  
 like-DEM.1 EMPH to SG.SP horizon EMPH  
 ‘I just went like this towards the horizon.’
- b. *Hai langi ala koi oinange oki ala a ia te fonu la.*  
 thai langi ala ko-i oi-na ange oki ala  
 one day HYP INCP-3SG help-TR go.along again HYP  
 a ia te fonu la  
 PERS 3SG SG.SP turtle DEM.3  
 ‘One day he would help the turtle in return.’

## 11.4. Adverbs

### 11.4.1. Introduction

As noted in chapter 3, the term “adverb” is generally applied to lexemes which function to modify non-nominal elements, i.e. verbs, verb phrases, clauses, or adjectives if the language has them. Furthermore, at least some of these functions may also be filled by different types of phrases, not necessarily involving lexical adverbs, or by clauses; adverbial functions are a kind of “everything else” category, including anything outside the basic predicate-

argument structure of a clause. As Givón (2001: 88) notes, adverbs as a crosslinguistic class “span the continuum between morphology, lexicon and syntax”. In this and the following section we will discuss lexical adverbs and adverbial phrases; adverbial clauses are discussed in chapter 14.

#### 11.4.2. Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs modify the meaning of the verb; in Vaeakau-Taumako, they may also be found modifying the verb phrase as a whole, occurring in the position immediately following the verb phrase (cf. 9.4). As noted in 9.3.4, manner modification in Vaeakau-Taumako is frequently achieved by serialization of a modifying verb to the main verb of the clause; the class of manner adverbs proper is accordingly quite small.

Of the attested manner adverbs, some are very restricted in their distribution. *aliali* ‘much, very’ only occurs following the postverbal emphatic particle *loa* (11.3.7):

- (20) a. *Te aliki e malela loa aliali.*  
           te      aliki e      malela loa   aliali  
           SG.SP chief  GENR happy EMPH very  
           ‘The chief was very happy indeed.’
- b. *Hiai loa aliali.*  
           siai   loa      aliali  
           NEG  EMPH   very  
           ‘Not at all.’

*moemoe* ‘very’ is only attested once in our material, following *sika* ‘straight’:

- (21) *Te lakau e sika moemoe loa kie lunga.*  
       te      lakau e      sika   moemoe loa      kie lunga  
       SG.SP tree  GENR straight very  EMPH  to top  
       ‘The tree was very straight all the way to the top.’

*bokneve* ‘very, completely’ is only attested in TAU:

- (22) a. *A ia e kiko bokneve.* (TAU)  
       a      ia      e      kiko  bokneve  
       PERS 3SG  GENR small completely  
       ‘He is very small.’

- b. *Te poi na e kila bokneve loa.* (TAU)  
 te poi na e kila bokneve loa  
 SG.SP pig DEM.2 GENRblack completely EMPH  
 ‘The pig is black all over.’

*phī* ‘much, very’ is found with a variety of verbs in our material and probably has few cooccurrence restrictions:

- (23) a. *A Kilikabe, e ā no mamaki maki phī ei?*  
 a Kilikabe e ā no ma~maki maki phī ai  
 PERS Kilikabe GENRwhat INCP RED~ill ill very OBL.PRO  
 ‘Why is Kilikabe so very ill?’
- b. *A sinana siai noko anga phī.* (NUP)  
 a sina-na siai noko anga phī  
 PERS mother-3SG.POSS NEG IPFV work very  
 ‘Her mother did not work very hard.’
- c. *A koe koka tele phī fkafea ma te papa e phili i to tua na?* (NUP)  
 a koe ko=ka tele phī faka-fea ma te  
 PERS 2SG 2SG=FUT run very CAUS-what with SG.SP  
 papa e phili i t-ō tua na  
 plank GENRstick LDA SG.SP-2SG.POSS back DEM.2  
 ‘How can you run fast with that plank stuck to your back? (said by a snail to a turtle)’

In addition, both manner adverbs and clausal adverbs may be derived from stative intransitive verbs by means of the causative prefix *hoko-/hua-/fka-/ha-*. This is not a productive derivation, but many of the existing forms have a high token frequency in our material. Manner adverbs derived in this way include *hualavoi* ‘slowly’ (*lavoi* ‘good, careful’), *huapopoto* ‘briefly’, and *huatahi* ‘together’ (*tahi* ‘one’); see also 3.3.1.1.

#### 11.4.3. Clausal adverbs

Clausal adverbs in Vaeakau-Taumako include temporal adverbs, which specify the temporal setting or the point in time at which the event described by the clause takes place; and a variety of other adverbs including *matea* ‘maybe’, *nugo* ‘just, already’, *manga* ‘just like, exactly’.

Temporal adverbs tend to be derived by one of a variety of processes. *nenē* ‘now’ is a reduplicated form of the proximal demonstrative *ne*:

- (24) *i mui thatu e noho ai nenē*  
 i mui thatu=e noho ai ne~nē  
 LDA place 1PL.INCL=GENR stay OBL.PRORED~DEM.1  
 ‘in the place where we live now’

A number of temporal adverbs are derived from nouns by means of the prefixes *a-* ‘future’ and *ana-* ‘past’ (cf. 6.2.3). These include *apō* ‘tonight’, *an-apō* ‘last night’ from *pō* (n) ‘night’, *amuli* ‘later’ from *muli* (n) ‘back, behind’, *atiao* ‘tomorrow’ from *thaiāo* (n, vi) ‘morning, be morning’, and the interrogative adverbs *ahea* ‘when (future)’ and *anahea* ‘when (past)’, from *hea* ‘what, where’. *anahi* ‘yesterday’ presumably relates to *ahiahi* (n) ‘evening’.

*tiaoatula* ‘the day after tomorrow’ and *nahiatula* ‘the day before yesterday’ clearly relate to *atiao* and *anahi*, respectively, possibly with an accreted directional *atu* plus demonstrative *la*; but they lack initial *a-*, possibly because the lengthened forms trigger loss of the pre-stressed syllable (2.5.3).

Temporal adverbs derived by causativization of stative intransitive verbs (cf. 3.3.1.1), include *huamua/hokomua* ‘first, before’ (cf. *mua* ‘in front’), *huakotahi* ‘once’ (*tahi*, *kotahi* ‘one’), and *huaphili*, *hakaphili* ‘always’. For the latter form, the stem is unclear. We have attested three verbs of the form *phili*; of these, one means ‘touch, be in contact with’ and one means ‘pass over’, but neither of these are stative verbs, and so they are unlikely to form derived adverbs by causativization. The third, ‘be crippled’, seems an unlikely source for semantic reasons.

A number of lexemes which may function as temporal adverbials are classified as nouns because they may also occur with articles (3.2.2).

The most frequent position for clausal adverbs is clause-initially, but other positions are possible:

- (25) a. *Kei toa harou la, matea kai oinange a ia i mouku.*  
 ke-i to-a thātou la matea  
 HORT-3SG take-TR 1PL.INCL DEM.3 maybe  
 ka-i oi-na ange a ia i mouku  
 FUT-3SG help-TR go.along PERS 3SG LDA bush  
 ‘If he had taken one of us (as a wife), maybe she would have helped him in the bush.’
- b. *Lakau la mdea ko taheake ki Nohono na.*  
 lakau la matea ko tahea ake ki Nohono na  
 tree DEM.3 maybe INCP drift go.up to Main.Reefs DEM.2  
 ‘Maybe that tree drifted ashore in the Main Reefs.’



- c. *Te memea raua ne, ta hēhenga mua mdea hai hehine mona.*  
 te memea a taua ne  
 SG.SP child POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS DEM.1  
 ta he~henga mua matea thai hahine  
 1DU.INCL.HORT RED~search just maybe one woman  
 mo-na  
 BEN-3SG.POSS  
 ‘This child of ours, maybe we should look for a wife for him.’

- (26) a. *Nēnē lhaue noho mai hai hai mo laua loa.*  
 ne~ne lhau=e noho mai thai hai  
 RED~DEM.1 3DU=GENR stay come one place  
 mo laua loa  
 BEN 3DU.POSS EMPH  
 ‘Now the two of them are living in a place of their own.’

- b. *Hano koko tukuange po kei avatu loa ne nēnē loa.*  
 hano ko=ko taku-a ange po ke-i av-atu  
 go.SG 2SG=INCP say-TR along COMP HORT-3SG give-go.out  
 loa ne ne~ne loa  
 EMPH DEM.1 RED~DEM.1 EMPH  
 ‘Go and tell her to give it to us right now.’

- (27) *Nghona vathungane nugo latuko toa na tauī po ka nofo ange i thai meitama.* (NUP)  
 ngh-o-na va-thungane nugo lhatu=ko to-a  
 PL-POSS-3SG.POSS PL-brother already 3PL=INCP take-TR  
 na tauī po ka nofo ange i thai mei-tama  
 3SG.POSS pay COMP FUT stay go.along LDA one small-child  
 ‘Her brothers had already received the bride price for her to marry a boy.’

- (28) a. *Tena ko te vela ko emo ifo i te velangi manga nei takua e Panaki.* (NUP)  
 te-na ko te vela ko emo ifo  
 SG.SP-DEM.2 TOP SG.SP sun INCP fall go.down  
 i te velangi manga ne-i taku-a e Panaki  
 LDA SG.SP sky exactly PFV-3SG say-TR AG Panaki  
 ‘That is the sun falling from the sky, just like Panaki said.’

- b. *Ioko iau ko hatetekina ange manga tau toa ange a iau.*  
 ioko iau ko ha-te-teki-na ange manga  
 CONJ 1SG INCP RED~tell-TR go.along exactly  
 t-a-u to-a ange a iau  
 SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS take-TR go.along PERS 1SG  
 ‘And I told them exactly how you took me.’

*Maoli* is an intransitive verb meaning ‘be true’, but also occurs with a distribution characteristic of clausal adverbs – clause-initially, lacking tense-aspect-mood marking – sometimes in its reduplicated form *maolioli*:

- (29) a. *Maoli i hihinga nekepo i te kaenga o rārou e huethue.*  
 maoli i hi~hinga nekepo i te kaenga  
 true some RED~thing like LDA SG.SP village  
 o tatou e huethue  
 POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS GENR difficult  
 ‘Truly, things here on our island are difficult.’
- b. *Maolioli la koi nghaina mai thatou ko makhona.*  
 maoli~oli la ko-i hangai-ina mai thatou  
 true~RED DEM.3 INCP-3SG feed-TR come 1PL.INCL  
 ko makhona  
 INCP strong  
 ‘Truly he has fed us so we are strong.’

*Mdamdange* ‘probably, I think’ similarly patterns like a verb in that it is usually followed by the complementizer *po* (cf. *mdamdange vi* ‘be like, resemble’), but normally lacks an overt subject and tense-aspect-mood marking; hence we have chosen to classify it as an adverb:

- (30) *Mdamdange na po e mae ai na po a ia na mdē e tulia na ngakau ne hehine o mua kē.*  
 mdamdange na po e mae ai na  
 probably DEM.2 COMP GENRrefuse OBL.PRO DEM.2  
 po a ia na matea e tuli-a na ngakau  
 COMP PERS 3SG DEM.2 maybe GENR like-TR 3SG.POSS guts  
 na e hahine o mua kē  
 DEM.2 SG.NSP woman POSS place different  
 ‘I think he refuses them (potential brides) because maybe he wants a woman from another place.’

See also 17.4 on adverbial conjunctions.

#### 11.4.4. Deictic adverbs

Deictic adverbs are formed from demonstratives in combination with *a-* or *i-*, cf. 5.3.5. Compare also *nenē* ‘now’ in (26) above, which is formed by reduplication of the proximal demonstrative *ne*.

## 11.4.5. Distribution of lexical adverbs

As described in 9.4, manner adverbs may occur inside the verb phrase, modifying the verbal nucleus, or outside it, modifying the verb phrase. Clausal adverbs, on the other hand, function as modifiers to the clause as a whole rather than the verb or the verb phrase. Clausal adverbs differ in distribution from verb phrase-modifying manner adverbs in that they may in principle occupy any position in the clause, but are most frequently clause-initial; by contrast, verb phrase-modifying manner adverbs directly follow the verb phrase and cannot appear clause-initially. Thus, *fkamua* ‘before’ in (31a) functions like a clausal adverb and could be moved to clause-initial position, as in (31b):

- (31) a. *A Tupua Ika nokoi oina mai loa kitatou fkamua la ka ne kosi ai.* (NUP)  
 a Tupua Ika noko-i oi-na mai loa kitatou  
 PERS god fish IPFV-3SG help-TR come EMPH 1PL.INCL  
 fka-mua la ka ne k-osi ai  
 CAUS-front DEM.3 but DEM.1 INCP-finish OBL.PRO  
 ‘Tupua Ika used to help us before, but now it has ended.’
- b. *Fkamua a Tupua Ika nokoi oina mai loa kitatou.*  
 fka-mua a Tupua Ika noko-i oi-na mai  
 CAUS-front PERS god fish IPFV-3SG help-TR come  
 loa kitatou  
 EMPH 1PL.INCL  
 ‘Before, Tupua Ika used to help us.’

By contrast, *fakatasi* ‘together’ in (32) modifies the verb phrase, rather than the clause, and cannot be moved from its position directly following the verb phrase:

- (32) a. *Kimaua e nofo loa fakatasi.* (NUP)  
 kimaua e nofo loa faka-tasi  
 1DU.EXCL GENR stay EMPH CAUS-one  
 ‘We (du.) are always together.’
- b. \**Fakatasi kimaua e nofo loa.*

While *fakatasi/huatahi* only functions as a verb-phrase modifier, some adverbs, among them *fkamua/hokomua* ‘first’ may have both functions. While in (31), *fkamua* is a clausal adverb with a flexible distribution, in (33) it modifies the verb phrase and cannot be moved:

- (33) a. *Te meitama ei lavā fka-mua a fatu ana*  
 te mei-tama e-i lava-a fka-mua  
 SG.SP small-child GENR-3SG manage-TR CAUS-front  
 a fatu a-na  
 COLL stone POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘The boy who first finishes carrying his stones’

*kai toala a omo malu te tupuangafulu e kotasi.* (NUP)  
 ka-i to-a ala a omo malu te tupuangafulu  
 FUT-3SG take-TR HYP COLL yam soft SG.SP thousand  
 e ko-tasi  
 GENR PREF-one  
 ‘will get one thousand fat yams.’

- b. *Koko tukuange po ei tukua po kei motumotia te babukene aku la,*  
 ko=ko taku-a ange po e-i taku-a  
 2SG=INCP say-TR go.along COMP GENR-3SG say-TR  
 po ke-i motu~motu-ia te babukene  
 COMP HORT-3SG RED~cut-TR SG.SP pumpkin  
 a-ku la  
 POSS-1SG.POSS DEM.3  
 ‘Tell him that if he says he will cut up my pumpkins,’

*ko ā uko motia hokomua na tuku lima une tokiai.*  
 ko ā u=ko motu-ia hoko-mua na  
 TOP what 1SG=INCP cut-TR CAUS-front DEM.2  
 t-o-ku lima u=ne to-kia ai  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS hand 1SG=PFV plant-TR OBL.PRO  
 ‘I will first cut off the hand that I planted them with.’

## 11.5. Adverbial phrases

### 11.5.1. The term “adverbial phrase”

We are using the term “adverbial phrase” here in a slightly different sense than the other phrase-type labels used in this grammar. A noun phrase, a verb phrase, or a prepositional phrase is a phrase headed by a lexical noun, verb, or preposition respectively. The phrases to be discussed in this section, on the contrary, are phrases which have the syntactic function of adverbial, no matter what their internal structures. We have chosen to do this exactly because a variety of different syntactic phrase types may be used in adverbial function. When they appear in this function, they share certain structural properties,

which accordingly must be properties of the functional category of adverbial phrase, not of the different formal phrase types which may fill this function.

Adverbial phrases are, by definition, external to the verb phrase (cf. chapter 9). When an adverb occurs inside the verb phrase (9.4) we consider it to be a modifier in the verb phrase, and analyze it as a lexical item in the verb phrase rather than as the head of a distinct adverbial phrase. By contrast, both verb phrase-modifying and sentential adverbs form adverbial phrases, which may include other elements besides the lexical head. However, adverbs differ in their ability to occur with modifying elements; modal adverbs like *matea* ‘maybe’ or *manga* ‘exactly’ rarely, if at all, combine with modifiers, whereas temporal adverbs are more frequently modified.

The main structural characteristic that sets a phrase with adverbial function apart from phrases of the same structural type (e.g. noun phrases or prepositional phrases) in other functions is the ability to occur with the hypothetical particle *ala* when the clause in question has a future temporal reference. One may ask whether this is in fact not more of a semantically triggered property with structural implications, that is, a function of the future reference rather than of the adverbial function, since noun phrases or prepositional phrases with future temporal reference are almost by definition going to function as adverbials. It is nevertheless a structural property which is independent of the formal category of the phrase, and linked only to its meaning and function.

### 11.5.2. Adverb phrases

Adverb phrases have a lexical adverb as their nucleus. Modifying elements found in adverb phrases include *loa* ‘emphatic’, *ala* ‘hypothetical’, and directional verbs, particularly *mai*:

- (34) a. *Hano koko tukuange po kei avatu loa ne nenē loa.*  
 hano ko=ko taku-a ange po ke-i  
 go.SG 2SG=INCP say-TR go.along COMP HORT-3SG  
 av-atu loa ne ne~ne loa  
 give-go.out EMPHDEM.1 RED~DEM.1 EMPH  
 ‘Go and tell her to give it to us right now.’
- b. *Atiao ala na tatu lohi mua o kukutea a gāden.*  
 atiao ala na tatu lohi mua  
 tomorrow HYP DEM.2 1PL.INCL.HORT gather just  
 o ku~kute-a a gāden  
 to RED~see-TR COLL garden  
 ‘Tomorrow we will all go and see the gardens.’

- c. *Hokomua mai hai tai na ingoa ko Lape.*  
 hoko-mua mai hai tai na ingoa ko Lape  
 CAUS-front come one person 3SG.POSS name TOP Lape  
 ‘Long ago, there was a man called Lape.’

Example (35) combines *manga* ‘exactly, just like’ and the temporal adverb *fkamua* ‘before’, followed by a directional and emphatic *loa*:

- (35) *Ko te kulu efa e tu ange i te ana fafie oku na siai latune takua po tu vakhei ai manga fkamua mai loa.* (NUP)

ko te kulu efa e tu ange i te ana  
 TOP SG.SP breadfruit big GENRstand go.along LDA SG.SP cave  
 fafie o-ku na siai lhatu=ne taku-a  
 firewood POSS-1SG.POSS DEM.2 NEG 3PL=PFV say-TR  
 po tu vakhei ai manga fka-mua mai  
 COMP 2PL.HORT climb.PL OBL.PRO exactly CAUS-front come  
 loa  
 EMPH

‘The big breadfruit tree near my firewood cave is forbidden for you to climb, just as before.’

### 11.5.3. Adverbial noun phrases

As noted in 3.2.2, there is a class of nouns which may form adverbial expressions on their own, without the use of articles or prepositions; these were referred to as temporal nouns.

- (36) *Malamake ko uake ki Pileni.*  
 malamake ko ua ake ki Pileni  
 morning INCP paddle go.up to Pileni  
 ‘In the morning he paddled on to Pileni.’

There are also a number of nouns which refer to time-related concepts (e.g. times of day), which typically form the nucleus of an adverbial phrase, but which differ from temporal nouns in that they cannot occur without an article or a quantifier. Examples of such nouns are *makavā/mgavā* ‘time’, *langi* ‘day’, *ahiahi* ‘evening’:

- (37) a. *I mkavā noko tanumia i a one.* (NUP)  
 i makavā noko thamu-nia i a one  
 some time IPFV bury-TR LDA COLL sand  
 ‘Sometimes [the cave] was buried in the sand.’

- b. *A langi na, lhatuko fiekhai ai po latu o ki moukuo toa po ni kaikai ma latou.* (NUP)
- |          |          |       |          |            |         |        |        |
|----------|----------|-------|----------|------------|---------|--------|--------|
| a        | langi    | na    | lhatu=ko | fie-khai   | ai      | po     |        |
| COLL     | day      | DEM.2 | 3PL=INCP | DES-eat    | OBL.PRO | COMP   |        |
| latu     | o        | ki    | moukuo   | to-a       | po      | ni     | kaikai |
| 3PL.HORT | go.PL    | to    | bush     | to take-TR | COMP    | PL.NSP | food   |
| ma       | latou    |       |          |            |         |        |        |
| BEN      | 3PL.POSS |       |          |            |         |        |        |
- ‘In those days, when people got hungry they went to the bush and got some food for themselves.’
- c. *Tai afiafi na ko tai fonu ko kake ake po kei fanaua ona fua i te one o Pakonga i Nupani.* (NUP)
- |      |          |          |               |         |        |        |       |       |
|------|----------|----------|---------------|---------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| thai | afiafi   | na       | ko            | thai    | fonu   | ko     | kake  | ake   |
| one  | evening  | DEM.2    | INCP          | one     | turtle | INCP   | climb | go.up |
| po   | ke-i     | fanau-a  | o-na          | fua     |        |        |       |       |
| COMP | HORT-3SG | birth-TR | POSS-3SG.POSS | fruit   |        |        |       |       |
| i    | te       | one      | o             | Pakonga | i      | Nupani |       |       |
| LDA  | SG.SP    | sand     | POSS          | Pakonga | LDA    | Nupani |       |       |
- ‘One evening a turtle came on shore to lay its eggs in the sand at Pakonga on Nupani.’

Adverbial noun phrases may include typical noun-phrase elements such as articles and modifiers; particularly frequent are stative intransitive verbs referring to quantity or repetition, such as *osi* ‘finish, be complete, all’ or *pele* ‘many’, but other modifiers occur, including whole clauses as in (39):

- (38) a. *A langi osi na, a te matua ana no ua themu loa ki moana o tauaki.* (TAU)
- |      |        |        |       |        |                   |         |               |
|------|--------|--------|-------|--------|-------------------|---------|---------------|
| a    | langi  | osi    | na    | a      | te                | matua   | a-na          |
| COLL | day    | finish | DEM.2 | PERS   | SG.SP             | old.man | POSS-3SG.POSS |
| no   | ua     | themu  | loa   | ki     | moana             | o       | tauaki        |
| IPFV | paddle | same   | EMPH  | to sea | to fish.with.kite |         |               |
- ‘Every day her husband paddled out to sea in the same way and fished.’

- b. *A malamake e pele na thai i Takulu na ko au i te henakenga*  
 a malamake e pele na thai i Takulu na  
 COLL morning GENRmany DEM.2 one LDA Takulu DEM.2  
 ko au i te hen-ake-nga  
 INCP come LDA SG.SP go-go.up-NMLZ  
 ‘Many mornings the one from Takulu came from the east (lit. the going up,  
 i.e. of the sun)’

*ia thai la ko nhatu ki hai tua i Taumako.* (TAU)  
 ia thai la ko hano atu ki hai tua  
 CONJ one DEM.3 INCP go.SG go.out to place back  
 i Taumako  
 LDA Taumako  
 ‘and the other one came from round the back of Taumako.’

- (39) *Thai pō te kauakafu e malama na ko ngha lapū ko o mai mouku.* (NUP)  
 thai pō te kau-akafu e malama na ko ngha lapū  
 one night SG.SP shine-moon GENRlight DEM.2 TOP PL.SP rat  
 ko ō mai i mouku  
 INCP go.PL come LDA bush  
 ‘One night when the moon was bright, the rats came out of the bush.’

However, adverbial noun phrases may also occur with the modifying particle *ala*, which only rarely occurs in noun phrases with non-adverbial function, but does regularly occur in non-nominal adverbial phrases (40); it is used with adverbials with future reference, cf. 11.3.2.

- (40) a. *Koi tukuange po ke oinange mua a ia*  
 ko-i taku-a ange po ke oi-na ange  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP HORT help-TR go.along  
 mua a ia  
 just PERS 3SG  
 ‘(The heron) asked (the turtle) to please help him,’

*po hai langi ala koi oinange oki ala a ia te fonu la.*  
 po thai langi ala ko-i oi-na ange oki  
 COMP one day HYP INCP-3SG help-TR go.along again  
 ala a ia te fonu la  
 HYP PERS 3SG SG.SP turtle DEM.3  
 ‘then one day he would help the turtle in return.’



- b. *Malamake ala hakoho mua o nghaina te alo o raua,*  
 malamake ala tha=ko oho mua o  
 morning HYP 1DU.INCL=INCP go.vertically just to  
 nghai-na te alo o taua  
 make-TR SG.SP canoe POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS  
 ‘Tomorrow we will prepare our canoe’

*a hako uatu ki Mdemā.*

- a tha=ko ua atu ki Matema  
 then 1DU.INCL=INCP paddle go.out to Matema  
 ‘and paddle to Matema.’

Some nouns, such as *malamake* ‘morning’ and *lalathea* ‘noon, midday’, may also be followed by a directional verb:

- (41) a. *A malamake mai na, lhatuko lohi atu loa.*  
 a malamake mai na lhatu=ko lohi atu loa  
 then morning come DEM.2 3PL=INCP gather go.out EMPH  
 ‘In the morning, they gathered.’
- b. *Lhatuko moe, malamake ake na, te aliki la ko thū mai na.*  
 lhatu=ko moe malamake ake na te aliki la  
 3PL.INCPs sleep morning go.up DEM.2 SG.SP chief DEM.3  
 ko thū mai na  
 INCP stand come DEM.2  
 ‘They slept, and in the morning the chief got up.’
- c. *Ne ua loa koi thaiiao na ane lalatheake na ko a paua na ko pele.*  
 ne ua loa koi thaiiao na a-ne lalathea  
 PFV paddle EMPH still dawn DEM.2 then-DEM.1 noon  
 ake na ko a paua na ko pele  
 go.up DEM.2 TOP COLL giant.clam DEM.2 INCP many  
 ‘She paddled in the early morning, and by midday there were many shells.’

Such structures are ambiguous; is the directional verb modifying the noun, or does the noun function as an argument to the verb, so that these are in effect clauses rather than noun phrases? As mentioned in the discussion of relative clauses in 14.3, there are no structural criteria by which to resolve such ambiguities. However, this is a fairly marginal construction, apparently restricted to a few nouns and attested only with the directionals *mai*, *ake*, and *oho*.

## 11.5.4. Adverbial prepositional phrases

One of the most frequent functions of prepositional phrases, in addition to functioning as oblique arguments of extended intransitive verbs (cf. 10.6.2) and indicating relationships between noun phrases (10.2–5) is as adverbials, typically indicating the time or location of the event described by a clause:

- (42) *Ko te kila la koi laua e thai etai i te akau e mao la i tai langi ke oki.* (NUP)  
 ko te kila la ko-i laua-a e thai etai  
 TOP SG.SP axe DEM.3 INCP-3SG find-TR AG one person  
 i te akau e mao la i tai langi ke oki  
 LDASG.SP reef GENR far DEM.3 LDA one day different again  
 ‘The axe was found by a man far out on the reef on another day.’

Like noun phrases, prepositional phrases in adverbial function can take the hypothetical particle *ala* when used with future reference:

- (43) *I te Saturday ala hatuko pikilima ma lhaua, a lhako o.*  
 i te Saturday ala thatu=ko phiki lima ma lhaua  
 LDASG.SP Saturday HYP 1PL.INCL=INCP hold hand with 3DU  
 a lha=ko o  
 CONJ 3DU=INCP go.PL  
 ‘On Saturday, we will shake hands with them, and they will go.’

# Chapter 12

## Tense, aspect, and mood

### 12.1. Introduction

The main means of expressing tense, aspect, and mood in Vaeakau-Taumako is through a set of preverbal particles, which we call tense-aspect-mood (TAM) particles. Most of the Vaeakau-Taumako inventory of TAM particles show cognates in other Polynesian languages.

The main categories encoded by the TAM particles are aspect and mood, though some particles do have a primarily temporal function, and in many cases temporal readings arise from the basic modal/aspectual meanings. Aspect may also be expressed through reduplication or certain verbal collocations, cf. 4.4.4 and 12.7.

TAM particles are generally obligatory in main declarative verbal clauses, though they are occasionally omitted in very informal speech. In nuclear-layer verb serialization (9.3.4, 15.2) a single TAM particle may have scope over two or more verbs; otherwise each verb takes a TAM particle. In some types of subordinate clauses (cf. 14.4.5.1–2), the TAM particle is frequently omitted. Only a small subset of TAM particles is found in negated clauses (16.2); imperative clauses do not take TAM particles.

Combinations of two TAM particles with a single verb are rare, but do occur. The meanings of such combinations are not always readily predictable from the meaning of the individual particles; they are treated in 12.6 below.

All TAM particles except *a* and *me* may take the suffix *-i*, which is discussed in 12.5 below.

All TAM particles except *me* combine with proclitic subject pronouns (5.2.1.3). If there is no other overt expression of the subject, the clitic is generally obligatory (cf. 13.3.2); though note that there is no overt subject clitic for the 3rd person singular, meaning that a significant proportion of the clauses in our material lacks an overt indication of subject. In transitive clauses, the suffix *-i* could also be considered an indicator of a 3rd person singular subject in most instances.

Most of the TAM particles express a combination of temporal, aspectual and/or modal meanings. We have attempted to classify them below into particles which are predominantly aspectual, temporal, or modal; though other classifications may be equally feasible.

## 12.2. Mainly aspectual markers

### 12.2.1. *e* ‘general’ (GENR)

This is an aspectual particle which marks a state or an activity as continuing, regular, or permanent. There is no inherent temporal reference, nor is the state or activity construed as delimited by a beginning and/or ending. *e* reflects PPN \*(q)e(e) ‘non-past verbal particle’ (Biggs and Clark 2009).

- (1) a. *A iau ne ue Pileni.*  
 a iau ne u=e Pileni  
 PERS 1SG DEM.1 1SG=GENR Pileni  
 ‘I am from Pileni.’
- b. *Ane mhate huamahaina te langi na po langi o tai mathua.*  
 a-ne mhatu=e hua-maha-ina te langi na  
 then-DEM.1 1PL.EXCL=GENR CAUS-heavy-TRSG.SP day DEM.2  
 po langi o tai mathua  
 COMP day POSS person old  
 ‘And now we honour that day as the day of old people.’
- c. *A langi e pele na ei fngafngaina themu loa te pakeo ana.* (NUP)  
 a langi e pele na e-i fnga~fngai-ina  
 COLL day GENR many DEM.2 GENR-3SG RED~feed-TR  
 themu loa te pakeo a-na  
 same EMPHSG.SP shark POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Every day (lit. days that are many) he feeds his shark in the same way.’

### 12.2.2. *ko* ‘inceptive’ (INCP)

*Ko* is the most frequent TAM particle in our Vaeakau-Taumako material. It indicates a change of state, or the beginning of a new event or situation; we gloss it ‘inceptive’ (INCP). In narratives, *ko* is typically used to describe the progression of events in succession (example 3):

- (2) a. *Te botu ko hualilo.*  
 te botu ko hua-lilo  
 SG.SP boat INCP CAUS-disappear  
 ‘The boat has disappeared.’
- b. *Ko Angaifo ko avanga loa i Naloko.* (NUP)  
 ko Angaifo ko avanga loa i Naloko  
 TOP Angaifo INCP marry EMPHLDA Naloko  
 ‘Angaifo married a girl from Naloko.’

- c. *Ko emo loa i te kulu la ko mate loa.*  
 ko emo loa i te kulu la ko mate  
 INCP fall EMPHLDA SG.SP breadfruit DEM.3 INCP die  
 loa  
 EMPH  
 ‘She fell down from the breadfruit tree and died.’

- (3) a. *Te tangata la ko hano ko kau~kau*  
 te tangata la ko hano ko kau~kau  
 SG.SP man DEM.3 INCP go.SG INCP RED~swim  
 ‘So the man went and had a bath’

*ko hamasiu ko nhangē ko kai.* (TAU)  
 ko hua-ma-siu ko hano ange ko kai  
 INCP CAUS-PREF-wet INCP go.SG go.along INCP eat  
 ‘and put on dry clothes and went and ate.’

- b. *Ko Toaki la na ko haloto*  
 ko Toaki la na ko haloto  
 TOP Toaki DEM.3 DEM.2 INCP angry  
 ‘Toaki got angry’

*ko khapoho koi vuhiake a ia koi kina.* (TAU)  
 ko khapa oho ko-i vuhi-a ake a ia  
 INCP reach go.vertically INCP-3SG pull-TR go.up PERS 3SG  
 ko-i kai-na  
 INCP-3SG eat-TR  
 ‘and reached down and pulled him up and ate him.’

### 12.2.3. *ne* ‘perfective’ (PFV)

*ne* indicates perfective aspect, i.e. it presents an event as a completed whole. As a consequence of this, it is most commonly used to refer to events in the past, though past reference is not obligatory, as seen from the examples in (4):

- (4) a. *A koe na kone lemai me lemai lavoi.*  
 a koe na ko=ne le-mai me le-mai lavoi  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 2SG=PFV go-come PRSC go-come good  
 ‘When you come, you should come carefully/quietly.’
- b. *A iau une pole na uka ngapu.*  
 a iau u=ne pole na u=ka ngapu  
 PERS 1SG 1SG=PFV jump DEM.2 1SG=FUT gasp  
 ‘When I get startled, I gasp.’

*ne* differs from inceptive *ko* (12.2.2) in that the latter focuses on the inception of an event, while *ne* presents the event as completed. In example (5), the completion of the rising of the tide, marked with *ne*, leads to the boat starting to float, indicated with *ko*:

- (5) *E, a haupē ne fonu ake na, ioko te alo o laua ko manu.* (NUP)  
 e a thaupē ne fonu ake na  
 yes then lagoon PFV full go.up DEM.2  
 ioko te alo o laua ko manu  
 CONJ SG.SP canoe POSS 3DU.POSS INCP float  
 ‘When the tide came in, their canoe floated.’

The notion of a completed event is also evident in the following example, where *ne* contrasts with general/stative *e*; the implication is that the splitting up of the area in question will eventually be achieved (the story explains the origin of a passage between two islands), and so the splitting up is presented as an act to be completed, while the state of being joined together is cast as ongoing and (hitherto) unchanged, using *e*:

- (6) *Hiai ne mgavā, e tutaki.*  
 siai ne makavā e thutaki  
 NEGPFV split GENRjoined  
 ‘It had not been split up, it was joined together.’

#### 12.2.4. *no/noko* ‘imperfective’ (IPFV)

*no* marks imperfective aspect, i.e. the progression of an event over time. It may be used with past, present, or future time reference, or may indicate a habitual or recurring event:

- (7) a. *Lhatuko noho na, no anga loa i mouku na ko te matuana loa.*  
 lhatu=ko noho na no anga loa i mouku na  
 3PL=INCP stay DEM.2 IPFV work EMPHLDA bush DEM.2  
 na ko te matua a-na loa  
 DEM.2 TOP SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS EMPH  
 ‘They stayed there, and her husband worked in the bush.’
- b. *Te memē kē no tangi po la ō ma opana.*  
 te memea kē no tangi po la ō  
 SG.SP child really IPFV cry COMP 3DU.HORT go.PL  
 ma opana  
 with father-3SG.POSS  
 ‘The child is crying to go with his father.’

- c. *Lharou ka kāmai po no hāngai atu ai kē ki khoulua.*  
 lhatou ka kā-mai po no hangai atu  
 3PL FUT bring-come COMP IPFV feed go.out  
 ai kē ki khoulua  
 OBL.PRO really to 2DU  
 ‘They will bring (things) to feed you.’
- d. *A te matuaku no kai tai, ko khoulua na no hohoaki huehea?*  
 a te matua a-ku no kai tai  
 PERS SG.SP old.man POSS-1SG.POSS IPFV eat person  
 ko khoulua na no ho~hoaki hue~hea  
 TOP 2DU DEM.2 IPFV RED~travel CAUS-where  
 ‘My husband eats humans, so why have you come here?’

*no* is usually used for dynamic events which develop over time, as opposed to *e* (12.2.1) which marks something as static and unchanging:

- (8) *Ko ōho no anga na, ioko na ingoa e noho temu ne i nghauta.*  
 ko ō oho no anga na ioko na  
 INCP go.PL go.vertically IPFV work DEM.2 CONJ 3SG.POSS  
 ingoa e noho temu ne i nghauta  
 uncle GENR stay quiet DEM.1 LDA shore  
 ‘They went out to work, while his uncle stayed idle at home.’

*no* contrasts with *ne* ‘perfective’ (12.2.3) in examples like the following, where *no* marks an ongoing event which forms the background for something new intruding:

- (9) *Ioko a ia ne leho na, ne lekoho na,*  
 ioko a ia ne le-iho na ne  
 CONJ PERS 3SG PFV go-go.down DEM.2 PFV  
 lek-oho na  
 go-go.vertically DEM.2  
 ‘And he went down there, he went down,’

*ioko lha tungane la e noho na noi nghanghaina te ono.*  
 ioko lha tungane la e noho na  
 CONJ 3DU.POSS brother DEM.3 GENR stay DEM.2  
 no-i hanga~hangai-na te ono  
 IPFV-3SG RED~feed-TR SG.SP barracuda  
 ‘and their brother was sitting there feeding the barracuda.’

The Nupani dialect has the variant *noko*, though *no* is also found here; it is not clear whether there is any difference between the two.

- (10) a. *Ka siai noko usi a tai ko ia nokoi usia na ko a tai no kaia.* (NUP)  
 ka siai noko usi a tai ko ia noko-i  
 but NEG IPFV bite COLL person TOP 3SG IPFV-3SG  
 usi-a na ko a tai no kaia  
 bite-TR DEM.2 TOP COLL person IPFV steal  
 ‘But (the dog) didn’t bite people, it only bit those who came to steal.’

- b. *A tai katoa o Nupani ko feilia po*  
 a tai katoa o Nupani ko feilia po  
 COLL person all POSS Nupani INCP ask-TR COMP  
 ‘All the people on Nupani asked’

*te fafine noko anu i te mako la e fea?* (NUP)  
 te fafine noko anu i te mako la e  
 SG.SP woman IPFV dance LDA SG.SP dance DEM.3 GENR  
 fea  
 where  
 ‘where the woman participating in the dance had come from.’

#### 12.2.5. *koi* ‘continuous, still’

*Koi* ‘still, really’ is only attested with intransitive verbs, and is not frequent in our material. It reflects PPN \**koi*, reconstructed as a preverbal marker of continuity (Biggs and Clark 2009). Cognates in other Polynesian languages vary in meaning and formal status; in some languages it functions as a TAM marker, whereas e.g. in Anuta, another Temotu Province Outlier, it is classified as an adverb meaning ‘still’ (Feinberg 1977). From the few examples in our material, Vaeakau-Taumako *koi* seems to pattern like a TAM marker, though the fact that it occasionally combines with *ko* (see 12.6.2) may be an indication that it is more adverbial in nature.

- (11) a. *Ko ia na koi makhonakhona ne ko ua.*  
 ko ia na koi makhona-khona ne ko ua  
 TOP 3SG DEM.2 still strong~RED DEM.1 INCP paddle  
 ‘He was still strong and paddled on.’
- b. *Koi sikiai.*  
 koi sikiai  
 still not.yet  
 ‘He is still not here.’



- c. *A tamalaua ma sinalaua lane mate na ko kilaua koi liki.* (NUP)  
 a tama a laua ma a sina  
 PERS father POSS 3DU.POSS CONJ PERS mother  
 a laua lha=ne mate na ko kilaua  
 POSS 3DU.POSS 3DU=PFV die DEM.2 TOP 3DU  
 koi liki  
 still small  
 ‘Their father and mother had died when the two were still small.’

### 12.3. Mainly temporal markers

#### 12.3.1. *ka* ‘future’ (FUT)

*ka* signals immediate and/or certain future, reflecting PPN \**ka* ‘verbal particle marking inception of new action or state’ (Biggs and Clark 2009). It indicates that something is expected to happen with a high degree of certainty, either because the speaker has knowledge or evidence suggesting that this will be so, or because the subject intends to bring it about. As such, the marker cannot be said to be purely temporal in function; but the central aspect of its meaning is the (imminent) futurity of the verbal event.

- (12) a. *A iau ka toa te buka.*  
 a iau ka to-a te buka  
 PERS 1SG FUT take-TR SG.SP book  
 ‘I’ll take the book (straight away).’
- b. *Ka pō.*  
 ka pō  
 FUT night  
 ‘Night is falling; it will soon be night.’
- c. *A kahu ka hui?*  
 a kahu ka hui  
 COLL clothing FUT wash  
 ‘(Do you have) clothes to be washed?’
- d. *Thai pō ko a tai katoa ka ō anu i tai kaenga kē.*  
 thai pō ko a tai katoa ka ō anu  
 one night TOP COLL person all FUT go.PL dance  
 i tai kaenga kē  
 LDA one village different  
 ‘The next night everybody would go and dance in another village.’

Example (12d) shows the use of *ka* to mark relative tense, i.e. futurity with respect to a reference time, a point in the narrative, rather than with respect to the time of speech itself.

### 12.3.2. *na* ‘past’ (PST)

*na* appears to mark past tense in examples like (13) (cf. PPN \**na* ‘past tense marker’):

- (13) a. *Thai mkavā thai meitama o Nukapu e mdaku loa i a tai na mate na.*  
 thai makavā thai mei-tama o Nukapu e mathaku  
 one time one small-child POSS Nukapu GENR afraid  
 loa i a tai na mate na  
 EMPH LDA COLL person PST die DEM.2  
 ‘Once upon a time a boy on Nukapu was very frightened of people who had died.’
- b. *Ko ai na kavea?*  
 ko ai na kave-a  
 TOP who PST bring-TR  
 ‘Who brought it?’
- c. *Hokomua te valoamata na au ange loa ne po ki mhatou i a motumotu ne.*  
 hoko-mua te valoamata na au ange loa ne  
 CAUS-front SG.SP religion PST come go.along EMPHDEM.1  
 po ki mhatou i a motu~motu ne  
 COMP to 1PL.EXCL LDA COLL RED~island DEM.1  
 ‘A long time ago the (Christian) religion came to us in these islands.’

This marker of past tense is rare in our material; as noted in 12.2.3 above, the perfective marker *ne* typically has past reference, and is much more frequent. Possibly the examples above indicate that *na* is preferred for a more distant past; there are also some examples which suggest a pluperfect reading, i.e. indicating that a past event occurred before another, or is the background or prerequisite for another, e.g. (13a).

Many of the available examples of *na* with apparent past-time reference occur in subordinate clauses, meaning that it may be difficult to distinguish between *na* as a marker of past tense and the irrealis marker *na* (12.4.4), which is frequent in complement clauses and may be grammaticalizing into a marker of complementation or subordination (14.2.4):

- (14) a. *Anā lhatuna ō atu la, koko avange ni ika ma lhatou.*  
 a-na lhatu=na ō atu la ko=ko  
 then-DEM.2 3PL=PST go.PL go.out DEM.3 2SG=INCP  
 av-ange ni ika ma latou  
 give-go.along PL.NSP fish BEN 3PL.POSS  
 ‘Then when they went to you, you gave them some fish.’
- b. *Noi matange lhatou i a pō e ohi i lhatuna omai anganga ki nghauta.*  
 (TAU)  
 no-i mata-a ange lhatou i a pō e  
 IPFV-3SG watch-TR go.along 3PL LDA COLL night GENR  
 ohi i lhatu=na ō mai anga~anga ki nghauta  
 finish LDA 3PL=PST go.PL come RED~face to shore  
 ‘He used to watch them every night when they had come ashore.’

## 12.4. Mainly modal markers

### 12.4.1. *a* ‘optative’ (OPT)

The marker *a* is rare in our material and mainly found in colloquial speech. When asked, speakers generally consider its meaning to be equivalent to that of the immediate future marker *ka* (12.3.1), but there are differences. While *ka* refers to an immediate and/or certain future, often with overtones of intention, *a* is used to signal that a future event is desirable or probable, or that the speaker is emotionally involved in the event. As seen from example (15), *a* takes the form *ku=* rather than *u=* of the 1SG bound subject pronoun (cf. 5.2.1.3); see also 12.4.2 below.

- (15) a. *A iau kua hano toa kua lemai oki.*  
 a iau ku=a hano to-a ku=a le-mai oki  
 PERS 1SG 1SG=OPT go.SG take-TR 1SG=OPT go-come again  
 ‘I want to go and get it and then come back.’
- b. *Nalonga hea koa toa ai a iau?*  
 nalonga hea ko=a to-a ai a iau  
 way what 2SG=OPT take-TR OBL.PRO PERS 1SG  
 ‘How will you manage to get me?’

- c. *Koa huatulia loa te langi na, siksikuai ai,*  
 ko=a            hua-thū-lia        loa        te        langi    na  
 2SG=OPT    CAUS-stand-TR    EMPH    SG.SP day    DEM.2  
 sik~sikuai ai  
 RED~put    OBL.PRO  
 ‘You must begin that day by putting it down.’

*na ko ia. Koa iloa.*  
 na        ko        ia        ko=a            ilo-a  
 DEM.2    TOP    3SG    2SG=OPT    know-TR  
 ‘That is it. You must understand.’

- (16) a. *Koa noho (kē)!*  
 ko=a            noho    kē  
 2SG=OPT    stay    really  
 ‘Goodbye! (said by the person leaving)’
- b. *Koa hano (kē)!*  
 ko=a            hano    kē  
 2SG=OPT    go.SG    really  
 ‘Goodbye! (said by the person staying)’

#### 12.4.2. *ke* ‘hortative’ (HORT)

The marker *ke* is used to express a wish that something should happen, or advice concerning how something should be. It is also used to express purpose, particularly in combination with the complementizer *po* (cf. 14.4.5.1).

With a 1st person singular subject, *ke* takes the form *ku* (rather than the expected *\*u=ke*); occasionally, we also find *kui* when a 1st person singular subject combines with a highly topical 3rd person singular object (17b). This combination of a non-3SG subject with a preverbal 3SG object represents the only possible situation in which both subject and object may be marked on the TAM particle; examples of this are vanishingly rare in our material.

- (17) a. *Pepenange a loku ma maua ke lua ia ni ngau ke pele la.*  
 pe~pena-a            ange        a        loku    ma        maua  
 RED~prepare-TR    go.along    COLL    bow    BEN    1DU.EXCL.POSS  
 ke        lua        ia        ni        ngau    ke        pele    la  
 HORTtwo    CONJ    PL.NSP    arrow    HORT    many    DEM.3  
 ‘Make us two bows (lit. bows which should be two) and many arrows (lit. arrows which should be many).’

- b. *Hiei ohi e hinga po kui tukuatu.*  
 siai ohi e hinga po k=u-i taku-a atu  
 NEG finish GENR thing COMP HORT=1SG-3SG say-TR go.out  
 ‘I have nothing more to tell you.’
- c. *Ku inu.*  
 k=u inu  
 HORT=1SG drink  
 ‘I want to drink/Let me drink.’
- d. *Kei<sup>43</sup> thū ake oi tukua ni ā i na ngakau.*  
 ke-i thū ake oi taku-a ni ā  
 HORT-3SG stand go.up CONJ tell-TR PL.NSP what  
 i na ngakau  
 LDA 3SG.POSS guts  
 ‘Let him stand up and say what he likes.’

#### 12.4.3. *me* ‘prescriptive’ (PRSC)

*me* is used to form requests and polite orders, and to indicate that something should or must be done. Clauses with *me* always have second-person subjects, which are often left unexpressed, though for emphasis or contrast an overt subject pronoun may be used (19). The example in (19b) is anomalous in that the subject pronoun follows the TAM marker.

- (18) a. *Me lemai ki nghauta!*  
 me le-mai ki nghauta  
 PRSC go-come to shore  
 ‘Come to the village!’
- b. *Kai me fula!*  
 kai me hula  
 eat PRSC full  
 ‘Eat until you are full!’
- c. *Me thalimai moa na e ā?*  
 me thali mai mua na e ā  
 PRSC wait come just DEM.2 GENR what  
 ‘Please wait for me.’

<sup>43</sup> *kei* here seems to have the suffix *-i* not due to the intransitive *thū*, but due to the transitive verb *tukua* of the subordinate clause; note that subordinate clauses with *o/oi* cannot take independent TAM marking. However, for the verb of a subordinate clause to trigger the 3SG suffix on the TAM marker of the matrix verb is quite unusual; the form *ke* would also have been possible here.

- (19) a. *Iau, halā huahea kuna mate la*  
 iau halā hua-hea ku=na mate la  
 1SG assume CAUS-where 1SG=IRR die DEM.3  
 ‘If I should die somehow.’

*ioko koe me toa mai ne hatu babukene ne.*  
 ioko koe me to-a mai ne hatu babukene ne  
 CONJ 2SG PRSC take-TR come DEM.1stone pumpkin DEM.1  
 you must take these pumpkin seeds.’

- b. *Me koe hano!*  
 me koe hano  
 PRSC 2SG go.SG  
 ‘You must go!’

#### 12.4.4. *na* ‘irrealis’ (IRR)

The marker *na* indicates distant or uncertain future, and marks unrealized or hypothetical situations. A formally and functionally similar prefix *nā-/nâ-* ‘irrealis’ is found in Äiwoo, and may be the source of this Vaeakau-Taumako particle; there is no obvious PPN source, though note the reconstructed Proto Oceanic form \**na* ‘irrealis’ (Ross 1988).

- (20) a. *Mhana mamatua.*  
 mha=na ma~matua  
 1DU.EXCL=IRR RED~old  
 ‘We (du.) will get old (eventually).’
- b. *Lekange o inu ia kona fieinu oki la ko au loa o inu ai.*  
 lek-ange o inu ia ko=na fie-inu oki la  
 go-go.along CONJ drink CONJ 2SG=IRR DES-drink again DEM.3  
 ko au loa o inu ai  
 2SG.HORT come EMPH CONJ drink OBL.PRO  
 ‘Go and drink, and when you get thirsty again, just come and drink here.’
- c. *Ka halā kona hano, kona hahano kona kutea e hai me noho ai.*  
 ka halā ko=na hano ko=na ha~hano ko=na kute-a  
 but assume 2SG=IRR go.SG 2SG=IRR RED~go.SG 2SG=IRR see-TR  
 e hai me noho ai  
 SG.NSP place PRSC stay OBL.PRO  
 ‘But if you go, you may see a place where you can live.’

*na* ‘IRR’ appears to take the third person singular suffix *-i* (cf. 12.5 below) only in NUP. The reason for this restriction is unclear. If the particle is indeed a borrowing, perhaps this accounts for its restricted morphological possibili-

ties, though it is not clear why such restrictions should not apply in NUP. A possible alternative may be that irrealis clauses are less semantically transitive than realis clauses (because they refer to unrealized events), and this might influence the distribution of an affix which is restricted to transitive clauses; on the other hand, this does not explain why *ke* 'HORT' does regularly take the suffix.

### 12.5. The transitive suffix *-i*

The suffix *-i* '3SG' may attach to all TAM particles except *a* 'OPT', *me* 'PRSC', and *na* 'IRR' (the latter does show the suffix in NUP). The former two only sporadically occur with 3rd person subjects, which naturally restricts their ability to occur with a marker of the 3rd person singular; the difficulties in accounting for this restriction with respect to *na* were discussed in 12.4.4.

The only Polynesian language we are aware of that shows a formally and functionally parallel morpheme to Vaeakau-Taumako *-i* is the Outlier Futuna-Aniwa, spoken on two small islands east of Tanna in southern Vanuatu (Dougherty 1983). In Futuna-Aniwa, the 3rd person *-i* is part of a set of subject clitics which crossreference singular subjects of transitive verbs, and which encliticize to tense-aspect-mood markers or preverbal negatives. These show no formal similarities to the Vaeakau-Taumako proclitic bound pronouns, which have both singular, dual and plural forms, and which occur in both transitive and intransitive constructions. The uses of Vaeakau-Taumako *-i*, however, are very similar to the Futuna-Aniwa 3rd person clitic pronoun, though with some interesting deviations which relate to the question of the formal status of the agentive *e* construction (cf. 13.2.4).

The suffix *-i* appears on the tense-aspect-mood marker of a transitive clause when either:

- 1) the subject, regardless of its position in the clause, is 3rd person singular; or
- 2) the object is preverbal and 3rd person singular.

This differs from the distribution of the Futuna-Aniwa subject clitic on two points: postposed subjects marked with *e* usually do not trigger the suffix in Futuna-Aniwa, and preposed objects never do (Dougherty 1983: 45–46). Examples (21a–b) show that the suffix is found when the subject is 3SG, whether this subject is in its unmarked preverbal position, or postposed and marked with *e*; (22a–b) show that a 3rd person singular object in postverbal position does not trigger the suffix, while a preposed 3SG object does.

- (21) a. *Te mdangi na koi vahia a lakau na.*  
 te matangi na ko-i vahi-a a lakau na  
 SG.SP wind DEM.2 INCP-3SG break-TR COLL tree DEM.2  
 ‘The wind broke the trees.’
- b. *A lakau na koi vahia e te mdangi na.*  
 a lakau na ko-i vahi-a e  
 COLL tree DEM.2 INCP-3SG break-TR AG  
 te matangi na  
 SG.SP wind DEM.2  
 ‘The trees there were broken by the wind.’
- (22) a. *Ko nga oku vetungane ko tataia te alo.*  
 ko nga o-ku ve-tungane ko tataia te  
 TOP PL.SP POSS-1SG.POSS PL-brother INCP carve-TR SG.SP  
 alo  
 canoe  
 ‘My brothers build a canoe.’
- b. *Te alo koi tataia e ngoku vetungane.*  
 te alo ko-i tataia e nga o-ku  
 SG.SP canoe INCP-3SG carve-TR AG PL.SP POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ve-tungane  
 PL-brother  
 ‘My brothers build a canoe.’

Note that intransitive clauses do not show the suffix:

- (23) a. *A ia ko hano.*  
 a ia ko hano  
 PERS 3SG INCP go.SG  
 ‘He went off.’
- b. *A nohine ana e noho ange lhevethaki ange ki te keu.* (TAU)  
 a nohine a-na e noho ange  
 PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS GENR stay go.along  
 lhevethaki ange ki te keu  
 close go.along to SG.SP fire  
 ‘His wife sat close to the fire.’

The distribution is unusual in that it refers to a combination of syntactic role and position in the clause; any preverbal argument in the 3rd person singular may trigger the suffix, but only transitive subjects trigger it regardless of their position in the clause. Examples (21b) and (22b) are reminiscent of a passive, in that the semantic subject appears to have been rendered oblique, taking the



preposition *e*, while the semantic object exhibits the two typical subject properties of being clause-initial and triggering the *-i* suffix on the tense-aspect-mood marker. However, (21b) shows that an *e*-marked subject is not “demoted” in the sense of having lost all subject properties; it still triggers the *-i* suffix, which in this case cannot be triggered by the object, which is plural. It should also be noted that an analysis of (21b) as a “passive” would suggest that the clause had been detransitivized; but since the *-i* suffix does not appear in intransitive clauses, and since the verb retains its transitive suffix, this does not seem to be the case.

## 12.6. Combinations of TAM particles

In a few cases we find two tense-aspect-mood particles combined before a single verb. This is not frequent, and it is unclear to what extent such combinations have a productive function in the language.

### 12.6.1. *e na* (GENR + PST)

The combination of *e* and *na* is attested a few times in our material and seems to signify that a present state is the same as it was earlier.

(24) *Lhae na noho.*

lha=e            na    noho  
3DU=GENR    PST    stay  
‘The two lived as before.’

### 12.6.2. *ko koi* (INCP + still)

This combination of the TAM particles *ko* and *koi* signifies a new state that is strongly emphasized; as noted above, the status of *koi* as a TAM marker in such cases is not clear.

(25) *A i te mgava na, ko ia ko koi makhona.*

a    i    te    makavā    na    ko    ia    ko    koi    makhona  
then LDA    SG.SP    time    DEM.2    TOP    3SG    INCP    still    strong  
‘But at that time he had really become strong.’

There are also a few instances of *koi ko*, a combination for which the exact meaning is unclear:

- (26) a. *Ne au ne lavethaki ange na koi ko longo i te fafine la no kara.* (NUP)  
 ne au ne levethaki ange na  
 PFV come PFV close go.along DEM.2  
 koi ko longo i te fafine la no kata  
 still INCP hear LDA SG.SP woman DEM.3 IPFV laugh  
 ‘She came closer, and could still hear the woman laughing.’
- b. *Te phakola ko longoho a leoleo na koi ko nhoho po kei kutea moa po na ko ai.* (TAU)  
 te pakhola ko longo oho a leo~leo na  
 SG.SP giant INCP listen go.vertically COLL RED~voice DEM.2  
 koi ko hano oho po ke-i kute-a mua  
 still INCP go.SG go.vertically COMP HORT-3SG see-TR just  
 po na ko ai  
 COMP DEM.2 TOP who  
 ‘The giant heard voices and went down to see who it was.’

12.6.3. *ko ne* (INCP + PFV)

The combination of the two TAM particles *ko* and *ne* signifies that something started at a previous point in time and is still going on at the time of reference.

- (27) a. *Te kaenga na no lavaki. Ko ne ua. Ko ua.*  
 te kaenga na no lavaki ko ne ua  
 SG.SP village DEM.2 IPFV disappear INCP PFV paddle  
 ko ua  
 INCP paddle  
 ‘The village was disappearing (behind him). He kept on paddling. He paddled.’
- b. *Ko Kulingi, a ia koi toa te alo ona, ko toko, ko ne ululu klevihi.*  
 ko Kulingi a ia ko-i to-a te alo  
 TOP Kulingi PERS 3SG INCP-3SG take-TR SG.SP canoe  
 o-na ko toko ko ne ululu klevihi  
 POSS-3SG.POSS INCP pole INCP PFV dive conch.shell  
 ‘Kulingi, he took his canoe and poled out to dive for conch shells.’

12.6.4. *me ke* (PRSC + HORT)

The combination of the two TAM particles *me* and *ke* signifies a weak polite order or request, ‘could you, would you be able to’:

- (28) a. *Me ke taloia te taine a te akahu ke fene ifo.* (NUP)  
 me ke talo-ia te taine a te akahu  
 PRSC HORT curse-TR SG.SP girl POSS SG.SP moon  
 ke fano ifo  
 HORT go.SG go.down  
 ‘Can you make a spell to make the daughter of the moon come down?’
- b. *Me ke mena maoli.*  
 me ke mena maoli  
 PRSC HORT say true  
 ‘Please tell the truth.’
- c. *Latuko takuange po siai po me ke tamatea po tatu keinga i te kaenga.*  
 (NUP)  
 lhatu=ko taku-a ange po siai po me ke  
 3PL=INCP say-TR go.along COMP NEG COMP PRSC  
 HORT  
 ke ta-mate-a po tatu kai-nga i  
 HORT hit-dead-TR COMP 1PL.INCL.POSS eat-NMLZ LDA  
 te kaenga  
 SG.SP village  
 ‘They said: “Could you not kill it for our village feast?”’

#### 12.6.5. *no a* (IPFV + OPT)

This combination is only attested once in our material, in a story from *Tau-mako*.

- (29) *i lunga mui noi hakuake ai ia no a noho ai a mahau ona* (TAU)  
 i lunga mui no-i haku-a ake ai  
 LDA<sup>top</sup> place IPFV-3SG put-TR go.up OBL.PRO  
 ia no a noho ai a muahau o-na  
 3SG IPFV OPT stay OBL.PROCOLL money POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘on top of the place where he (=her husband) kept his feather money (lit. where his feather money should be staying)’

### 12.7. Other expressions of aspect

#### 12.7.1. Reduplication

As noted in 4.4.4, reduplication may be used to indicate durativity or habitual-ity. Such reduplicated verbs most frequently take the imperfective tense-aspect-mood marker *no*, though other options are possible.

- (30) a. *Te tangara no fanafana ika i haupē.*  
 te tangata no fana~fana ika i thaupē  
 SG.SP man IPFV RED~shoot fish LDA lagoon  
 ‘The man was shooting fish in the lagoon.’
- b. *Ko hano ko kākau~kau i te vai-tele na.*  
 ko hano ko kā~kau~kau i te vai-tele na  
 INCP go.SG INCP RED~RED~swim LDA SG.SP water-run DEM.2  
 ‘She went to bathe in that river.’

### 12.7.2. Aspectual verbs

Certain verbs may be used to express aspectual relations. *Noho* ‘sit, stay, live’ is occasionally found in combination with another verb with a durative or habitual meaning:

- (31) *Lhatu e noho na, noho utuutu i a vai e lua.*  
 lhatu=e noho na noho utu~utu i a vai  
 3PL=GENR stay DEM.2 stay RED~draw LDA COLL water  
 e lua  
 GENR two  
 ‘They lived there and drew water from two wells.’

*Lavoi* ‘good’ is often used in what functionally amounts to a perfect construction, denoting a completed event with continuing relevance in the discourse; in this construction *lavoi* is serialized to a preceding verb at the core layer (cf. 15.5):

- (32) a. *Te fafine la ko kaukau ko lavoi na ko lekake ki te one.* (NUP)  
 te fafine la ko kau~kau ko lavoi na  
 SG.SP woman DEM.3 INCP RED~swim INCP good DEM.2  
 ko lek-ake ki te one  
 INCP go-go.up to SG.SP sand  
 ‘When the woman had finished bathing, she went up to the beach.’
- b. *Lako khamu ko lavoi na ko te tangata la koi pulusia loa a ia.* (NUP)  
 lha=ko khamu ko lavoi na  
 3DU=INCP chew.betel INCP good DEM.2  
 ko te tangata la ko-i pulu-sia loa  
 TOP SG.SP man DEM.3 INCP-3SG catch-TR EMPH  
 a ia  
 PERS 3SG  
 ‘When they (DU) had finished chewing betelnut, the man grabbed her.’

The verb *osi* ‘finish’ frequently occurs in an ambient serialization construction (15.5.2) to indicate completion of an event:

- (33) a. *A tai la ko mate katoa loa osi.*  
 a tai la ko mate katoa loa osi  
 PERS person DEM.3 INCP die all EMPH finish  
 ‘All those people died.’
- b. *Menainange kosi, a lhatukō loa ki a mhana.*  
 mena-ina ange k-osi a lhatu=ko ō loa  
 tell-TR go.along INCP-finish PERS 3PL=INCP go.PL EMPH  
 ki a mha-na  
 to PERS father-3SG.POSS  
 ‘When she had told him everything, they went to his father.’

### 12.7.3. *toa* serialization: inceptive/volitional

As described in 15.5.3.2, a serial verb construction with the verb *toa* ‘take’ is a common means of emphasizing the volitional inception of an act, i.e. a kind of phasal aspect (Dik 1997: 225):

- (34) *Ko nhangē koi toa koi takilihia a nohine.*  
 ko hano ange ko-i to-a ko-i ta-kili-hia  
 INCP go.SG go.along INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG hit-kill-TR  
 a nohine  
 PERS wife  
 ‘He went and killed the wife.’

# Chapter 13

## Simple clauses

### 13.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of simple clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako. By simple clauses is meant structures with a single predicate phrase, regardless of the formal nature of this predicate: verbal, nominal, existential, locational, or possessive. Complex clauses are described in chapter 14.

### 13.2. Grammatical relations and word order

In discussing grammatical relations in Vaeakau-Taumako, we will take as our starting-point the three-way distinction between S, A, and O, generally taken to represent universal syntactic-semantic primitives (Dixon 1994: 6–8). S refers to the single argument of an intransitive verb, A refers to the more agentive argument of a transitive verb, while O refer to the second, non-agentive argument of a transitive verb. The criteria distinguishing transitive from intransitive verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako were discussed in 3.3.

Many languages consistently group two of these together as opposed to the third with respect to morphosyntactic processes. Processes which treat S in the same way as A, and O differently, are said to show an *accusative* pattern, while processes which treat S in the same way as O, and A differently, are said to show an *ergative* pattern. The term *subject* is frequently taken to refer to the set of S and A (e.g. Andrews 1985: 103); though there has been considerable discussion with respect to whether this should also be taken to hold for languages with pervasive ergative morphosyntactic patterning.

It is also not uncommon for languages to show some structures which pattern ergatively, while others pattern accusatively. In this section we will examine a number of morphosyntactic properties on Vaeakau-Taumako, which to some extent differ in their alignment. We will argue, however, that the predominant pattern in the language is the accusative one, and that the notion of subject is not only unproblematic, but necessary in the description of Vaeakau-Taumako.

## 13.2.1. Argument marking

Vaeakau-Taumako has no case-marking, and so treats S, A and O identically in this respect. The exception is the agentive marker *e*, which is only used on A; this marker exhibits some properties which may be considered characteristic of case marking, and will be discussed in 13.2.4. The personal marker *a*, though cognate with an absolutive marker in some other Polynesian languages, may occur with all argument types, S, A, and O (7.3.1).

## 13.2.2. Verbal inflection

As noted in 8.1, there is very little bound verbal morphology in Vaeakau-Taumako, and none that cross-references any of the arguments directly on the verb. Pluralization by reduplication, however, may indicate plural of an S or O argument, but not of A:

- (1) a. *Te mahila ko vahi.*  
 te mahilako vahi  
 SG.SP knife INCP break  
 'The knife is broken.'
- b. *Ko vahivahi ona huetū na.*  
 ko vahi~vahi o-na hua-thū na  
 INCP RED~break POSS-3SG.POSS CAUS-stand DEM.2  
 'Its (the canoe's) supporting poles broke.'
- (2) *Koi tutuhia a lakau.*  
 ko-i tu~tuhi-a a lakau  
 INCP-3SG RED~cut-TR COLL tree  
 'She cut down the trees.'

The pronominal clitics, on the other hand (5.2.1.3) are used for S and A, but not for O:

- (3) a. *Uko umai oki.*  
 u=ko ua mai oki  
 1SG=INCP paddle come again  
 'I will come back.'

- b. *Uko motia hokomua na tuku lima une tokiai.*  
 u=ko        motu-ia    hoko-mua    na  
 1SG=INCP   cut-TR    CAUS-front   DEM.2  
 t-o-ku                                    lima   u=ne    toki-a    ai  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS   hand   1SG=PFV   plant-TR   OBL.PRO  
 ‘I will first cut off my hand that I planted them with.’
- c. *Ne/\*une ungamai a iau e to tungane.*  
 ne    unga   mai   a    iau   e    t-ō                                    tungane  
 PFV   send   come   PERS 1SG   AG   SG.SP-2SG.POSS   brother  
 ‘Your brother sent me.’

### 13.2.3. Relativization

As described in 14.3, both S, A and O can be targets for relativization. There are no systematic structural differences, though as noted in 14.3, there is a somewhat stronger tendency for object relatives to include a phrase-final demonstrative.

### 13.2.4. Word order and the agentive *e* construction

When a sentence is spoken in isolation, the preferred word order in Vaeakau-Taumako is SV/AVO, an accusative pattern:

- (4) a. *A ia ko hano.*  
 a    ia    ko    hano  
 PERS 3SG   INCP   go.SG  
 ‘He has gone.’
- b. *Matou ka teia ala na a Kulingi na.*  
 mhatou    ka    ta-ia    ala    na            a    Kulingi    na  
 1PL.EXCL   FUT   hit-TR HYP   DEM.2   PERS Kulingi   DEM.2  
 ‘We will kill Kulingi.’

However, word order in connected discourse is determined to some extent by concerns of topic continuity and pragmatic prominence, as well as constraints on interclausal syntax. For example, when two verb phrases share a coreferent argument which is overtly expressed only once, there is a preference for this argument – or arguments – to occur between the two verbs.



- (5) a. *Ko hano a nhano laua ko tō kaikai.* (TAU)  
 ko hano a hina-na o laua  
 INCP go.SG PERS mother-3SG.POSS POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ko tō kaikai  
 INCP take food  
 ‘Their mother went and collected food.’
- b. *Koi toa e te memea na a tae ika na koi kavea ake ki a hinana.*  
 ko-i to-a e te memea na  
 INCP-3SG take-TR AG SG.SP child DEM.2  
 a tae ika na ko-i kave-a ake  
 COLL waste fish DEM.2 INCP-3SG bring-TR go.up  
 ki a hina-na  
 to PERS mother-3SG.POSS  
 ‘The child took the fish guts and brought them to his mother.’

An S argument may be postposed to the verb without any further marking (example 5a). Within the clause, the O of a transitive verb may only be preverbal if the A is postposed to the verb; though see 13.4 on left-dislocation.

If the A argument of a transitive verb is postposed to the verb, it is obligatorily marked with the prepositional marker *e*. This applies both to animate and inanimate As, as seen from examples (6a–c):

- (6) a. *Nei e iloa loa na e koe.*  
 nei e iloa loa na e koe  
 DEM.1 GENR know-TR EMPH DEM.2 AG 2SG  
 ‘Now you know it.’
- b. *A ika la nei vakhonoia e te memea la.*  
 a ika la ne-i va-khona-ia  
 COLL fish DEM.3 PFV-3SG CAUS-be.caught-TR  
 e te memea la  
 AG SG.SP child DEM.3  
 ‘That child had caught the fish.’
- c. *Koi kaveake oki e te tahe ki Nohono na.*  
 ko-i kave-a ake oki e te tahe  
 INCP-3SG bring-TR go.up again AG SG.SP current  
 ki Nohono na  
 to Main.Reefs DEM.2  
 ‘The current carried him back to the Main Reefs.’

This marker, which we have labelled the agentive preposition (cf. 10.6.1), is cognate with the ergative marker *e* in a number of Polynesian languages such as Samoan and Tokelauan, and with the marker of a demoted passive agent in

Māori (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 424, Hooper 1996: 6, Bauer 1993: 404–405). However, the Vaeakau-Taumako construction with a postposed A can neither be described as an ergative case-marking construction nor as a passive.

Formally, examples such as (6b) are quite similar to a Māori passive: the object is preposed, i.e. placed in the normal subject position; the verb shows the suffix of the form *-Cia*, the Māori cognates of which function as morphological passive suffixes; and the A is moved to postverbal position and marked by a preposition. However, as described in 8.2.2, the *-Cia* suffixes in Vaeakau-Taumako are transitivizing suffixes which occur on all transitive verbs, regardless of whether the A is postposed or not. Furthermore, while the O may be preposed to the verb as in (6b), this is not a necessary property of a clause with a postposed A. The O may remain in postverbal position, either preceding or following the postposed subject. In general, pronominal objects will precede the *e*-marked subject (example 7), whereas full noun-phrase objects follow it (example 8); an object which is coreferent with the subject or object argument of the following clause will also follow the *e*-marked subject (example 9; cf. 15.5.1):

- (7) a. *Hiei loa ne pikia lāvoina ia e na tungane na.*  
 siai loa ne piki-a lavo-i-na ia  
 NEG EMPH PFV hold-TR good-TR 3SG  
 e na tungane na  
 AG 3SG.POSS brother DEM.2  
 ‘Her brother did not take good care of her.’
- b. *Koi kamai iau e te tahe.*  
 ko-i ka-mai iau e te tahe  
 INCP-3SG bring-come 1SG AG SG.SP current  
 ‘The current carried me here.’
- (8) *Koi toa ange e te aliki na te kalikao na.*  
 ko-i to-a ange e te aliki na  
 INCP-3SG take-TR go.along AG SG.SP chief DEM.2  
 te kalikao na  
 SG.SP trochus.shell DEM.2  
 ‘The chief took the trochus shell.’
- (9) a. *Koi hahaelengia e hinana a ia ko thuabē na.*  
 ko-i ha~haele-ngia e hina-na  
 INCP-3SG RED~care.for-TR AG mother-3SG.POSS  
 a ia ko thuabē na  
 PERS 3SG INCP big DEM.2  
 ‘Her mother looked after her until she grew big.’

- b. *Koi toa e na tuohine te vai ona koi kaveake.*  
 ko-i to-a e na tuohine te vai  
 INCP-3SG take-TR AG 3SG.POSS sister SG.SP water  
 o-na ko-i kave-a ake  
 POSS-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG bring-TR go.up  
 ‘His sister took her water containers and brought them up.’

When the O is preposed, it does show one property which may be seen as characteristic of subjects, namely the ability to trigger 3SG *-i* on the tense-aspect-mood marker of the verb. In example (10), the *-i* suffix on the tense-aspect-mood particle must be triggered by the preverbal 3SG object, since the postposed, *e*-marked subject is plural:

- (10) *Nha rama na ei tapoinange karoa e nghona ingoa.*  
 te-na tama na e-i tapeo-ina ange katoa  
 SG.SP-DEM.2 child DEM.2 GENR-3SG bad-TR go.along all  
 e ngh-o-na ingoa  
 AG PL.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS uncle  
 ‘This boy was treated very badly by his uncles.’

Note, however, that this is only a characteristic property of subjects of *transitive* verbs; intransitive subjects do not trigger the 3SG suffix (12.5). In other words, example (10) is not a detransitivized clause with a promoted object and a demoted oblique agent, which would be the characteristic structure of a passive clause. Further evidence for the *e*-marked A not being demoted is that it, too, may trigger the *-i* suffix if it is 3SG:

- (11) *A lakau na koi vahia e te mdangi na.*  
 a lakau na ko-i vahi-a  
 COLL tree DEM.2 INCP-3SG break-TR  
 e te matangi na  
 AG SG.SP wind DEM.2  
 ‘The trees were broken by the wind.’

Since the preverbal object in (11) is plural, the 3SG suffix must be triggered by the *e*-marked subject.

Against analyzing the agentive preposition as an ergative marker is the fact that it only occurs when the A is postverbal. In other words, it is not a marker of grammatical function so much as a discriminatory marker used to distinguish A from O in transitive clauses with non-basic word order. While distinguishing between the participants of a transitive clause is a central function typically ascribed to core case-markers (e.g. Comrie 1989, Aissen 2003, de Hoop and Lamers 2006), such markers nevertheless typically occur on all

arguments bearing a certain relation to the verb, e.g. all As (ergative case) or all Os (accusative case). Moreover, pure argument discrimination is rarely the sole function of a case-marker; they typically show some degree of indexing of the semantic properties of a case-marked argument, such as being affected (O arguments) or being in control of the event (A arguments; for a detailed discussion on the functions of core case-markers see Næss 2006b). The restricted distribution and function of the Vaeakau-Taumako agentive preposition suggests that it should not be analyzed as a full-fledged ergative case marker, though it does show certain properties characteristic of a case marker, and probably derives historically from such a marker. As word order in most languages of Triangle Polynesia is VSO, the pattern found in Vaeakau-Taumako may be understood as resulting from the change to SVO order, where the agentive marker was lost in preverbal position and only retained when the subject occurred in its original position following the verb.

It should be noted that we have attested one single example of a postposed A without the agentive preposition. Although the context disambiguates in this particular case, the resulting structure is, in principle, ambiguous; either of the two postverbal noun phrases could be interpreted as either subject or object.

(12) *Koi tukuange po ke oinange mua a ia*

ko-i	taku-a	ange	po	ke	oi-na	ange	mua
INCP-3SG	say-TR	go.along	COMP	HORT	help-TR	go.along	just
a	ia						
PERS	3SG						

‘(The heron) asked (the turtle) to please help him,’

*po hai langi ala koi oinange oki ala a ia te fonu la.*

po	thai	langi	ala	ko-i	oi-na	ange	oki	ala
COMP	one	day	HYP	INCP-3SG	help-TR	go.along	again	HYP
a	ia	te	fonu	la				
PERS	3SG	SG.SP	turtle	DEM.3				

‘then one day he would help the turtle in return (or: the turtle would help him).’

### 13.2.5. Grammatical relations in Vaeakau-Taumako

In summary, certain processes in Vaeakau-Taumako apply to S and O, while others apply to S and A; though the alignment S/A seems to be the most pervasive. Subject clitics, basic word order, and to some extent relativization, all treat S and A identically in opposition to O. Verbal reduplication targets S and O, while the agentive preposition singles out A as opposed to S and O. The picture is further complicated by the distribution of the 3rd person suffix

*-i*, which in clauses with basic word order is triggered only by A, though it may also be triggered by a preposed O of a transitive clause.

It is certainly the case that the categories “subject” and “direct object” can be straightforwardly applied to Vaeakau-Taumako. A subject may be defined as an argument which 1) is in clause-initial position in a basic underived clause, and 2) may be represented by a bound pronoun procliticized to the tense-aspect-mood marker of a verbal clause. A direct object argument is an unmarked (i.e. non-prepositional) nonsubject argument of a *-Cia*-suffixed verb (and of the few transitive verbs which do not show a *-Cia* suffix, cf. 3.3.4).

### 13.3. Different clause types

#### 13.3.1. Verbal clauses

A simple verbal clause may consist of the following elements: 1) a verb phrase (chapter 9); 2) zero, one or two argument noun phrases; 3) if the verb is extended intransitive or extended transitive, an oblique prepositional argument; 4) any number of optional adverbial or prepositional adjuncts.

Of these elements, only the verb phrase is strictly obligatory. True zero-valent verbs are rare in Vaeakau-Taumako. One finds examples like the following (13a), where *malamake* ‘morning’ functions as a verb with a tense-aspect-mood marker, and no subject is possible. Diachronically, this word derives from *malama ake* ‘light go.up’, where *malama* must be considered the subject of the verb *ake*, but synchronically it is clear that the entire collocation functions as a single verb, demonstrated by the position of the tense-aspect-mood marker. In general, however, typical candidates for zero valency, such as “weather verbs” and time-of-day expressions, tend to be intransitive and take an overt subject (13b–c):

- (13) a. *Ko malamake.*  
           ko   malamake  
           INCP morning  
           ‘Morning came.’
- b. *Te ua ka tō.*  
           te   ua   ka   tō  
           SG.SP rain   FUT   fall  
           ‘It’s going to rain (lit. rain will fall).’

- c. *Henua ko pō.*  
 henua ko pō  
 land INCP night  
 ‘Night fell (lit. the land became night).’

No independent subject noun phrase is necessary (or, indeed, possible; cf. 13.3.2) if the subject is expressed through a clitic pronoun on the tense-aspect-mood marker. Since there is no overt clitic pronoun for the 3rd person singular, clauses without any overt indication of subject are frequent, cf. example (19).

Imperative clauses, both transitive and intransitive, usually lack an overt subject:

- (14) a. *Ahio mai!*  
 ahio mai  
 return come  
 ‘Come back!’
- b. *Kholmakinatu a haupē!*  
 kholmakina atu a thaupē  
 forget go.out PERS lagoon  
 ‘Forget about the tide!’

Clause-level adjuncts are either clause-initial or clause-final, either preceding or following the entire sequence of verb plus arguments. As a general tendency, though certainly not an absolute rule, adjuncts referring to the temporal setting of the clause tend to be clause-initial, whether they are expressed through a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or an adverb phrase:

- (15) a. *Thai langi na lhatu ko ō pō paikea i mouku.*  
 thai langi na lhatu=ko ō pō paikea i mouku  
 one day DEM.2 3PL=INCP go.PL grab crab LDA bush  
 ‘One day they went to catch crabs in the bush.’
- b. *I a langi e vō na noko longo i a leo a fafine noko fkatani.* (NUP)  
 i a langi e vō na noko longo  
 LDA COLL day GENR many DEM.2 IPFV listen  
 i a leo o a fafine noko fkatani  
 LDA COLL voice POSS COLL woman IPFV laugh.PL  
 ‘Every day he heard girls’ voices laughing.’

- c. *Hokomua mai na a Pleni e ōnge karoa.*  
 hoko-mua mai na a Pileni e onge katoa  
 CAUS-front come DEM.2 COLL Pileni GENR starve all  
 ‘Once upon a time, everyone on Pileni was starving.’

Such clause-initial temporal adjuncts tend to pertain to the whole following stretch of discourse, setting the stage for a sequence of events. By contrast, temporal adjuncts which pinpoint the temporal location of a single event tend to be clause-final:

- (16) a. *ne mua kainga hatne noho akinai huahiahi ne*  
 ne mua kai-nga thatu ne noho akinai  
 DEM.1 little eat-NMLZ 1PL.INCL DEM.1 stay OBL.PRO  
 huahiahi ne  
 evening DEM.1  
 ‘this small party we are sitting at this evening’
- b. *Lu hukua ange a iau ku avatu ala thai heinga e lavoi mauhua thai langi.*  
 lu huku-a ange a iau k-u av-atu  
 2DU.HORT put-TR go.along PERS 1SG HORT-1SG give-go.out  
 ala thai heinga e lavoi ma oulua thai langi  
 HYP one thing GENR good BEN 2DU.POSS one day  
 ‘If you let me go, I will bring you something good one day.’

Note the distinction between adverbs in post-VP position, as described in 9.4, and clausal adjuncts. As the former occur immediately following the verb phrase, they also precede any clause-final adjuncts; thus *huaphili* ‘always’ in example (17) is a verb phrase-modifying adverb, while the prepositional phrases *ki te thaunga tapu* ‘to church’ and *i te langi manava* ‘on the day of rest (= Sunday)’ are clausal adjuncts:

- (17) *A iau no hano huaphili ki te thaunga tapu i te langi manava.*  
 a iau no hano huaphili ki te thaunga tapu  
 PERS 1SG IPFV go.SG always to SG.SP house forbid  
 i te langi manava  
 LDASG.SP day rest  
 ‘I always go to church on Sundays.’

Certain adverbs occur in both positions, either modifying the verb phrase or modifying the clause; see 11.4.5.

## 13.3.2. The expression of subjects

Subjects of Vaeakau-Taumako clauses may be either lexical noun phrases (including nominalized clauses, cf. 7.5), independent pronouns, or clitic pronouns. Since the latter cliticize to tense-aspect-mood markers, they occur only in verbal clauses with an overt tense-aspect-mood marker; possibly also in locative clauses (13.3.5), but the latter clause type is so rare in our material that we have not found any examples of this.

Usually, one of the three must be present, though an overt subject may in some cases be omitted under coreference or when its identity is apparent from context:

- (18) *Lhatuko mathaku oki i te hinga na,*  
 lhatu=ko mathaku oki i te hinga na  
 3PL=INCP afraid again LDA SG.SP thing DEM.2  
 ‘They were afraid again,’

*dekina no longo ake i a tai no tangi i te pamate la.*  
 dekina no longo ake i a tai no tangi  
 because IPFV listen go.up LDA COLL person IPFV cry  
 i te pa-mate la  
 LDASG.SP fence-die DEM.3  
 ‘because (they) heard people crying in the churchyard.’

In addition, there is no overt clitic pronoun for the 3rd person singular. We do not wish to claim that a “zero morpheme” exists to mark 3SG subjects; but the absence of an overt subject is normally interpreted as indicating that the subject is 3SG, where no other reference is evident:

- (19) *Thaupē ko honu mai i langi ala na,*  
 thaupē ko honu mai i langi ala na  
 lagoon INCP full come LDA day HYP DEM.2  
 ‘When the tide was high that day,’

*ko leho, koi toa te alo ona,*  
 ko le-oho ko-i to-a te alo o-na  
 INCP go-go.vertically INCP-3SG take-TR SG.SP canoe POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘he went down and took his canoe,’

*ko kake akinai, ko toko.*  
 ko kake akinai ko toko  
 INCP climb OBL.PRO INCP pole  
 ‘he climbed into it and started poling.’



For a number of other languages (e.g. Yimas, Foley 1986: 169–171, and Lak-hota, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 33–34), it has been discussed whether bound pronouns in the verb complex should be considered the syntactic subjects of their clauses, or whether they are simply inflectional markers indexing the subject in the verb phrase. Though Vaeakau-Taumako subject clitics are highly frequent, they are not obligatory, meaning that they are unlikely candidates for inflectional morphemes. The alternative analysis is that the clitic pronouns, when they occur, function as syntactic subjects of their clauses.

By most understandings of the term “subject”, a clause cannot have two syntactic subjects. Therefore, where a lexical noun phrase or independent pronoun subject cooccur with a clitic pronoun, we assume that the latter is the syntactic subject, while the former is left-dislocated and so not structurally a part of the clause. Left-dislocation of topics is a common process in Vaeakau-Taumako, cf. 13.4 below. Since basic word order is SVO, it is not possible on the basis of position in the clause alone to determine whether a noun phrase is the clausal subject or has been left-dislocated to precede the entire clause. One property which in some cases formally distinguish left-dislocated phrases from clause-initial subject is the presence of a demonstrative following the left-dislocated phrase (cf. 18.2.2), but this is not always present. Compare the following examples:

- (20) a. *A koe ko hano.*  
 a koe ko hano  
 PERS 2SG INCP go.SG  
 ‘You went (pronoun = subject).’
- b. *A koe na koko hano.*  
 a koe na ko=ko hano  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 2SG=INCP go.SG  
 ‘You there, you went’ (left-dislocated pronoun; clitic pronoun subject).
- c. *A koe na ko hano.*  
 a koe na ko hano  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 INCP go.SG  
 ‘You went.’

We analyze (20c) as having a left-dislocated topic phrase *a koe na*, while the clause itself lacks an overt subject. It is always possible, in clauses like (20c), to insert a clitic pronoun, cf. (20b). But how does this compare to (20a)? The analysis of clitic pronouns as subjects implies that if a clitic pronoun were to be inserted in (20a), the independent pronoun would have to be left-dislocated; in other words, it is impossible to have both an independent pro-

noun or lexical noun phrase subject and a clitic subject pronoun in the same clause. We find support for such an analysis if we try to force a structure where a clitic pronoun cooccurs with a full pronoun subject which cannot be left-dislocated, because there is already a coreferent left-dislocated topic noun phrase; the resulting structure is unacceptable:

(21) \**A koe na, a koe koko hano.*

a koe na a koe ko=ko hano  
 PERS 3SG DEM.2 PERS 2SG 2SG=INCP go.SG  
 ‘You there, you went.’

Another point in support of such an analysis is that clitic pronouns cannot cooccur with *e*-marked transitive subjects (cf. 13.2.4 above). The agentive preposition *e* marks the noun phrase as standing in a specific syntactic relation to the verb; an *e*-marked noun phrase is therefore always a syntactic argument of the clause and cannot be left-dislocated. We assume that it is as a consequence of this that clitic subject pronouns are incompatible with *e*-marked subjects.

On the other hand, we find a few examples of subjects marked with the topicalizing preposition *ko* (10.6.3) cooccurring with a clitic subject pronoun. There are only a handful of such structures in our data, and it is not clear to us whether they constitute an exception to the restriction against clitic pronouns cooccurring with a coreferent subject noun phrase within the same clause, or whether they should be taken to indicate that the *ko*-marked constituents in such cases are not subjects of their clauses.

(22) a. *Ko koe koko noho, koko phau loa a langi na.*

ko koe ko=ko noho ko=ko phau-a loa  
 TOP 2SG 2SG=INCP stay 2SG=INCP count-TR EMPH  
 a langi na  
 COLL day DEM.2  
 ‘You stay and count the days.’

b. *Ko iau uka keinga ala i te langi ne.*

ko iau u=ka kai-nga ala i te langi ne  
 TOP 1SG 1SG=FUT eat-TR HYP LDA SG.SP day DEM.1  
 ‘I will eat it today.’

### 13.3.3. Existential clauses

Existential clauses are formed with the existential verb *ai*, which almost without exception only occurs with the general tense-aspect-mood marker *e*. They

are primarily used for statements of possession, functionally parallel to English clauses of the form *I have an X*:

- (23) a. *Ē, a memeamaua e ai.*  
 ē a memea a maua e ai  
 yes COLLchild POSS 1DU.EXCL.POSS GENR exist  
 ‘Yes, we have children (lit. our children exist).’
- b. *Koi fakia koi kutea po ona mata e lua ia na ngutu e ai.* (TAU)  
 ko-i faki-a ko-i kute-a po  
 INCP-3SG pick-TR INCP-3SG see-TR COMP  
 o-na mata e lua ia na ngutu  
 POSS-3SG.POSS eye GENR two CONJ 3SG.POSS mouth  
 e ai  
 GENR exist  
 ‘When she picked (the fruit), she saw that it had two eyes and a mouth (lit. its eyes were two and its mouth existed).’
- c. *Tauplemata a tna rama e ai loa.*  
 tauplemata a t-na tama e ai  
 food.basket POSS SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS child GENR exist  
 loa  
 EMPH  
 ‘Her son had a basket for food.’

The simple structures in (23) are used when the possessor is salient and topical. More frequently, however, existential possessive clauses have a preposed, left-dislocated noun phrase (cf. 13.4) referring to the possessor, which bears no direct syntactic relation to the predicate. The relationship between this left-dislocated noun phrase and the rest of the clause is made explicit through the possessive noun phrase which is the subject of the existential verb, where the possessive marker is coreferent with the left-dislocated noun phrase:

- (24) a. *Iau tuku ataliki e ai.*  
 iau t-o-ku ataliki e ai  
 1SG SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS son GENR exist  
 ‘I have a son (lit. I, my son exists).’
- b. *Te hahine na, te lala ona e ai.*  
 te hahine na te lala o-na e ai  
 SG.SP woman DEM.2 SG.SP ring POSS-3SG.POSS GENR exist  
 ‘That woman had a ring.’

- c. *Anā ko ia i te makavā ne*, (NUP)  
 a-na ko ia i te makavā ne  
 then-DEM.2 TOP 3SG LDA SG.SP time DEM.1  
 ‘That is why, these days,’

*a tautu o latu tala ko ai ai na ko fuamua siai*. (NUP)  
 a tautu o latu tala ko ai  
 COLL porcupine.fish POSS 3PL.POSS thorn INCP exist  
 ai na ko fka-mua siai  
 OBL.PRO DEM.2 INCP CAUS-front NEG  
 ‘porcupine fish have thorns on their body, which were not there before.’

Note the use of inceptive *ko* rather than general *e* with *ai* ‘exist’ in (24c); this is highly unusual in terms of frequency, though semantically unsurprising in the context, which speaks of something coming into existence which did not exist before.

Negative existential clauses are formed with the negative markers *siai* and *hiekhī* (cf. 16.2.2), functioning as verbs of negated existence. Note that though tense-aspect-mood marking of the negative marker is possible in such cases (25b), it is fairly rare:

- (25) a. *Siai oku tuohine*.  
 siai o-ku tuohine  
 NEG POSS-1SG.POSS sister  
 ‘I have no sisters.’
- b. *Mua ne o matou ko siai loa na ika*.  
 mua ne o matou ko siai loa  
 place DEM.1 POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS INCP NEG EMPH  
 na ika  
 3SG.POSS fish  
 ‘This place of ours has no more fish.’
- c. *Siai a ta memea po kei oina mai kitaua*.  
 siai a ta memea po ke-i  
 NEG POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS child COMP FUT-3SG  
 oi-ina mai kitaua  
 help-TR come 1DU.INCL  
 ‘We have no children to help us.’

Like verbal clauses, existential clauses may include various types of adjuncts:

(26) *Hokomua mai a holau e ai ia kakaenga.*

hoko-mua    mai    a    holau    e    ai    i    a  
 CAUS-front    come    COLL    men's.house    GENR    exist    LDA    COLL  
 ka~kaenga  
 RED~village  
 'Before, there were men's houses in the villages.'

#### 13.3.4. Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses consist of a noun phrase in predicate function, and another noun phrase functioning as the subject of this predicate. They are used to form equational clauses, which define, identify or specify the referent of the subject noun phrase.

Nominal predicates are formed directly from noun phrases, with no copula or other verbal element (though see 13.3.7 for a morpheme which may be analyzed as a pronominal copula), and take no tense-aspect markers. Nonspecific nominal predicates take a nonspecific article (example 27), and function to assign the subject to a class of entities:

(27) a. *Hatue iloa po te kovā na e manumanu.*

thatu=e            ilo-a    po    te    kovā    na  
 1PL.INCL=GENR    know-TR    COMP    SG.SP    heron    DEM.2  
 e            manu~manu  
 SG.NSP    RED~animal  
 'We know that the heron is a bird.'

b. *A taku tama na e ngata.*

a    t-a-ku                            tama    na            e            ngata  
 PERS    SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS    child    DEM.2    SG.NSP    snake  
 'My son is a snake.'

Specific nominal predicates are generally marked with the topicalizing preposition *ko* (10.6.3). They function to identify or specify the subject referent in terms of its identity with the referent of the predicate:

(28) a. *Tene ko te pole o te ulatakai.* (NUP)

te-ne                    ko    te    pole    o    te    tala~talakai  
 SG.SP-DEM.1    TOP    SG.SP    tail    POSS    SG.SP    RED~story  
 'This is the end of the story.'

b. *A huaraine ko Heli.* (TAU)

a    hua-taine    ko    Heli  
 PERS    CAUS-girl    TOP    Heli  
 'Her daughter was Heli.'

In addition to being formed from a lexical noun, nominal predicates may also consist of a nominalized clause (cf. 7.5) introduced by *ko*:

- (29) *Te angona ko te hano ki mouku o anga.*  
 te anga o-na ko te hano ki mouku o anga  
 SG.SP work POSS-3SG.POSS TOP SG.SP go.SG to bush to work  
 ‘His job was to go to the bush and work.’

Nominal predicates may function as complements to verbs, typically verbs of speech or perception, following the complementizer *po*:

- (30) a. *I te vai lhatno haloki ange ai po ko te Vaieke.* (TAU)  
 i te vai lhat=no haloki ange ai  
 LDA SG.SP water 3PL=IPFV call.PL go.along OBL.PRO  
 po ko te vai-eke  
 COMP TOP SG.SP water-surf  
 ‘In the stream that they call Vaieke.’
- b. *Ko ia e thū na ko ila ange na po ko ia.*  
 ko ia e thū na ko ila ange na  
 TOP 3SG GENR stand DEM.2 INCP look go.along DEM.2  
 po ko ia  
 COMP TOP 3SG  
 ‘He was standing there, you could see that it was him.’
- c. *Koi iloa loa po ko a heimata o nhana loa na.*  
 ko-i ilo-a loa po ko a hei-mata  
 INCP-3SG know-TR EMPHCOMP TOP PERS side-eye  
 o hina-na loa na  
 POSS mother-3SG.POSS EMPH DEM.2  
 ‘She understood that it was her mother’s face.’

Negated nominal clauses are in nearly all attested cases nonspecific:

- (31) a. *Hiai e kaenga me.*  
 siai e kaenga te-ne  
 NEG SG.SP village SG.SP-DEM.1  
 ‘This is not a village.’
- b. *Te meme nei hanauia na hiai e tai.*  
 te meme ne-i hanau-ia na siai e tai  
 SG.SP baby PFV-3SG birth-TR DEM.2 NEG SG.NSP person  
 ‘The child she had given birth to was not human (lit. not a person).’

- c. *Koi takuange po ne siai ni anga ou, ko e fafine tauā.* (NUP)  
 ko-i taku-a ange po ne siai  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP DEM.1 NEG  
 ni anga o-u ko=e fafine tauā  
 PL.NSP work POSS-2SG.POSS 2SG=GENR woman weak  
 ‘He said, “It is no business of yours, you are a lazy woman.”’

Note, however, the following example, where the nominal predicate which would have taken the topicalizing preposition in the corresponding declarative clause (*ko Leiolo* ‘it was Leiolo’) is marked with the perfective *ne* and so patterns like a negated verbal clause. (Note that *ne* ‘perfective’ is the unmarked tense-aspect choice for negated verbal clauses, cf. 16.2.2).

- (32) *Ko ia koi kutea oho na atanga, e, siai ne Leiolo.* (TAU)  
 ko ia ko-i kute-a oho na atanga  
 TOP 3SG INCP-3SG see-TR go.vertically 3SG.POSS shadow  
 e siai ne Leiolo  
 yes NEG PFV Leiolo  
 ‘She saw his reflection, it was not Leiolo.’

Negated nominal clauses of the type seen in (31) look formally similar to negated existential clauses (13.3.3) but in fact differ from the latter in structure: in negated existential clauses the negator *siai* functions as a negative predicate, and the nonspecific noun phrase is the subject of this predicate; whereas in negated nominal clauses the entire structure of negator plus nonspecific noun phrase functions as the predicate, with the meaning ‘not be an X’, and takes another noun phrase as its subject. Compare (31a–b) to (33):

- (33) *Hiai e keu.*  
 siai e keu  
 NEGSG.NSP fire  
 ‘There is no fire.’

### 13.3.5. Locative clauses

Locative predicates, consisting of a locative prepositional phrase preceded by a tense-aspect-mood particle, appear to be a marginal phenomenon in Vaeakau-Taumako. Instead of sentences such as (34), which was produced during an elicitation session, it is much more common to use posture verbs such as *thū* ‘stand’, *noho* ‘sit’, *takoto* ‘lie’ in statements of location (example 35).

(34) *Aia e i mua na.*

a        ia        e        i        mua    na  
 PERS 3SG GENRLDA place DEM.2  
 ‘He is over there.’

(35) a. *Tu ō mai a koutou ko iloho na nga na ki te niu e thū na.*

tu            ō        mai    a        koutou    ko    ila    oho  
 2PL.HORT go.PL come PERS 2PL        INCP look go.vertically  
 na        nga        na        ki    te    niu        e        thū    na  
 DEM.2 PRON.3 DEM.2 to SG.SP coconut GENR stand DEM.2  
 ‘Come and look into that coconut standing there.’

b. *Latuko feulufti loa ki te fua i kulu e takoto i lalo.* (NUP)

lhatu=ko    fe-ulu-fi    loa    ki    te    fua    i    kulu  
 3PL=INCP PL-enter-PL EMPH to SG.SP fruit of breadfruit  
 e    takoto    i    lalo  
 GENR lie    LDA under  
 ‘They all entered into a breadfruit lying on the ground.’

Negated locative clauses are somewhat more frequent. They have no tense-aspect-mood marker; instead, as with negated existential clauses (13.3.3), the negator *siai* (cf. 16.2.2) functions as a negative predicate meaning ‘not be’:

(36) a. *Na paku siai i mua na.* (TAU)

na            paku    siai    i        mua    na  
 3SG.POSS skin NEG LDA place DEM.2  
 ‘Her skin was not there.’

b. *Takina siai i te leo o te kaenga po te tangata po ke levthaki ange ki te fafine.* (NUP)

takina    siai    i        te    leo    o        te    kaenga    po  
 because NEG LDA SG.SP voice POSS SG.SP village COMP  
 te    tangata    po        ke    levthaki    ange  
 SG.SP man    COMP HORT close go.along  
 ki    te    fafine  
 to SG.SP woman  
 ‘Because it is not the custom of the island (lit. not in the voice of the village) for a man to be close to a woman.’

### 13.3.6. Possessive clauses

Possessive predicates consist of the particle *ni* followed by a postnominal possessive pronoun (5.2.2.3) or a prepositional phrase with a possessive preposition (10.3). The formal status of the element *ni* is unclear; we label it the predicative possessive particle (PP). It is unlikely to be a preposition, as it



may be followed by possessive prepositions; the fact that it combines with postnominal possessive pronouns may indicate that it is of nominal origin. In that case, possessive clauses might be said to be a subtype of nominal clauses (13.3.4). Note, however, the parallel construction in Anuta, where the possessive pronoun itself functions as the predicate, and the subject noun phrase takes the proximal demonstrative *nei*:

(37) ANUTA (Feinberg 1998: 53, Clark 2000: 259)

*Te penua nei ou.*

te penua nei o-u  
 SG.SP island DEM.1 POSS-2SG.POSS  
 'This island is yours.'

In Vaeakau-Taumako possessive clauses, however, the particle *ni* is obligatory and is part of the possessive predicate rather than the subject noun phrase; postnominal possessive pronouns do not form predicates on their own. Similar constructions are found in the Vanuatu Outlier Mele-Fila, where the form in question is *ne*, and in the Micronesian Outlier Nukuoro, which has *ni* (Clark 2000: 263). As with nominal clauses, no tense-aspect marking is possible.

(38) a. *Te navae ni ana.*

te navae ni a-na  
 SG.SP cigarette PP POSS-3SG.POSS  
 'The cigarette belongs to him/It is his cigarette.'

b. *Te lakau ni a te ataliki o king.*

te lakau ni a te ataliki o king  
 SG.SP tree PP POSS SG.SP son POSS king  
 'The tree belonged to the king's son.'

c. *Ne a kaikai ne ni aku o ne ni a hinēinē?*

ne a kaikai ne ni a-ku  
 DEM.1 COLL food DEM.1 PP POSS-1SG.POSS  
 o ne ni a hinē~inē  
 CONJ DEM.1 PP POSS who~RED  
 'Is this food for me, or whose is it?'

- d. *Koi toa koi nghanghainange po ke mouli lāvoi, po ni ana loa te babukene la.*  
 ko-i to-a ko-i hanga~hangai-ina ange  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG RED~feed-TR go.along  
 po ke mouli lavoī po ni a-na loa  
 COMP HORT live good COMP PP POSS-3SG.POSS EMPH  
 te babukene la  
 SG.SP pumpkin DEM.3  
 ‘She tended it so it would grow well, so the pumpkin (plant) would be hers.’

### 13.3.7. Locative identificational clauses

What we will call locative identificational clauses are constructed with the pronoun *nga* (5.2.1.6), which in this particular construction functions as a pronominal copula. Crosslinguistically, pronominal copulas tend to derive diachronically from resumptive pronouns, and are typically used to form nominal predicates; they are found in several Austronesian languages, including Kwaio of Malaita in the Solomon Islands (Stassen 1997: 77–83), and are a characteristic feature of Solomon Islands Pijin. Identificational clauses are a core domain for pronominal copulas crosslinguistically (Eriksen 2005: 108–115).

The pronominal copula construction in Vaeakau-Taumako is highly specific in form and restricted in use. It takes the form DEM<sub>1</sub> + *nga* + DEM<sub>2</sub>, where the first demonstrative, DEM<sub>1</sub>, is anaphoric, referring back to a previously mentioned participant; whereas DEM<sub>2</sub> is deictic, providing an identification of this participant by locating it at a point in the immediate spatial context, hence the term ‘locative identificational clause’.

The meaning of the locative identificational construction is ‘this/that is it, this/that is the one’:

- (39) a. *Te fuamoa ne o te puke, la nga tne.*  
 te huamoa ne o te puke  
 SG.SP compensation DEM.1 POSS SG.SP puke  
 la nga te-ne  
 DEM.3 PRON.3 SG.SP-DEM.1  
 ‘The payment for the sailing canoe, this is it here.’
- b. *A iau te tangata nei toa a iau na nga tela no tele la.*  
 a iau te tangata ne-i to-a a iau  
 PERS 1SG SG.SP man PFV-3SG take-TR PERS 1SG  
 na nga te-la no tele la  
 DEM.2 PRON.3 SG.SP-DEM.3 IPFV run DEM.3  
 ‘The man who took me, that’s the one walking over there.’

- c. *La nga tenei!*  
 la nga te-nei  
 DEM.3 PRON.3 SG.SP-DEM.1  
 ‘Here it is! (said when giving something to someone)’

### 13.4. Dislocated topics

As noted in 13.3.2, there are constructions where a topic noun phrase occurs preceding a clause, without being syntactically part of the formal structure of the clause. Such noun phrases are *left-dislocated*, i.e. fronted to a position outside the clause itself. They contrast with *topicalized* phrases, marked with the preposition *ko* (10.6.3) which are typically also fronted, but which generally remain within the boundaries of the clause. Indeed, a clause may have both a left-dislocated and a topicalized noun phrase with the same referent:

- (40) *Tenggina a ia na ko ia e kiko bokneve, ia ia te aliki o te sīnu ange ki a na vasokana.* (TAU)  
 dekina a ia na ko ia e kiko bokneve  
 because PERS 3SG DEM.2 TOP 3SG GENR small completely  
 ia ia te aliki o te thunū ange  
 CONJ 3SG SG.SP chief POSS SG.SP cook go.along  
 ki a na va-thoka-na  
 to COLL 3SG.POSS PL-same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Because he was the smallest, he was the chief cook for his brothers.’

Left-dislocation of topical phrases, including subjects, is a very common feature of Vaeakau-Taumako syntax. Left-dislocated structures will typically show one or both of the following formal features; neither is obligatory in itself, but at least one is generally present and identifies the structure as left-dislocated:

- 1) The left-dislocated phrase is marked by a phrase-final demonstrative (cf. 18.2.2). The default choice for such a demonstrative is *na*, although concerns such as deixis and contrast may influence the choice; for instance, a 1st person pronoun nearly always takes the ‘near speaker’ demonstrative *ne*.

- (41) a. *A iau ne ne tahea mai i te lakau.*  
 a iau ne ne tahea mai i te lakau  
 PERS 1SG DEM.1 PFV drift come LDA SG.SP tree  
 ‘I drifted here on a tree.’

- b. *Lhaua na ko vituale loa.*  
 lhaua na ko vituale loa  
 3DU DEM.2 INCP marry EMPH  
 'The two of them got married.'

Note, however, that the difference between phrase-demarcational and deictic/anaphoric functions of demonstratives is not always easily identified, meaning that a phrase-final demonstrative may not in itself be a reliable criterion for left-dislocation; cf. 5.3.3.

2) The clause shows an overt pronominal element coreferent with the left-dislocated phrase. This may be a possessive pronoun in an existential clause, an independent pronoun, or a clitic subject pronoun. The latter are sometimes omitted, but as discussed in 13.3.2 above, they can always be inserted in a clause with a left-dislocated subject.

- (42) a. *A Heli ma te maruana lhako oki o hangora.* (TAU)  
 a Heli ma te matua a-na  
 PERS Heli CONJ SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS  
 lha=ko o oki o hangota  
 3DU=INCP go.PL again to fish  
 'Heli and her husband, they went fishing again.'
- b. *A koe na ko ne fkafea mai ki te fatu o matou ne?* (NUP)  
 a koe na ko=ne fka-fea mai  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 2SG=PFVCAUS-where come  
 ki te fatu o matou ne  
 to SG.SP stone POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS DEM.1  
 'You there, how did you get here to our rock?'

Since overt argument noun phrases are generally omissible if their referents are retrievable from context, there is not always a coreferent pronoun in the clause. Indeed, left-dislocation of a subject creates precisely the kind of context which favours the omission of overt subject reference in the clause, since the subject is overtly mentioned immediately preceding the clause itself. This means that it may sometimes be difficult to establish whether an argument is left-dislocated or merely occurs in clause-initial position, especially when the argument in question is a subject (cf. 13.3.2 above). As noted in 13.2.4, however, direct objects may only be clause-initial if the subject is postverbal; in other words, in clauses with apparent OSV order, the object noun phrase is always left-dislocated. It is generally necessary to indicate this overtly by marking a dislocated object noun phrase with a demonstrative; example (43a) is of doubtful acceptability, but (43b) is unproblematic:

- (43) a. *??Te hahine te tangata ko teia.*  
 te hahine te tangata ko ta-ia  
 SG.SP woman SG.SP man INCP hit-TR  
 ‘The man hit the woman.’
- b. *Te hahine na te tangata ko teia.*  
 te hahine na te tangata ko ta-ia  
 SG.SP woman DEM.2 SG.SP man INCP hit-TR  
 ‘The woman, the man hit (her).’

If the subject is a pronoun rather than a lexical noun phrase, it appears to be easier to left-dislocate the object without further marking:

- (44) *Hai e hahine lharue tapua loa ia ngha tangata loa.*  
 thai e hahine lhatu=e tapu-a loa  
 one GENR woman 3PL=GENR forbid-TR EMPH  
 i a ngha tangata loa  
 LDAPERS PL.SP man EMPH  
 ‘The girl, they had forbidden (her) to see men.’

Only 3rd person singular objects may be unproblematically left-dislocated without a coreferent pronoun remaining in situ; example (45) below would be unacceptable without the object pronoun following *toa*:

- (45) *A iau te tangata nei toa a iau na nga tela no tele la.*  
 a iau te tangata ne-i to-a a iau  
 PERS 1SG SG.SP man PFV-3SG take-TR PERS 1SG  
 na nga te-la no tele la  
 DEM.2 PRON.3 SG.SP-DEM.3 IPFV run DEM.3  
 ‘As for me, the man who took me is that one walking there.’

In (46), an object noun phrase has been moved to the front of a sequence of two clauses; the argument position from which this noun phrase has been dislocated occurs only in the second clause, following the verb *tapua*:

- (46) *Te memea tangata a laua na lhako tokiange te holau lhako tapua akinai.*  
 te memea tangata a laua na  
 SG.SP child man POSS 3DU.POSS DEM.2  
 lha=ko toki-a ange te holau  
 3DU=INCP build-TR go.along SG.SP men’s.house  
 lha=ko tapu-a akinai  
 3DU=INCP forbid-TROBL.PRO  
 ‘They built a men’s house and confined their boy to it.  
 (lit: Their male child, they built a men’s house and confined (him) to it.)’

Oblique objects are left-dislocated without their preposition, which remains in situ and takes a resumptive pronoun complement:

(47) *A koe na hai pele na e leu ite koe na.*

a	koe	na	thai	pele	na	e	lau
PERS	2SG	DEM.2	one	disease	DEM.2	GENR	reach
ite	koe	na					
LDA	2SG	DEM.2					

'You have been struck by some disease.'

In this respect they contrast with prepositional phrases marked by the same prepositions, but with spatial reference; the latter are replaced by an oblique pro-form (5.2.3) under left-dislocation:

(48) *Ioko te kaenga la e noho ai te pakola.*

ioko	te	kaenga	la	e	noho	ai	te	pakola
CONJ	SG.SP	village	DEM.3	GENR	stay	OBL.PROSG.SP	giant	

'And in that village there lived a giant.'

# Chapter 14

## Complex clauses

### 14.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will treat clauses which are complex in the sense that one or more of their constituents are themselves clauses. This includes complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses.

These different types of clauses show rather different formal properties. They are defined as “subordinate” only insofar as they function as syntactic constituents of other clauses; there is no clear formal diagnostic of subordination which may be applied across all these clause types. Thus, for example, the nominalization strategy for complement clauses described in 14.2.2 below might be considered an instance of non-finiteness, as may clauses of purpose or intention marked with *o* (14.4.5.2) or *po* (14.4.5.1), which take no tense-aspect-mood marker. However, other types of subordinate clauses do not share these properties. The basis on which the different kinds of clauses have been classified and grouped together in this chapter is therefore a functional one: we describe the different syntactic functions which may be filled by clauses (verb complement, noun modifier and so on), and the different kinds of clauses which may be used to fill these functions.

### 14.2. Complement clauses

#### 14.2.1. Introduction

Complement clauses function as complements to verbs, i.e. as syntactic equivalents to nominal direct objects or oblique prepositional objects. There are sporadic examples of clauses with no particular marking functioning as complements to verbs, as in example (1), but this is very rare in our material:

- (1) a. *Ko ia e mae no iho.*  
ko ia e mae no iho  
TOP 3SG GENRrefuse IPFV go.down  
'He refused to go down.'

- b. *Jesus e amunoa huakoakina khimatou.*  
 Jesus e amunoa hua-ako-akina khimatou  
 Jesus GENR promise CAUS-learn-APPL 1PL.EXCL  
 ‘Jesus promised to teach us.’

There is a variety of strategies used for complement clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako: nominalization, where the clause in question is effectively converted into a noun phrase which may then unproblematically function as a syntactic object; irrealis marking with the particle *na*, and the complementizer *po*. As we will see below, the former two give rise to problems of analysis because they may involve similar forms with a similar distribution, making it difficult in certain cases to determine just how many distinct forms are involved.

In describing the kinds of verbs which occur with complement clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako, the distinction made in Dixon (2006) between “Primary” and “Secondary” verbs is useful. Primary verbs are those for which all arguments may be noun phrases or pronouns; they divide further into Primary-A verbs, which only accept noun-phrase or pronoun arguments, and Primary-B verbs, which alternatively allow one argument to be a complement clause.

Secondary verbs express concepts which modify the meaning of another verb in some way. Secondary concepts may be realized in different languages as affixes to verbs, as words modifying the verb or clause, or as lexical verbs – Secondary verbs. Secondary verbs require one of their arguments to be a complement clause; they refer to concepts such as negation, modality, beginning, stopping, or trying to do something; wanting, wishing, or hoping; and making, causing, or helping. The status of negation as a Secondary concept will be further discussed in chapter 16.

#### 14.2.2. Nominalization

A common strategy for the encoding of clausal complements is to nominalize the complement clause. Nominalization is achieved by the simple means of replacing the tense-aspect-mood particle with an article, or, more commonly, with a possessive pronoun coreferent with the subject of the main clause; the structure of nominalized clauses is described in detail in 7.5.

Verbs which take nominalized complement clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako include some Primary-B verbs, such as *hualia* ‘show’, *hetetekina* ‘tell’, *kutea* ‘see’, or *tetuā* ‘reject’:



- (2) a. *Ku hualia atu tau oloia kalikao.*  
 k=u hua-ali-a atu t-a-u  
 HORT=1SG CAUS-visible-TR go.out SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS  
 olo-ia kalikao  
 grind-TR trochus.shell  
 ‘Let me show you how to grind trochus shell (lit. show you your grinding trochus shell).’
- b. *Ko tai memea e tetuā tena fenake ki ngauta.* (NUP)  
 ko thai memea e tetua-a te-na fano  
 TOP one child GENRreject-TR SG.SP-3SG.POSS go.SG  
 ake ki nghauta  
 go.up to shore  
 ‘One of the children refused to go back on shore (lit. refused his going back on shore).’

However, most verbs taking nominalized complement clauses are Secondary verbs insofar as they cannot take unmarked noun phrase complements, though some allow an oblique noun-phrase complement. These include *vale* ‘not know, be unable’, *mae* ‘refuse’, *huathū* ‘begin’, *motu* ‘end (lit. break)’, *mathaku* ‘be afraid of’, *thaelavā* ‘be tired of’, *taungatai* ‘be old enough for’, and *makhona* ‘be strong enough for’:

- (3) a. *Thai lalatheā ko thelavā te ua na.*  
 thai lalatheā ko thelavā te ua na  
 one afternoon INCP tired SG.SP paddleDEM.2  
 ‘One afternoon they were tired of paddling.’
- b. *A ia ko taungatai tana pepena a kupenga.*  
 a ia ko taungatai t-a-na  
 PERS 3SG INCP old.enough SG.SP-POSS-3SG.POSS  
 pe~pena a kupenga  
 RED~prepare COLL net  
 ‘He was old enough to prepare the nets.’
- c. *A iau e mae taku hano.*  
 a iau e mae t-a-ku hano  
 PERS 1SG GENR refuse SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS go.SG  
 ‘I refuse to go.’

- d. *A tai ko mathaku te fulo o kaukau i thaupē.* (NUP)  
 a tai ko mathaku te fulo o kau~kau  
 COLL person INCP afraid SG.SP run.PL to RED~swim  
 i thaupē  
 LDA lagoon  
 ‘People were afraid to go and swim in the lagoon.’

However, many of these verbs have an alternative use as simple intransitive verbs; that is, the complement clause is not obligatory:

- (4) a. *Ko te momoa la ko fēfela, ko thelavā.*  
 ko te momoa la ko fē~fela ko thelavā  
 TOP SG.SP box.fish DEM.3 INCP RED~search INCP tired  
 ‘The box-fish searched and searched until he got tired.’
- b. *Te fkatāfulo ka fkatū ala i te ava o te kaenga.* (NUP)  
 te fka-tau-fulo ka fka-thū ala  
 SG.SP CAUS-arrive-run.PL FUT CAUS-stand HYP  
 i te ava o te kaenga  
 LDA SG.SP channel POSS SG.SP village  
 ‘The race will begin at the village channel.’

Indeed, Secondary verbs taking nominalized complement clauses are formally intransitive, as demonstrated by the lack of the 3SG suffix *-i* (cf. 12.5) on the tense-aspect-mood particle in example (3b); another example is given in (5):

- (5) *A ia ko fkatū loa te kai etai.* (NUP)  
 a ia ko fka-thū loa te kai etai  
 PERS 3SG INCP CAUS-stand EMPHSG.SP eat person  
 ‘She began to eat people.’

This formal property of clauses with nominalized complements raises the question of the syntactic status of nominalized complement clauses with Secondary verbs. They do not pattern like nominal direct objects, as they occur with verbs which also have intransitive uses, and as the matrix clause remains formally intransitive. At the same time, they are clearly part of the verb’s argument structure in the sense that only certain verbs may take them; if nominalized complement clauses were syntactically adjuncts, they would be expected to occur with, in principle, any verb. Compare examples (3–5) above to example (6), where a nominalized clause functions as a temporal adjunct. In this construction, the verb of the matrix clause does not influence the possibility of including a nominalized clause; such a clause may cooccur with any matrix-clause verb.

- (6) *Na nhomaianga i a kakaenga na, na ko a tai no heliange a khapilongo heli.*  
(TAU)

na hano mai-anga i a ka-kaenga na na  
3SG.POSS go.SG come-NMLZ LDA COLL RED~village DEM.2 DEM.2  
ko a tai no heili-a ange a kapuhilongo heli  
TOP COLL person IPFV ask-TR go.along COLL word ask  
'As he went through these villages (lit. his going through the villages), people  
asked him questions.'

A valence-bound argument of a formally intransitive verb is what Dixon (2006: 7–8) refers to as E, for “extension to core”. E arguments are typically oblique complements of various kinds.

Note that some, though not all of the verbs taking complement clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako also have extended intransitive uses in the narrow sense, i.e. occurring with an oblique complement; compare (3c–d) to (7). Dixon (2006: 8) notes that extended intransitive verbs frequently allow complement clauses crosslinguistically.

- (7) a. *A iau e mae i te tangata nei.*

a iau e mae i te tangata nei  
PERS 1SG GENR refuse LDA SG.SP man DEM.1  
'I am tired of this man.'

- b. *A etai e mathaku i te fatu na.* (NUP)

a etai e mathaku i te fatu na  
COLL person GENR afraid LDA SG.SP stone DEM.2  
'People were afraid of that rock.'

The productivity of the pattern [intransitive verb+nominalized clause] for verbs expressing Secondary concepts, i.e. modifying another verb in some way, is shown by example (8), in which the English/Pijin borrowing *hād* ‘be hard, be difficult’ takes a nominalized clause as an argument. Here, though, the nominalized clause is the subject of an intransitive verb:

- (8) *E hād loa taku avatu, gina e tepeo.*

e hād loa t-a-ku av-atu dekina  
GENR hard EMPHSG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS give-go.out because  
e tepeo  
GENR bad  
'I don't want to give it to you (lit. my giving it is hard), because it is bad.'

In the typology of Dixon (2006), nominalization is considered a “complementation strategy” rather than a complement clause proper. Complementation strategies are ways of linking together the verbs of two clauses without one

clause functioning as an argument of the other, the latter being a basic definitional property of a complement clause. However, even structures defined by Dixon as complement clauses may show certain nominal-like properties, such as having a possessive-marked subject (Dixon 2006: 15, 21); and Vaeakau-Taumako nominalized clauses retain most of their verbal characteristics, meaning that they satisfy Dixon's criterion of having the internal constituent structure of a clause, cf. 7.5.

### 14.2.3. Irrealis marking

Although there are examples of complement clauses with other tense-aspect-mood markers, as illustrated in 14.2.1, complement clauses which are not nominalized or marked by the complementizer *po* (14.2.5) most commonly take the irrealis marker *na* (cf. 12.4.4). It is not uncommon crosslinguistically for the tense-aspect-mood marking of subordinate clauses to be restricted (cf. Lehmann 1988: 194–195); the nominalization strategy described in 14.2.2 above can be understood as an extreme case of this, where tense-aspect-mood marking is eliminated altogether and replaced by nominal marking. The association between irrealis mood and subordination is well-known e.g. from various European languages where subordinate clauses typically take the subjunctive mood.

- (9) a. *A tai ko huatū oki lhatuna ahio ki o latu kaekaenga.*  
 a tai ko hua-thū oki lhatu=na ahio  
 COLL person INCP CAUS-stand again 3PL=IRR return  
 ki o latu kae~kaenga  
 to POSS 3PL.POSS RED~village  
 'People started to go back to their homes.'
- b. *Ko ia a nohine ana e mē nai heliange.* (NUP)  
 ko ia a nohine a-na e mae  
 TOP 3SG PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS GENRrefuse  
 na-i heili-a ange  
 IRR-3SG ask-TR go.along  
 'His wife refused to answer.'
- c. *Khoulua e vale kholuna kina la, aua holuna kina.*  
 khoulua e vale kholu=na kai-na la  
 2DU GENRnot.know 2DU=IRR eat-TRDEM.3  
 auā kholu=na kai-na  
 PROH 2DU=IRR eat-TR  
 'You two cannot eat (such things), so do not eat them.'

d. *A iau ne ue vale una tātai loku.*

a	iau	ne	u=e	vale	u=na	tātai	loku
PERS	1SG	DEM.1	1SG=GENR	not.know	1SG=IRR	carve	bow

‘I don’t know to make a bow.’

As illustrated by the examples, many of the verbs typically taking such complement clauses refer to not or not yet realized situations, such as *huathū* ‘begin’, *mae* ‘refuse’, and *vale* ‘not know, be unable to’; the use of the irrealis mood in the complement clauses of such verbs therefore appears to have a semantic basis beyond the mere indication of subordination. Conceivably, however, there is a tendency towards the emergence of *na* as a general marker of subordination, cf. 14.2.4.

The verbs which may take *na*-marked complement clauses are, as far as we have been able to establish, the same as those taking nominalized complement clauses; thus the discussion in 14.2.2 above on the syntactic status of such complements holds equally for irrealis complements. We have not been able to establish any systematic semantic difference between nominalized and irrealis complement clauses, and indeed they appear to some extent to be converging formally, cf. 14.2.4 below.

#### 14.2.4. The problem of multiple *nas*

The two strategies described above, nominalization and irrealis marking, in certain contexts yield identical structures. The most frequent variant of the 3rd person possessive pronoun *tona*, *tana* is the shorter form *nha* or *na*, which is effectively identical to the irrealis marker, and occupies the same position in a nominalized clause as the tense-aspect-mood marker would do in a non-nominalized clause. This has two significant consequences. Firstly, in complement clauses with 3rd person singular subjects it may be impossible to determine whether the clause is nominalized or irrealis; in other words, whether *na* is the 3rd person possessive pronoun or the irrealis mood marker, as in the following examples:

(10) a. *Koi hualiangē loa na oloia kalikao.*

ko-i	hua-ali-a	ange	loa	na
INCP-3SG	CAUS-visible-TR	go.along	EMPH3SG.POSS/IRR	
olo-ia	kalikao			
scrape-TR	trochus.shell			

‘He showed him how to grind trochus shells.’

- b. *Na ahahine ne e tapu na hanohano uabelia.*  
 na ahahine ne e tapu  
 3SG.POSS daughter DEM.1 GENRforbid  
 na hano~hano uabelia  
 3SG.POSS/IRR RED~go.SG aimless  
 ‘His daughter was forbidden to go wandering about.’

Secondly, this overlap in form and distribution means that *na* is by far the most frequent form found introducing complement clauses (except for those introduced by *po*, see 14.2.5 below). Possibly, there is a reanalysis underway as a result of this situation, where a third morpheme *na* ‘complementizer’ is emerging from the overlap of the other two. This could be what we are seeing in examples like (11), where *na* cannot be the possessive pronoun as the subject is not 3rd person singular, and where the subordinate clause lacks an independent or clitic subject pronoun. As described in 13.3.2, a main clause normally requires an overt expression of subject, either in the form of a lexical noun, an independent pronoun, or a clitic subject pronoun (with the exception of 3SG, where the clitic pronoun is zero). As examples (9a, c, d) show, subordinate clauses with a non-3SG subject and an irrealis particle also typically take a clitic pronoun; indeed, this is the only possible mode of subject expression in a complement clause of this type, at least when the subject of the complement clause is coreferent with that of the matrix clause. However, no clitic pronoun is present in the complement clauses in (11):

- (11) a. *A iau e mae na hano.*  
 a iau e mae na hano  
 PERS 1SG GENR refuse IRR/COMP go.SG  
 ‘I refuse to go.’
- b. *Lhatuko huatū na khai ai na.*  
 lhatu=ko hua-thū na khai ai na  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-stand IRR/COMP eat.PL OBL.PRODEM.2  
 ‘They began to eat.’

While *na* could well be the irrealis marker in these examples, it has been stripped of a typical characteristic of tense-aspect-mood markers in verbal clauses, namely the clitic subject pronoun. We interpret this as a sign of an ongoing development of *na* in subordinate clauses, from possessive pronoun/irrealis marker to complementizer.

14.2.5. The complementizer *po*

A number of verbs take complement clauses marked with the complementizer *po*. As described in 14.4.5.1 below, *po* is also used to form purpose clauses; Dixon (2006: 6) considers the use of purpose clauses as complements to verbs a “complementation strategy” rather than complement clauses in the strict sense. However, complement clauses formed with *po* differ from purpose clauses in that the latter are either unmarked for tense-aspect-mood or take the hortative particle *ke*; by contrast, *po*-marked complement clauses may take any tense-aspect-mood marker. There is some overlap in that *po* complements of verbs referring to intentions, wishes or purposes, as in (14b–c), may also be unmarked for tense-aspect-mood, and the distinction may indeed be difficult to make in some cases. In general, however, tense-aspect-mood marking is less restricted in complement clauses with *po* than in purpose clauses. Furthermore, *po* has a wide range of functions in Vaeakau-Taumako, of which introducing complements, especially of speech and mental activity verbs, is probably the most frequent in our material. The purpose function may conceivably derive from this “complement of speech or mental activity” function just as plausibly as the other way round; after all, purposes and intentions arise through mental activity and are expressed through speech. The fact that a form \**po* ‘whether, or’ is reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian (Biggs and Clark 2009) seems to us to support this; note also the use of *po* to introduce relative clauses (section 14.3). Accordingly, we gloss *po* as a complementizer – COMP – rather than as a purpose marker.

Most verbs taking *po* complement clauses are Primary-B verbs, typically verbs of speech (12), perception (13), or mental activity (14), often with a sense of questioning or weighing alternatives:

- (12) a. *Ko ia koi tukuange po hualia mai mua thaungona.*  
 ko ia ko-i taku-a ange po  
 TOP 3SG INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP  
 hua-ali-a mai mua thaunga o-na  
 CAUS-visible-TR come just house POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He said, “Show me his house.”’
- b. *Ioko ia ko tu oho loa na e valo po lhatu ua.*  
 ioko ia ko tū oho loa na  
 CONJ 3SG INCP stand go.vertically EMPHDEM.2  
 e valo oho po lhatu ua  
 GENR call go.vertically COMP 3PL.HORT paddle  
 ‘And she stood up and called down to them that they should paddle.’

- c. *Laua ko heiliange po ko ai nei avatu?*

lhaua ko heili-a ange po ko ai  
 3DU INCP ask-TR go.along COMP TOP who  
 ne-i av-atu  
 PFV-3SG give-go.out  
 ‘They asked: “Who gave it to you?”’

- (13) a. *Hina ko tu ake ko hano po kei kutea po ni ā na teina noi takuange na.*  
 (TAU)

Hina ko tū ake ko hano po ke-i kute-a  
 Hina INCP stand go.up INCP go.SG COMP HORT-3SG see-TR  
 po ni ā na teina  
 COMP PL.NSP what 3SG.POSS younger.sibling  
 no-i taku-a ange na  
 IPFV-3SG say-TR go.along DEM.2  
 ‘Hina got up and went to see what it was her sister was telling her.’

- b. *Ki muli te nohine la ko longo po a loma ko sae mai ki te one.* (TAU)

ki muli te nohine la ko longo po a loma  
 to behind SG.SP wife DEM.3 INCP hear COMP COLL wave  
 ko thae mai ki te one  
 INCP reach come to SG.SP sand  
 ‘At last the woman heard that the waves had reached the beach.’

- c. *Ne ne mdatulua ka lhatou ko namuia po e namu songo.*

ne ne mdathulua ka lhatou ko namu-ia  
 DEM.1 DEM.1 drop but 3PL INCP smell-TR  
 po e namu songo  
 COMP GENR smell fishy  
 ‘This is a drop of rain that smells like fish (lit. they smell that it smells fishy).’

- (14) a. *Hatue iloa po te kovā na e manumanu.*

thatu=e ilo-a po te kovā na  
 1PL.INCL=GENR know-TR COMP SG.SP heron DEM.2  
 e manu~manu  
 SG.NSP RED~animal  
 ‘We know that the heron is a bird’

- b. *Mhatou ne huaokeoke po mhatou hulo vethaki.*

mhatou ne hua-oke~oke po mhatou  
 1PL.EXCL PFV CAUS-RED~encourage COMP 1PL.EXCL  
 hulo vethaki  
 run.PL fight  
 ‘We decided to go and fight.’



- c. *Nokoi mnatua po latu afio mai oki ange*  
 noko-i manatu-a po latu afio mai  
 IPFV-3SG think-TR COMP 3PL.HORT return come  
 oki ange  
 again go.along  
 ‘He wished they would come back’

*po latu nofo malela fkatasi ma ia i te kaenga latu ne fanau mai ai.* (NUP)  
 po latu noho malela fka-tasi ma ia  
 COMP 3PL.HORT stay happy CAUS-one with 3SG  
 i te kaenga latu=ne fanau mai ai  
 LDA SG.SP village 3PL=PFV birth come OBL.PRO  
 ‘to live happily with him on the island where they were born.’

*Po*-marked complement clauses contrast with nominalized complement clauses (14.2.2) in certain contexts. When what is perceived, learned or thought about is a piece of information, *po* is typically used (15a), whereas when it is a skill or an activity, a nominalized clause occurs instead (15b). Crosslinguistically, complement clauses of the “activity” type tend to show structural similarities to noun phrases, while “fact” complement clauses tend to be marked by a complementizer (Dixon 2006: 24–25); Vaeakau-Taumako thus follows an established typological pattern in this respect. Occasionally, combinations of the two, i.e. *po* followed by a nominalized clause, are found; these constructions seem mostly to refer to the learning of skills (example 16):

- (15) a. *Koi iloa po nei funa la e na pengi.* (NUP)  
 ko-i ilo-a po ne-i funa-a la  
 INCP-3SG know-TR COMP PFV-3SG hide-TR DEM.3  
 e na pengi  
 AG 3SG.POSS husband  
 ‘She understood that her husband had hidden it.’
- b. *Ko matua ko ilo te fana i te loku.* (NUP)  
 ko mathua ko ilo te fana i te loku  
 INCP old INCP know SG.SP shoot LDA SG.SP bow  
 ‘He grew up and learned how to shoot a bow.’
- (16) a. *Ko te fafine la koi iloa lavoina la po tenai langa a kanui o te tanga.* (NUP)  
 ko te fafine la ko-i ilo-a lavoi-ina la  
 TOP SG.SP woman DEM.3 INCP-3SG know-TR good-TR DEM.3  
 po te-na-i langa a kanui  
 COMP SG.SP-3SG.POSS-3SG weave COLL pattern  
 o te tanga  
 POSS SG.SP basket  
 ‘The woman knew very well how to weave the different basket patterns.’

- b. *Koko au loa ku hualiatu po tau singsingi oho ala a loku au ki saupē.* (TAU)  
 ko=ko au loa k=u hua-ali-a atu  
 2SG=INCP come EMPHHORT=1SG CAUS-visible-TR go.out  
 po t-a-u sing~singi oho ala  
 COMP SG.SG-POSS-2SG.POSS RED~shoot.fish go.vertically HYP  
 a loku a-u ki saupē  
 COLL bow POSS-2SG.POSS to lagoon  
 ‘Come here so I can show you how to shoot fish in the lagoon.’

A clause with *po* may be used to mark reported or second-hand information, even if no actual verb of speech is present. In example (17), a messenger returns to report what he has been told by the protagonist’s sister; each reported clause is introduced by *po*:

- (17) *Po hai e tole tna ko ia loa korahi ne*  
 po thai e tole te-na ko ia loa  
 COMP one GENR remain SG.SP-DEM.2 TOP 3SG EMPH  
 ko-tahi ne  
 PREF-one DEM.1  
 ‘There was only this one (pumpkin) left;’

*ko ia po ko pele na e takoro ange na ka po hikiai ne methua.*  
 ko ia po ko pele na e takoto ange na  
 TOP 3SG COMP INCP many DEM.2 GENR lie go.along DEM.2  
 ka po sikiai ne mathua  
 but COMP not.yet PFV old  
 ‘there were many lying there, but apparently they were not yet ripe.’

If a *po*-marked complement clause has a preverbal adverb or a fronted, topicalized preverbal noun phrase, *po* is frequently repeated, occurring both before the initial constituent and before the rest of the clause:

- (18) a. *Nei tukuange loa ngha memea a kingi na po*  
 ne-i taku-a ange loa ngha memea a kingi  
 PFV-3SG say-TR go.along EMPHPL.SP child POSS king  
 na po  
 DEM.2 COMP  
 ‘The king’s children said’

*malamake ala po lārou kō ake.*  
 malamake ala po lhātou ka ō ake  
 morning HYP COMP 3PL FUT go.PL go.up  
 ‘that in the morning they would go.’

- b. *Takina siai i te leo o te kaenga po te tangata po ke levthaki ange ki te fafine.*  
(NUP)
- |         |         |        |       |           |          |       |         |      |
|---------|---------|--------|-------|-----------|----------|-------|---------|------|
| takina  | siai    | i      | te    | leo       | o        | te    | kaenga  | po   |
| because | NEG     | LDA    | SG.SP | voice     | POSS     | SG.SP | village | COMP |
| te      | tangata | po     | ke    | levethaki | ange     |       |         |      |
| SG.SP   | man     | COMP   | HORT  | close     | go.along |       |         |      |
| ki      | te      | fafine |       |           |          |       |         |      |
| to      | SG.SP   | woman  |       |           |          |       |         |      |
- ‘Because it is not the custom of the island (lit. not in the voice of the villa ge) for a man to be close to a woman.’

Example (19) has both a fronted noun phrase (*te tapena phenā* ‘such preparations’) and a preverbal adverb (*matea* ‘perhaps’), and the resulting structure has three occurrences of *po*: one before the initial noun phrase, one before the preverbal adverb, and one before the main part of the clause:

- (19) *A ioko i a huamnamnatunga na iloa loa po te tapena phenā po mdea po mui hinga ala ka lau ala i te ia.*
- |      |        |       |              |                     |       |         |     |     |  |
|------|--------|-------|--------------|---------------------|-------|---------|-----|-----|--|
| a    | ioko   | i     | a            | hua-mana~manatu-nga | na    | ilo-a   |     |     |  |
| then | CONJ   | LDA   | POSS         | CAUS-RED~think-NMLZ | DEM.2 | know-TR |     |     |  |
| loa  | po     | te    | ta-pena      | phe-na              | po    | matea   |     |     |  |
| EMPH | COMP   | SG.SP | PREF-prepare | like-DEM.2          | COMP  | maybe   |     |     |  |
| po   | mui    | hinga | ala          | ka                  | lau   | ala     | ite | ia  |  |
| COMP | little | thing | HYP          | FUT                 | reach | HYP     | LDA | 3SG |  |
- ‘And maybe he thought such preparations could indicate that something would happen to him.’

It is also possible to have two fronted argument noun phrases, each marked by *po*; this is the exception to the rule that an object can only be preverbal if the subject has been postposed (13.2.4):

- (20) *Ko longo ai po a na tuohine na po a babukene ana po lamo tautauange.*
- |      |          |            |               |      |          |         |       |  |  |
|------|----------|------------|---------------|------|----------|---------|-------|--|--|
| ko   | longo    | ai         | po            | a    | na       | tuohine | na    |  |  |
| INCP | hear     | OBL.PRO    | COMP          | PERS | 3SG.POSS | sister  | DEM.2 |  |  |
| po   | a        | babukene   | a-na          |      |          |         |       |  |  |
| COMP | COLL     | pumpkin    | POSS-3SG.POSS |      |          |         |       |  |  |
| po   | lhat=no  | tau~tau-ia | ange          |      |          |         |       |  |  |
| COMP | 3PL=IPFV | RED~buy-TR | go.along      |      |          |         |       |  |  |
- ‘He heard that his sister had pumpkins that people were buying.’

An apparent case of raising to object position is seen in (21), where the subject of the complement clause (*Meri ne kaiā* ‘Mary stole’) appears as the object of the main verb:

(21) *A iau no anonoia ange a Meri po ne kaiā.*

a iau no anono-ia ange a Meri  
 PERS 1SG IPFV suspect-TR go.along PERS Mary  
 po ne kaia  
 COMP PFV steal  
 ‘I suspect Mary of being a thief.’

*po* also forms benefactive complements in combination with the benefactive prepositions *mo* and *ma*:

(22) a. *Ko ia koi toange la a ngata ma moko la ko ia koi toa koi kavea po ma laua.*

ko ia ko-i to-a ange la a ngata  
 TOP 3SG INCP-3SG take-TR go.along DEM.3 COLL snake  
 ma moko la ko ia ko-i to-a ko-i  
 CONJ lizard DEM.3 TOP 3SG INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG  
 po ma laua  
 COMP BEN 3DU.POSS  
 ‘She took the snakes and lizards and brought them for the two of them.’

b. *E, koi toa loa e ataliki o king la koi toa loa te hehine la po mona.*

e ko-i to-a loa e ataliki o king la  
 yes INCP-3SG take-TR EMPHAG son POSS king DEM.3  
 ko-i to-a loa te hahine la  
 INCP-3SG take-TR EMPHSG.SP woman DEM.3  
 po mo-na  
 COMP BEN-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Yes, so the king’s son took the woman as his wife (lit. took the woman for himself).’

### 14.3. Relative clauses

There is no formal relative marker in Vaeakau-Taumako, though the complementizer *po* is sometimes used in clauses modifying nouns; however, such *po*-marked relative clauses are relatively infrequent.

(23) a. *Phelā mua na ko ia mui po e lavoi thatuna taia ai ia.*

phe-la mua na ko ia mui po  
 like-DEM.3 place DEM.2 TOP 3SG place COMP  
 e lavoi thatu=na ta-ia ai ia  
 GENR good 1PL.INCL=IRR hit-TR OBL.PRO3SG  
 ‘Maybe that would be a good place (in which) to kill him.’

- b. *re hehine po ko na mā la*  
 te hahine po ko na mā la  
 SG.SP woman COMP TOP 3SG.POSS sister.in.law DEM.3  
 ‘the woman who was her sister-in-law’

In general, a relative construction consists of a nominal head and a restricting verbal clause, called a relative clause. The whole complex of head plus relative clause functions as an argument of a larger clause:

- (24) a. *A iau ka menaina atu thai thapeo une thae ake.*  
 a iau ka mena-ina atu thai thapeo  
 PERS 1SG FUT speak-TR go.out one cyclone  
 u=ne thae ake  
 1SG=PFVreach go.up  
 ‘I am going to tell you about a cyclone I experienced.’
- b. *A tai ko nofo i te kaenga e fou ka lavoi.* (NUP)  
 a tai ko nofo i te kaenga e fou  
 COLL person INCP stay LDA SG.SP village GENR new  
 ka lavoi  
 FUT good  
 ‘There are already plenty of people on the new island (lit. the group of people who have settled in the place that is new will be good).’

The head of the relative construction may be a noun, a pronoun, or a quantifier. The archaic form *nghai* of the quantifier *nghi* ‘some’ is somewhat more frequent as the head of a relative clause, while the form *thangai* is only attested in this function. The latter is attested only in NUP and in the translation of the text of the Holy Communion done by John Tealikilava from Pileni; the language in this translation is a mixture of NUP and VAE. *Nghai* has a similar distribution in our material, but is also used by some VAE speakers from Nukapu.

- (25) a. *Hai au ne<sup>44</sup> ko to tohine.*  
 thai au ne ko t-ō thuohine  
 one come DEM.1 TOP SG.SP-2SG.POSS sister  
 ‘The one coming here is your sister.’

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<sup>44</sup> Verbal clauses without a tense-aspect-mood particle used as relative clauses are only found in very colloquial language.

- b. *kei leleina nghai e noho ia nghai ko mate*  
 ke-i leleina nghai e noho ia nghai e mate  
 HORT-3SG judge some GENRstay CONJ some GENRdie  
 ‘to judge both the living and the dead’

There are no formal differences between relative clauses and regular verbal clauses, and examples like (24a) might in principle be analyzed as a juxtaposition of two clauses. However, in example (24b), which contains two nested relative clauses, a juxtaposition analysis clearly gives the wrong interpretation. Under such an analysis, a literal translation of (24b) would be something like ‘The people live in the village, it is new, it/they will be good’. But what will be good – the subject of the verb *ka lavoi* – is here the whole complex expression, ‘the people who live in the new village’. Since Vaeakau-Taumako has only very few adjectives, as formally distinct from verbs, the usual way of modifying a noun is with a relative clause, as in *te kaenga e fou* ‘the new village’ in (24b), cf. 7.4.1.

An important part of the definition of a relative construction is that it constitutes a single integral noun phrase, and functions as such in a clause; thus, like any other noun phrase, a relative construction may, for example, itself be modified by another clause; in (26), the relative construction *a imea e lua* ‘flowers which are two’ is modified by a second relative clause :

- (26) *Ioko [[a imea e lua] ko sū i na pohoula] ko longo.* (TAU)  
 ioko a imea e lua ko thū i na pohoula  
 CONJ COLL flower GENRtwo INCP stand LDA 3SG.POSS head  
 ko longo  
 INCP sing  
 ‘And the two flowers which were standing on his head started singing.’

This also means that demonstrative particles, which are phrase-final, cannot occur following the nominal head of a relative construction. As a consequence, constructions such as (27) cannot be analyzed as involving a relative construction, but rather consist of a sequence of two distinct clauses with a coreferent argument, or, in (27b), a clause with a left-dislocated argument:

- (27) a. *Mhatune thokoia ange loa te loma na no au na.*  
 mhatu=ne thoka-ia ange loa te loma na  
 1PL.EXCL=PFV watch-TR go.along EMPHSG.SP wave DEM.2  
 no au na  
 IPFV come DEM.2  
 ‘We saw the wave coming (lit. we saw the wave, it was coming).’

- b. *A te pakonga na nei kelia na i Vaiakapiu.*  
 a te pakonga na ne-i keli-a na  
 PERS SG.SP hole DEM.2 PFV-3SG dig-TR DEM.2  
 i Vaiakapiu  
 LDA Vaiakapiu  
 ‘That hole, she dug it in Vaiakapiu.’ (not ‘the hole that she dug in Vaiakapiu’)

Both intransitive and transitive subjects, objects, possessors and nominal complements of prepositions may be relativized. As noted above, no overt marking is required in the first three cases, though the use of a demonstrative as a phrase demarcation device (cf. 18.2.2) is particularly common in relative clauses, especially with relativized objects. This is not unexpected, since a relative clause is a complex and heavy noun phrase; it may be desirable to clearly mark off this constituent from the rest of the clause.

(28) Relativized S:

- a. *Ko na tungane na koi hahakia hai hiai ne fonu.*  
 ko na tungane na ko-i haha-kia  
 TOP 3SG.POSS brother DEM.2 INCP-3SG weigh-TR  
 thai siai ne fonu  
 one NEG PFV full  
 ‘Her brother weighed in his hand the one which wasn’t full.’
- b. *Ioko nghi no kai i te holau la, lhatuko takua po thatuka hano teia.*  
 ioko nghi no kai i te holau la  
 CONJ some IPFV eat LDA SG.SP men’s.house DEM.3  
 lhatu=ko taku-a po thatu=ka hano ta-ia  
 3PL=INCP say-TR COMP 1PL.INCL=FUT go.SG hit-TR  
 ‘Those who were eating in the men’s house decided to go and kill him.’

(29) Relativized A:

- a. *Koi laua nghai tangata noko tusia te alo.* (NUP)  
 ko-i lau-a nghai tangata noko tusi-a te alo  
 INCP-3SG reach-TR some man IPFV cut-TR SG.SP canoe  
 ‘He met some men who were cutting a canoe.’

- b. *Te vai ko tele na, koi toa te tuna na,*  
 te vai ko tele na ko-i to-a  
 SG.SP water INCP run DEM.2 INCP-3SG take-TR  
 te tuna na  
 SG.SP eel DEM.2  
 ‘The water flowed and took the eel.’

*te tuna nei keina te lala la.*  
 te tuna ne-i kai-na te lala la  
 SG.SP eel PFV-3SG eat-TR SG.SP ring DEM.3  
 the eel which had eaten the ring.’

## (30) Relativized O:

- a. *Nekepo a hinga hatno faia loa ia taem e ohi.*  
 nekepo a hinga that=no fai-a loa  
 like COLL thing 1PL.INCP=IPFV do-TR EMPH  
 i a taem e ohi  
 LDA COLL time GENR finish  
 ‘This is something that we have always done.’
- b. *Po kei kavea oi thamunia i te pakonga nei kelia la.*  
 po ke-i kave-a oi thamu-nia  
 COMP HORT-3SG carry-TR CONJ bury-TR  
 i te pakonga ne-i keli-a la  
 LDA SG.SP hole PFV-3SG dig-TR DEM.3  
 ‘To take him and bury him in the hole she had dug.’

Overall, in relative clauses, *la* and *na* are about equally frequent. This is an unusual distribution, since in our material in general, *na* is by far the most frequent option, with *la* occurring only under certain specifiable circumstances. The higher frequency of *la* in relative clauses may be a consequence of the use of *la* to mark changes in subject or topic (18.2.3). A common discourse context for the use of relative clauses is when an entity has not been mentioned for a while and is reintroduced; the speaker may then clarify which entity is being referred to by modifying the noun with a relative clause. It may also be related to the use of *la* as a marker of contrast, since the function of a relative clause is essentially to identify a particular referent of a noun in contrast to any other possible referents, cf. (31b).



- (31) a. *Ne hei tama na ioko la na tungane nei tetuā a ia la, ko nōnoho ai na ko longo ai.*

ne hai tama na ioko la na tungane  
 PFV do child DEM.2 CONJ DEM.3 3SG.POSS brother  
 ne-i tetua-a a ia la ko nō~noho  
 PFV-3SG refuse-TR PERS 3SG DEM.3 INCP RED~stay  
 ai na ko longo ai  
 OBL.PRODEM.2 INCP hear OBL.PRO

‘After she got pregnant, her brother who had thrown her out heard about it.’

- b. *Ko lekange loa na tuohine, na tuohine ko mate la.*

ko lek-ange loa na tuohine  
 INCP go-go.along EMPH3SG.POSS sister  
 na tuohine ko mate la  
 3SG.POSS sister INCP die DEM.3

‘His sister came, his sister who was dead.’

Relativized possessors require a coreferent possessive pronoun in the relative clause:

- (32) a. *Te hahine na lima e motu la, lekatu ko kake loa i te lakau na.*

te hahine na lima e motu la  
 SG.SP woman 3SG.POSS hand GENR cut DEM.3  
 lek-atu ko kake loa i te lakau na  
 go-go.out INCP climb EMPHLDA SG.SP tree DEM.2

‘The woman whose hand had been cut off went and climbed the tree (lit. the woman her hand was cut off...).’

- b. *Ko thūmai a te tangara nohine ana ne mate la.*

ko thū mai a te tangata nohine a-na  
 INCP stand come PERS SG.SP man wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ne mate la  
 PFV die DEM.3

‘The man whose wife had died stood up (lit. the man his wife had died...).’

As prepositions cannot be stranded, relativization of prepositional complements requires the appropriate oblique pro-form (cf. 5.2.3) in the relative clause, i.e. *ai* for the preposition *i*, *akinai* for *ki*:

- (33) a. *Lhatne tausikake i mui e thamu ai a na tuohine la.*  
 lhat=ne tau-sika ake i mui e thamu ai  
 3PL=PFV arrive-straight go.up LDA place GENRbury OBL.PRO  
 a na tuohine la  
 PERS 3SG.POSS sister DEM.3  
 ‘They went straight to the place where his sister was buried.’
- b. *Ko tukuange po toa tau tama o hano o kutea e hai me hanoki akinai.*  
 ko taku-a ange po to-a t-a-u  
 INCP say-TR go.along COMP take-TR SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS  
 tama o hano o kute-a e hai me hano oki  
 child to go.SG to see-TR SG.NSP place PRSC go.SG again  
 akinai  
 OBL.PRO  
 ‘They said: “Take your son and go and find a place that you can go to.”’

#### 14.4. Adverbial clauses

##### 14.4.1. Defining adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses which modify a verb phrase or a proposition (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 172). As modifiers, they have a peripheral function within the larger clause; that is, they do not serve as arguments of the matrix verb, and may be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the main clause.

It is difficult to classify adverbial clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako. There is rarely a single subordinating morpheme used to form one specific type of adverbial clause; rather, a given function may be filled by several different formal means, and many forms occur in several different functional types of adverbial clauses. The following account takes function as its starting-point, meaning that the same form may be treated under several different headings.

##### 14.4.2. Temporal clauses

There are no subordinating morphemes used exclusively to form temporal clauses, analogous to English *when* or *while*. Clauses referring to the temporal setting of a proposition are formed in a number of different ways, which overlap to some extent with conditional clauses (14.4.6).

14.4.2.1. *Phrase-final na*

The most common way of constructing temporal clauses is with the demonstrative *na* in its function as a phrase-demarkation marker (cf. 18.2.2).

- (34) a. *A hinana ne lekange na, ko Kilikabe ko heiliange po...*  
 a      hina-na                      ne      lek-ange      na  
 PERS mother-3SG.POSS PFV go-go.along DEM.2  
 ko      Kilikabe ko      heili-a      ange      po  
 TOP Kilikabe INCP ask-TR go.along COMP  
 ‘When his mother came back, Kilikabe asked...’
- b. *Lhatne pale ake na ioko ia na e tu oho loa.*  
 lhat=ne      pale                      ake      na                      ioko      ia                      na  
 3PL=PFV reach.shore go.up DEM.2 CONJ 3SG DEM.2  
 e      thū      oho                      loa  
 GENRstand go.vertically EMPH  
 ‘When they arrived, she was standing there.’

As described in 18.2.6, the contrast between *na* and *la* may indicate relative temporal distance, and this temporal function is probably what we are seeing in the use of *na* in temporal clauses; the *na*-marked phrase indicates temporal precedence or backgrounding of the event described by the temporal clause relative to that of the matrix clause.

14.4.2.2. *anā ‘then, there’*

The deictic adverb *anā* ‘then, there’ is sometimes found introducing temporal clauses:

- (35) a. *Anā ne leiho na ioko na ingoa ko ue i mao la.*  
 a-nā                      ne      le-iho                      na                      ioko      na                      ingoa  
 then-DEM.2 PFV go-go.down DEM.2 CONJ 3SG.POSS uncle  
 ko      ua      i      mao      la  
 INCP paddle LDA far DEM.3  
 ‘When he came back, his uncle had paddled far off.’
- b. *Anā hangota i mua na la ko kutea tau hangota.*  
 a-nā                      hangota      i                      mua      na                      la  
 then-DEM.2 fish LDA place DEM.2 DEM.3  
 ko                      kute-a      t-a-u                      hangota  
 2SG.HORT see-TR SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS fish  
 ‘When you fish in that place, be careful in your fishing.’

Note that in (35a), the temporal clause is conjoined to the matrix clause with the conjunction *ioko* (17.3.1); thus *anā* does not have a syntactically subordinating function, but merely serves to indicate a certain semantic relationship between this clause and the following one.

#### 14.4.2.3. *ala* ‘future/hypothetical’

The modifying particle *ala* is sometimes found in temporal adverbial clauses; note that example (36) has the particle both in the temporal clause and the matrix clause:

- (36) *E akuaku ala ioko hai meme hehine ko au ala te malamake na.*  
 e        aku~aku    ala    ioko    hai    memea    hahine  
 GENR   RED~weed   HYP   CONJ   one    child    woman  
 ko       au       ala    te       malamake    na  
 INCP    come   HYP   SG.SP   morning   DEM.2  
 ‘While she was weeding, a girl happened to come by in the morning.’

Cf. 14.4.6 below on conditional clauses.

#### 14.4.2.4. *i* ‘when’

In a few cases, we find a temporal clause introduced by *i*. Note that example (37) has two successive temporal expressions, *i a pō e ohi* ‘every night’ and *i lhatna omai anganga ki nghauta* ‘when they came ashore’. The first of these is clearly a prepositional phrase with *i* ‘locative-directional-ablative’ followed by a noun modified by a relative clause; quite possibly the *i* in the second expression should also be analyzed as a preposition, in which case the clause as a whole should be interpreted as meaning ‘at [the time that] they came ashore; at their coming ashore’.

- (37) *No matange lhatou i a pō e ohi i lhatna o mai anganga ki nghauta.*  
 no        mata-a    ange    lhatou    i        a        pō        e        ohi  
 IPFV    watch-TR   go.along   3PL   LDA   COLL   night   GENR   finish  
 i        lhatu=na    ō        mai    anga~anga    ki    nghauta  
 when   3PL=PST   go.PL   come   RED~face    to    shore  
 ‘He used to watch them every night when they came ashore.’

#### 14.4.2.5. *mī/mui/mngai* ‘until, when’

Expressions meaning ‘until’ are formed with the noun for ‘place’, which differs between the three dialects: TAU *mī*, VAE *mui*, and NUP *mangai*. In the latter dialect, the form found in temporal expressions is usually shortened to

*mngai*; possibly, this could be interpreted as a sign that the form is grammaticalizing into something like a temporal conjunction. Note, however, the obligatory occurrence of the oblique pro-form *ai* in clauses introduced by *mī/mui/mngai*, which shows that *mī/mui/mngai* patterns like a noun fronted out of a prepositional phrase (cf. 10.7); *ai* replaces a prepositional phrase with *i*.

When used to form temporal clauses, *mī/mui/mngai* refers to a “place” in time rather than space, so that the literal translation of a temporal clause introduced by *mī/mui/mngai* would be ‘the point in time at which...’:

- (38) a. *A tai na ko thalithali mī ko malamake ai.* (TAU)  
 a tai na ko thali~thali mī ko malamake  
 COLL person DEM.2 INCP RED~wait place INCP morning  
 ai  
 OBL.PRO  
 ‘Those people waited until morning.’

- b. *I te pō e loa na ko tūtū mī henua ko ao ai.* (TAU)  
 i te pō e loa na ko thū~thū  
 LDA SG.SP night GENR long DEM.2 INCP RED~stand  
 mī henua ko ao ai  
 place land INCP dawn OBL.PRO  
 ‘He stood (there) all night long, until dawn.’

- (39) *Koi sili atu ai oki ki hai la, hai la, hai la, hai la,*  
 ko-i sili atu ai oki ki thai la  
 INCP-3SG throw go.out OBL.PRO again to one DEM.3  
 thai la thai la thai la  
 one DEM.3 one DEM.3 one DEM.3  
 ‘He threw it to another, and another, and another, and another.’

*mui ko sae ange ki a lha tokana e meitama.*  
 mui ko thae ange ki a la  
 place INCP reach go.along to POSS 3DU.POSS  
 thoka-na e mei-tama  
 same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS SG.NSP small-child  
 ‘until it reached their youngest brother.’

- (40) a. *Ko siai loa e tai po ke fano okhoia ki mouku mngai latuko tamatea ai te tai la.* (NUP)  
 ko siai loa e tai po ke fano okhoia  
 INCP NEG EMPHSG.NSP person COMP HORT go.SG 3SG.self  
 ki mouku mngai lhatu=ko ta-mate-a ai  
 to bush place 3PL=INCP hit-die-TR OBL.PRO  
 te tai la  
 SG.SP person DEM.3  
 ‘No one was allowed to go alone in the bush until they had killed that man.’
- b. *E fenatu ala te pakola ko sili ai ifo ia fatu na i thakitasi mngai ko mate ai.* (NUP)  
 e fano atu ala te pakhola ko sili ai  
 GENR go.SG go.out HYP SG.SP giant INCP throw OBL.PRO  
 ifo i a fatu na i taki-tasi  
 go.down LDA COLL stone DEM.2 LDA DISTR-one  
 mngai ko mate ai  
 place INCP die OBL.PRO  
 ‘If the giant comes, throw down one stone at a time until she dies.’

The use of *m̄/mui/mngai* to mean ‘point in time at which something happens’ means that ‘until’ is not always the most felicitous translation. In example (41) below, the literal meaning is ‘at the time when one month had passed’, which is better rendered in English as ‘when one month had passed’, or more idiomatically, ‘one month later’. Note that this *m̄*-marked clause differs in structure from those above in that it lacks the pro-form *ai*; we would have expected *m̄ tai akafu ko laka ai*. Possibly the use of a phrase-demarcational demonstrative instead of the oblique pro-form in this example is an indication of an increasing grammaticalization of *m̄*.

- (41) *Siai ne loa ko te fafine la ko fei tama. M̄ tai akafu ko laka na ko ia ko fanau na e mokotolo.* (NUP)  
 siai ne loa ko te fafine la ko fai tama  
 NEGPFV EMPHTOP SG.SP woman DEM.3 INCP do child  
 m̄ thai akafu ko laka na ko ia  
 place one month INCP pass DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 ko fanau na e mokotolo  
 INCP birth DEM.2 SG.NSP crocodile  
 ‘Soon the woman got pregnant. One month later she gave birth to a crocodile.’

#### 14.4.2.6. *taem* ‘when’

The form *taem*, originating from English *time*, is occasionally used to form temporal clauses. This is most likely a borrowing from Solomon Islands Pijin,

where the same form serves a similar function. As can be seen from (42b), where *taem* is preceded by the collective article, it functions syntactically as a noun, and when it is used to introduce a temporal clause, it requires a coreferent oblique pro-form following the verb, literally ‘the time at which...’.

- (42) a. *A iau e noho na ia taem uno akuaku ai i vaho ne uno kutea a buela.*  
 a iau e noho na ia taem u=no  
 PERS 1SG GENR stay DEM.2 CONJ time 1SG=IPFV  
 aku~aku ai i vaho ne  
 RED~weed OBL.PRO LDA outside DEM.1  
 u=no kute-a a buela  
 1SG=IPFV see-TR COLL pot  
 ‘I stay here, and while I’ve been weeding out here I’ve seen some pots.’

- b. *A taem mhatnō mai ai o fana ube o fana ube fana ube ne,*  
 a taem mhat=no ō mai ai o  
 COLL time 1PL.EXCL=IPFV go.PL come OBL.PRO to  
 fana ube o fana ube fana ube ne  
 shoot pigeon to shoot pigeons shoot pigeon DEM.1  
 ‘All the times we have come here to shoot pigeons,’

*hi ai loa hatno kutea mua ne.*

- siai loa mhat=no kute-a mua ne  
 NEG EMPH 1PL.EXCL=IPFV see-TR place DEM.1  
 ‘we have never seen this place.’

#### 14.4.3. Manner clauses

Manner clauses are typically introduced by *po* (cf. 14.2.5), which in this context might be translated as ‘like, as if’:

- (43) *Na no hinga po a ia na e nonohine, ioko ia na, na e pakhola loa ma.*  
 na no hinga po a ia na e no~nohine  
 DEM.2 IPFV do COMP PERS 3SG DEM.2 SG.NSP RED~wife  
 ioko ia na na e pakhola loa te-na  
 CONJ 3SG DEM.2 DEM.2 SG.NSP giant EMPHSG.SP-DEM.2  
 ‘She acts like a woman, but she is really a giant.’

## 14.4.4. Reason clauses

14.4.4.1. *dekina, takina* ‘because’

The most common way of forming reason clauses is with *dekina* ‘because’. This word shows a degree of phonological variation which is unique in Vaeakau-Taumako; all the following variants are attested: [dekina, dekna:, gina, kina, ndekina, negina, nekina, ŋga, ŋgi, ŋgina, nikina, ŋkina, takina, teŋgina]. *dekina* and *gina* are the preferred forms in VAE, in TAU *negina* and *nekina* are the most frequent, while in NUP we typically find *takina*. (Note that NUP has another form, *nongo*, meaning ‘because’, which is not found in the other dialects, cf. 14.4.4.4 below.)

*Dekina* is used with both existential (44) and verbal clauses (45):

(44) *Tai fafine koi takuange po*

thai fafine ko-i taku-a ange po  
 one woman INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP  
 ‘One woman spoke out and said.’

*te pakeo na na lemai na siai loa tatunoko kutea ki mao*

te pakeo na na le-mai na siai loa  
 SG.SP shark DEM.2 IRR go-come DEM.2 NEG EMPH  
 tatu=noko kute-a ki mao  
 1PL.INCL=IPFV see-TR to far  
 ‘‘When the shark comes we don’t see it far off,’’

*takina siai ona palā i na tua*

takina siai o-na pala i na tua  
 because NEG POSS-3SG.POSS fin LDA 3SG.POSS back  
 ‘because it has no fins on its back’

*po ke mia po tatu kutea ai ki mao.* (NUP)

po ke mia po tatu kute-a  
 COMP HORT break.surface COMP 1PL.INCL.HORT see-TR  
 ai ki mao  
 OBL.PRO to far  
 ‘that stick up so we can see it from afar.’’’

(45) a. *Lhatuko mathaku oki i te hinga na,*

lhatu=ko mathaku oki i te hinga na  
 3PL=INCP afraid again LDA SG.SP thing DEM.2  
 ‘They were afraid again’



*dekina no longo ake ia tai no thangi i te pamate na.*

dekina no longo ake i a tai no tangi  
because IPFV listen go.up LDA COLL person IPFV cry  
i te pā-mate na  
LDA SG.SP fence-die DEM.2

‘because they heard people crying in the churchyard.’

- b. *Ne longo ange ai te nohine la na,*

ne longo ange ai te nohine la na  
PFV hear go.along OBL.PROSG.SP wife DEM.3 DEM.2  
‘When the woman heard this,’

*te nohine la koi vuhia te hau o te kio la*

te nohine la ko-i vuhi-a te hau  
SG.SP wife DEM.3 INCP-3SG pull-TR SG.SP rope  
o te kio la  
POSS SG.SP chicken DEM.3

‘she pulled the chicken’s rope,’

*negina te kio la lhatne lihia ki lunga o te tohuhu.* (TAU)

negina te kio la lhatu=ne lihi-a ki lunga  
because SG.SP chicken DEM.3 3PL=PFV tie-TR to top  
o te tohuhu  
POSS SG.SP roof

‘because they had tethered him on top of the roof.’

In the following example *dekina* has scope over two clauses conjoined by *ioko* (cf. 17.3.1); the whole sequence is given as the reason for something else (why it is taboo for a woman to have sexual intercourse out of doors):

- (46) *Dekina koe fai ala i taha na ioko ngho vetungane e kuteoho a koe.*

dekina ko=e hai ala i taha na ioko  
because 2SG=GENR do HYP LDA side DEM.2 CONJ  
ngh-ō ve-tungane e kute-a oho a koe  
PL.SG-2SG.POSS PL-brother GENRsee-TR go.vertically PERS 2SG

‘Because if you do it outside, your brothers will see you.’

*Dekina* is occasionally also used in purpose clauses, cf. 14.4.5.3 below.

#### 14.4.4.2. *po* ‘complementizer’

Although the most common use of the complementizer *po* in adverbial clauses is to form purpose clauses (14.4.5.1), the close semantic link between reason

and purpose (cf. 14.4.5.3) means that reason clauses with *po* are not infrequent:

- (47) a. *Tuku ataliki ne po uko malela oki po ke thae mai kite iau.*  
 t-o-ku ataliki ne po u=ko  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS son DEM.1 COMP 1SG=INCP  
 malela oki po ke thae mai kite iau  
 happy again COMP HORT reach come to 1SG  
 ‘My son has made me happy again because he has come back to me.’
- b. *Laruka lohi mai loa o kuteatu houlua na po khoulua e kilihino kē.* (TAU)  
 lhatu=ka lohi mai loa o kute-a atu khoulua na  
 3PL=FUT gather come EMPH to see-TR go.out 2DU DEM.2  
 po khoulua e kili-hino kē  
 COMP DU GENR skin-body different  
 ‘They will come to see you because your skin is different.’

#### 14.4.4.3. *ka* ‘but, because’

As noted in 17.3.3, the conjunction *ka* ‘but’ is also used in reason clauses, meaning ‘since’ or ‘because’:

- (48) a. *A hina a raua te motu ona la ma ko ia e thū na.*  
 a hina a taua te motu o-na  
 PERS motherPOSS 1DU.INCL.POSS SG.SP island POSS-3SG.POSS  
 la te-na ko ia e thū na  
 DEM.3 SG.SP-DEM.2 TOP 3SG GENR stand DEM.2  
 ‘That is our mother’s island over there.’
- A ta uoho akinai ka o ta tungane ko mate.*  
 a ta ua oho akinai  
 then 1DU.INCL.HORT paddle go.vertically OBL.PRO  
 ka o ta tungane ko mate  
 CONJ POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS brother INCP die  
 ‘We should paddle there, now that our brother is dead.’
- b. *Ko ona hino ko palapala ka hiai no kai.*  
 ko o-na hino ko pala~pala ka  
 TOP POSS-3SG.POSS body INCP RED~weak CONJ  
 siai no kai  
 NEG IPFV eat  
 ‘His body got weak because he did not eat.’

14.4.4.4. *nongo* ‘because’ (NUP)

The form *nongo* ‘because’ is only attested in NUP.

- (49) a. *A ia e mae nongo e mathaku i a sinana.* (NUP)  
 a ia e mae nongo e mathaku  
 PERS 3SG GENR hurt because GENR afraid  
 i a sina-na  
 LDA PERS mother-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He is suffering because he is afraid of his mother.’
- b. *Thanga i te kaenga la e nofo fkaloalofa nongo a latu manumanu kosi.*  
 (NUP)  
 thanga i te kaenga la e nofo  
 group LDA SG.SP village DEM.3 GENR stay  
 fka-alo~alofa nongo a latu manu~manu k-osi  
 CAUS-RED~sad because POSS 3PL.POSS RED~animal INCP-finish  
 ‘The people in the village were very unhappy because all their domestic  
 animals were dead.’

## 14.4.5. Purpose clauses

14.4.5.1. *po* (ke) ‘in order to’

The complementizer *po* may be used to introduce purpose clauses, often without a tense-aspect-mood marker. This use of *po* is clearly related to the sense of mental activity which characterizes *po* in complement clauses (14.2.5), in that it refers to the actor’s intentions rather than actual events:

- (50) a. *Huanga mai oki ki Kahula po hangora oki ai.* (TAU)  
 hua-anga mai oki ki Kahula po hangota oki  
 CAUS-face come again to Kahula COMP fish again  
 ai  
 OBL.PRO  
 ‘They also came to Kahula in order to fish there too.’
- b. *Lhako thumai po la fulo.*  
 lha=ko thū mai po la hulo  
 3DU=INCP stand come COMP 3DU.HORT run.PL  
 ‘They got up to run.’

In the examples above, the *po*-marked clause lacks a tense-aspect-mood particle, and so could be said to be non-finite. However, *po* very frequently com-

bines with the modal particle *ke* in purpose clauses; the combination *po ke* may be translated ‘so that, in order to’:

- (51) a. *Te vela ka emo na ko te pakola ko fene ifo po ke kaukau*  
 te vela ka emo na ko te pakola  
 SG.SP sun FUT fall DEM.2 TOP SG.SP giant  
 ko fano ifo po ke kau~kau  
 INCP go go.down COMP HORTRED~swim  
 ‘Towards sunset the giant came out to have a bath’

*ia po ke fela kaikai ke fekai tapeo loa.* (NUP)  
 ia po ke fela kaikai ke<sup>45</sup> fe-kai tapeo loa  
 CONJ COMP HORT search food HORT DES-eat bad EMPH  
 ‘and to look for food. She was very hungry.’

- b. *Lhano anu na po a Hina ke nhangē*  
 lha=no anu na po a Hina ke  
 3DU=IPFV dance DEM.2 COMP PERS Hina HORT  
 hano ange  
 go.SG go.along  
 ‘They were dancing so that Hina could go’

*o hilihilia po ko ai la kai avanga ai na.*  
 o hili~hili-a po ko ai la  
 to RED~choose-TR COMP TOP who DEM.3  
 ka-i avanga ai na  
 FUT-3SG marry OBL.PRODEM.2  
 ‘and select who among them she would marry.’

It is possible, though rare, for the purpose clause following *po* to be nominalized:

- (52) *A iau ka fenatu ala o usia na ua*  
 a iau ka fano atu ala o usi-a na ua  
 PERS 1SG FUT go.SG go.out HYP to bite-TR 3SG.POSS neck  
 ‘I will come and bite her throat’

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<sup>45</sup> We would have expected *ko* (INCP) here, and the occurrence of *ke* may be due to influence from the two preceding *ke*-marked clauses.

*po taku ilo ai po a ia ko mate.* (NUP)  
 po t-a-ku ilo ai  
 COMP SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS know OBL.PRO  
 po a ia ko mate  
 COMP PERS 3SG INCP die  
 ‘to make sure she is dead (lit. for my knowing from it that she is dead).’

In example (53), *po* precedes a prepositional adjunct. Without *po*, this adjunct would have a purely directional reading; *po* adds a purposive/benefactive meaning, ‘it came to be given to us, for our benefit’:

(53) *Hokomua te valoamata na au ange loa ne po ki mhatou i a motumotu ne.*  
 hoko-mua te valoamata na au ange loa ne  
 CAUS-front SG.SP religion DEM.2 come go.along EMPHDEM.1  
 po ki mhatou i a motu~motu ne  
 COMP to 1PL.EXCL LDA COLL RED~island DEM.1  
 ‘A long time ago the (Christian) religion came to us here in the islands.’

#### 14.4.5.2. *o* ‘so that, in order to’

As noted in 17.3.5, *o* is used to introduce purpose clauses, typically describing the goal or purpose of an act of motion referred to by the verb of the main clause. Purpose clauses with *o* are non-finite insofar as they obligatorily lack a tense-aspect-mood particle, and they cannot contain an overt subject noun or pronoun. We analyze *o* as a subjunction, since the clauses it introduces are clearly subordinate to the matrix clause, depending on the matrix clause for the interpretation of its subject and tense-aspect-mood properties. We gloss it as ‘to’, rather than e.g. ‘and’, to distinguish it clearly from the homophonous conjunction *o* (cf. 17.3.5).

- (54) a. *A iau ka hano mua o muni, ioko koe ka au ala o henga a iau.*  
 a iau ka hano mua o muni  
 PERS 1SG FUT go.SG just to hide  
 ioko koe ka au ala o henga-a a iau  
 CONJ 2SG FUT come HYP to search-TRPERS 1SG  
 ‘I will go and hide, and then you will come and look for me.’
- b. *Mhātou ne ua mai o tuhi talie.*  
 mhatou ne ua mai o tuhi talie  
 1PL.EXCL PFV paddle come to pick talie  
 ‘We paddled here to pick *talie* nuts.’

- c. *Ko ai ka kavea o saki na īvi?*  
 ko ai ka kave-a o saki na ivi  
 TOP who FUT carry-TR to throw 3SG.POSS bone  
 ‘Who will take its bones and throw them away?’
- d. *A koi toa e mhana a ia koi toa koi molia o noho mai i Lua.*  
 a ko-i to-a e mha-na a ia  
 then INCP-3SG take-TR AG father-3SG.POSS PERS 3SG  
 ko-i to-a ko-i molia o noho mai i Lua  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG bring-TR to stay come in Lua  
 ‘So then his father brought him to stay in Lua.’

Most commonly, the verbs of the matrix clause and the *o*-marked clause share a subject; since most motion verbs are intransitive, this means that the S of the first verb corresponds to the S or A of the second verb. Both possibilities are illustrated in (54a): in *hano o muni* ‘go and hide’ both verbs are intransitive, while in *au o henga a iau* ‘come and look for me’, the second verb is transitive, the S of the first verb corresponds to the A of the second verb and the O of the second verb appears in its normal position following this verb. In (54b), the S of the intransitive first verb corresponds to the S of the semi-transitive second verb.

However, transitive verbs referring to acts of bringing and carrying also occur as the first verb in this construction, as seen in (54c–d). If the second verb is also transitive, the verbs will usually share both a subject and an object, as in (54c); but in (54d) we see an example of the object of the first verb, *molial* ‘bring’, corresponding to the subject of the intransitive second verb, *noho* ‘stay’.

The *o* in this construction may be omitted, yielding constructions superficially similar to serial verb constructions; however, as the verbs may still be independently modified by particles and prepositional phrases, and since the subjunction can always be inserted with no change in meaning, they cannot be said to be genuine SVCs as we define them for Vaeakau-Taumako; cf. 15.4.

- (55) *Ta pale ake mua manava i Mdema.*  
 ta pale ake mua manava i Matema  
 1DU.INCL.HORT arrive go.up just rest LDA Matema  
 ‘Let us go ashore and rest on Matema.’

#### 14.4.5.3. *dekina, takina* ‘because, so that’

As noted in 14.4.4.1, *dekina/takina* ‘because’ is occasionally found in purpose clauses. There is a clear semantic link between reason and purpose clauses, and many languages use the same morphology for both (Thompson and Lon-

gacre 1985: 185); the *purpose* of an act is essentially the actor's *reason* for carrying out the act. Thus we find examples like (56) in Vaeakau-Taumako:

- (56) *Ko thupuna koi takuange po uka sukuatu ala a ivi ke thū i ō sino*  
 ko thupu-na ko-i taku-a ange po  
 TOP grandparent-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP  
 u=ka suku-a atu ala a ivi ke thū  
 1SG=FUT put-TR go.out HYP COLL bone HORT stand  
 i ō sino  
 LDA2SG.POSS body  
 'The grandmother said: "I will make sharp thorns stand on your body"

*takina auā ala te-na-i kai-nga a koe.* (NUP)

takina auā ala te-na-i kai-nga a koe  
 because PROH HYP SG.SP-3SG.POSS-3SG eat-NMLZ PERS 2SG  
 'so that he cannot eat you.'

#### 14.4.6. Conditional clauses

There is a variety of ways of expressing conditional clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako. It is difficult to identify a single form corresponding to English *if*; most of the morphemes found in conditional clauses also have other uses. Some of the strategies used to form conditional clauses are the same as those found in temporal clauses (14.4.2); this overlap is not unusual typologically (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 193).

##### 14.4.6.1. Juxtaposition

Conditional clauses may be simply juxtaposed to the matrix clause, without further marking:

- (57) a. *Koko flemoe la koko tokorake mua o hilitua.*  
 ko=ko fele-moe la ko=ko takoto ake mua  
 2SG=INCP DES-sleep DEM.3 2SG=INCP lie go.up just  
 o hilitua  
 to rest  
 'If you are sleepy, you should lie down and rest.'

- b. *Hai langi koi takuange ki a Tekeia,*  
 thai langi ko-i taku-a ange ki a Tekeia  
 one day INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to PERS Tekeia  
 ‘One day he told Tekeia’

*po a nohine ana ko tupu pakhola na koi kina te meme o larou*  
 po a nohine a-na ko tupu pakhola na  
 COMP PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS INCP grow giant DEM.2  
 ko-i kai-na te meme o latou  
 INCP-3SG eat-TR SG.SP baby POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘that his wife had turned into a giant and eaten their baby,’

*a ia e hioki ala na*  
 a ia e ahio oki ala na  
 PERS 3SG GENRreturn again HYP DEM.2  
 ‘and if he returned home’

*ko ia ka hai ange oki la mī e korahi la.*  
 ko ia ka hai ange oki la  
 TOP 3SG FUT do go.along again DEM.3  
 mī e kotahi la  
 place GENR one DEM.3  
 ‘she would do the same thing to him.’

#### 14.4.6.2. *halā* ‘if, assuming’

As noted in 17.4.4, the adverbial conjunction *halā* ‘assuming’ may be used to introduce conditional clauses:

- (58) a. *Halā te ngaluehue na, a vai ne ko malingi.*  
 halā te ngalue~hue na a vai ne  
 assume SG.SP shake~RED DEM.2 COLL water DEM.1  
 ko malingi  
 INCP pour  
 ‘If it is shaken, the water will spill.’
- b. *Halā ku huahea kuna mate la,*  
 halā k=u hua-hea ku=na mate la  
 assume HORT=1SG CAUS-where 1SG=IRR die DEM.3  
 ‘If I somehow die,’

*ioko koe me toa mai ne hatu babukene ne.*  
 ioko koe me to-a mai ne hatu babukene ne  
 CONJ 2SG PRSC take-TR come DEM.1 stone pumpkin DEM.1  
 you must take these pumpkin seeds.’



14.4.6.3. *anā* ‘then, there’

The deictic adverb *anā* (cf. 5.3.5) sometimes introduces a conditional clause, cf. 14.4.2.2 above on temporal clauses; the difference between a conditional and a temporal reading is not always obvious.

- (59) a. *Anā ko ia ei vlokinatu na hai e tū i na pihoulu la,*  
 a-na ko ia e-i vloki-na atu na  
 then-DEM.2 TOP 3SG GENR-3SG push-TR go.out DEM.2  
 thai e thū i na pihoulu la  
 one GENRstand LDA 3SG.POSS head DEM.3  
 ‘If he tries to give you the one sitting on his head,’

*auā khoulua no toange.* (NUP)

auā khoulua no to-a ange  
 PROH 2DU IPFV take-TR go.along  
 ‘do not take it.’

- b. *Ni tai anā ka ō mai ki thaunga raua,*  
 ni tai a-na ka ō mai ki thaunga  
 PL.NSP person then-DEM.2 FUT go.PL come to house  
 o taua  
 POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS  
 ‘If any people come to our house,’

*lhatue iloa po a koe na no kai tai.*

lhatu=e ilo-a po a koe na  
 3PL=GENR know-TR COMP PERS 2SG DEM.2  
 no kai tai  
 IPFV eat person  
 ‘they know that you eat humans.’

14.4.6.4. *phelā* ‘like that’

The verbal demonstrative *phelā* (cf. 5.3.4) is quite commonly found introducing conditional clauses.

- (60) a. *Pelā ue hūulioho na,*  
 phe-la u=e hua-thū-lia oho na  
 like-DEM.3 1SG=GENR CAUS-stand-TR go.vertically DEM.2  
 ‘If I put him down,’

*ko ia hiei ala ne tena emo ki te vai koi telekia e te vai?*  
 ko ia siai ala ne te-na emo  
 TOP 3SG NEG HYP DEM.1 SG.SP-3SG.POSS fall  
 ki te vai ko-i tele-kia e te vai  
 to SG.SP water INCP-3SG run-TR AG SG.SP water  
 ‘won’t he fall into the water and be taken by the current?’

- b. *A pelā kono maoli la thatuko ō ake loa o hengā.*  
 a phe-la ko=no maoli la  
 then like-DEM.3 2SG=IPFV true DEM.3  
 thatu=ko ō ake loa o henga-a  
 1PL.INCL=INCP go.PL go.up EMPHto search-TR  
 ‘If you are telling the truth, let us go and look for her.’

In this function, *phelā* may combine with the complementizer *po* (14.2.5). Given the basic meaning of *phelā* as ‘do/be like that’, this may be an indication that the conditional clause actually functions as a complement to *phelā* in these cases; a more literal translation of (61) would then be: ‘If it was like that, that she died, he would not take good care of his sister’.

- (61) a. *Pelā po e mate na, ko ia hiai ala ne pikia lāvoina na tuohine na.*  
 phe-la po e mate na ko ia siai ala  
 like-DEM.3 COMP GENR die DEM.2 TOP 3SG NEG HYP  
 ne piki-a lavo-na na tuohine na  
 PFV hold-TR good-TR 3SG.POSS sister DEM.2  
 ‘If she died, he (her son) would not take good care of his sister.’

#### 14.4.6.5. *ala* ‘hypothetical’

The postverbal particle *ala* (11.3.2) is also frequent in conditional clauses (cf. 14.4.2.3 above on temporal clauses). Note that in (62a), *ala* occurs both in the conditional clause and in the clause referring to the predicted outcome:

- (62) a. *Kimaua ne e nofo loa fakatasi.*  
 kimaua ne e nofo loa faka-tasi  
 1DU.EXCL DEM.1 GENR stay EMPHCAUS-one  
 ‘We are always together.’

*Thai kimaua e fano ala na ka mate ala.* (NUP)  
 thai kimaua e fano ala na ka mate ala  
 one 1DU.EXCL GENR go.SG HYP DEM.2 FUT die HYP  
 ‘If one of us goes away, she will die.’

- b. *E au ala u=ka ta-kili-hia atu.*  
 e au ala u=ka ta-kili-hia atu  
 GENR come HYP 1SG=FUT hit-kill-TR go.out  
 ‘If he comes, I will kill him for you.’

#### 14.4.7. Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are typically introduced by *katoma* ‘although, no matter if’. Thompson and Longacre (1985: 198) distinguish between *definite* concessive clauses, which are semantically definite in that they can be paraphrased by ‘in spite of the fact that...’, and *indefinite* concessive clauses, which signal a meaning like ‘no matter what’ or ‘whatever’. *Katoma* in Vaeakau-Taumako has both these uses; (63a) illustrates a definite concessive clause, while (63b) shows an indefinite concessive clause:

- (63) a. *Karoma na lima e motu na uka toa loa ma nohineaku.*  
 katoma na lima e motu na  
 although 3SG.POSS hand GENR cut DEM.2  
 u=ka to-a loa ma nohine a-ku  
 1SG=FUT take-TR EMPH BEN wife POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Even though her hand is cut off, I will take her as my wife.’

- b. *Ia karoma e tepeo o e lāvoi ko ia kai toa loa.*  
 ia katoma e tepeo o e lāvoi  
 CONJ although GENR bad CONJ GENR good  
 ko ia ka-i to-a loa  
 TOP 3SG FUT-3SG take-TR EMPH  
 ‘Whether he is ugly or handsome, he (= whoever finds and returns a lost ring) will marry (my daughter).’

## Chapter 15

### Serial verbs and related constructions

#### 15.1. Introduction<sup>46</sup>

Vaeakau-Taumako has a number of constructions in which verbs or verb phrases are juxtaposed without conjunctions or any other indications of the relationship between them. Some of these are difficult to classify formally: are they simply sequences of independent clauses, which can be unproblematically juxtaposed in Vaeakau-Taumako as a means of describing sequential events, or is there a tighter cohesion between them, of the kind which has frequently been described as verb serialization?

The term “serial verb” is notoriously difficult to define. To quote Crowley (2002: 10) on the question of identifying serial verbs in Oceanic languages: “Perhaps somewhat depressingly, Lord (1993: 1) says, ‘defining serial verb constructions is a sticky business’, and on the basis of my experience with Oceanic languages, these are not words that I would wish to dispute”.

Crowley himself defines serial verb constructions as “syntactic constructions involving what can be analyzed at the surface level as single clauses, but which are nevertheless expressed by means of *multiple predicates*” (Crowley 2002: 10) [our emphasis]. By contrast, Aikhenvald (2006: 1) describes a serial verb construction as “a sequence of verbs which act together as a *single predicate*, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any sort” [our emphasis]. As we will distinguish here between *nuclear-layer* and *core-layer* serialization, involving the juxtaposition of elements at different levels of the clause, we find it most fruitful to emphasize the requirement that the construction involve a single clause; whether the verbs in question may also be taken to form a single predicate depends on the level at which serialization takes place.

The nuclear- versus core-layer serialization distinction builds on the layered clause-structure model presented in Foley and Van Valin (1984), where a clause is taken to consist of three layers: the nucleus, consisting of the predi-

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<sup>46</sup> The account in this chapter builds to a large extent on Næss (2004b), although the analysis of some of the constructions, notably the motion+purpose construction described in 15.4 and constructions involving directionals, has been revised since the publication of that work.

cate; the core, which includes the valence-bound arguments of the predicate; and the periphery, which “contains arguments expressing the spatio-temporal setting of the event, as well as the secondary participants in the event, e.g. beneficiaries” (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 77). Grammatical operators have scope over different clausal layers; for instance, aspect is a nuclear-layer operator, because it expresses “the temporal structure of the event itself without regard to its participants” (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 209); only the predicate itself is within the scope of aspectual operators. Modality is a core-layer operator, because it is concerned with the relationship between the event and its participants; while tense, which indicates the temporal setting of the clause as a whole, is a peripheral-layer operator.

Verb serialization may take place in either of the two innermost of these layers. Nuclear-layer serialization involves two predicates joined together to form a complex nucleus (cf. 9.3.4), while in core-layer serialization, two cores, each with its own nucleus and core arguments, are joined together to form a larger, complex core. In each type of serialization, the serialized verbs must share all grammatical operators of the layer in which they are joined, and of higher level-layers.

Although frequent in Oceanic languages in general, serial verb constructions have not typically been posited for Polynesian languages (Crowley 2002: 158). The scarcity of bound morphology makes it particularly difficult to distinguish such constructions, if they can be taken to be present, from other complex constructions such as compound verbs on the one hand and sequences of distinct clauses on the other.

In Vaeakau-Taumako, such difficulties are certainly present. The criteria involved in distinguishing compounds from what we will here call nuclear-layer serialization were discussed in 9.3.2. But core-layer serialization, which involves sequences of distinct nuclei, with distinct tense-aspect-mood marking, but sharing one or more arguments, may be difficult to distinguish from simple sequences of juxtaposed clauses with few or no overt argument noun phrases, as in the following:

- (1) *Ioko te mangki no noho i lunga o te lakau.*  
 ioko te mangki no noho i lunga o te lakau  
 CONJ SG.SP monkey IPFV stay LDA top POSS SG.SP tree  
 ‘And there was a monkey living in the top of a tree.’

*Ne leleho na koi vakapua te lole i te lima o te lepū,*  
 ne lele oho na ko-i va-khapo-a  
 PFV jump go.vertically DEM.2 IPFV-3SG CAUS-reach-TR  
 te lole i te lima o te lepū  
 SG.SP candy LDA SG.SP hand POSS SG.SP rat  
 ‘(He) jumped down (and) grabbed the candy from the rat’s hand.’

*ko lele ake ma ia ko vetheki.*

ko lele ake ma ia ko vetheki

INCP jump go.up with 3SG INCP run

‘(he) jumped up with it (and) ran away.’

Nevertheless, we believe it is possible to distinguish constructions both at the nuclear and the core level which may be plausibly analyzed a serial verb constructions in Vaeakau-Taumako. The criteria involved in identifying these constructions will be discussed for each construction type below.

## 15.2. Head-modifier (nuclear-layer) serialization

As described in 9.3.4, a verb may modify another verb in a construction which may formally be classified as nuclear-layer serialization (Foley and Van Valin 1984:190): two verbs joined together to form a single complex verb-phrase nucleus, where the second verb semantically modifies the first. Such verbs share arguments and tense-aspect-mood markers, and must agree in transitivity status: if the first verb (V1) is transitive, the second verb (V2) takes the transitive suffix *-ina*. Aikhenvald (2006: 21–22) refers to such constructions as *asymmetrical serial verb constructions*.

- (2) a. *Ue tulia tapoina loa i toku ngakau a matea hukua atu loa i kalikao na moku.*

u=e tuli-a tapeo-ina loa i t-o-ku

1SG=GENR want-TR bad-TR EMPHLDA SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS

ngakau a matea huku-a atu loa i kalikao  
guts then maybe put-TR go.out EMPH some trochus.shell

na mo-ku

DEM.2 BEN-1SG.POSS

‘I would very much like to put on some trochus shell.’

- b. *Ko te fafine la koi iloa lavoina la po tenai langa a kanui o te tanga.* (NUP)

ko te fafine la ko-i ilo-a lavoi-ina

TOP SG.SP woman DEM.3 IPFV-3SG know-TR good-TR

la po te-na-i langa a kanui

DEM.3 COMP SG.SP-3SG.POSS-3SG weave COLL pattern

o te tanga

POSS SG.SP basket

‘The woman knew well how to weave the different basket patterns.’

- c. *Noi motimotia palikina a taveli.*  
 no-i motu~motu-ia pa-lik-i-ina a taveli  
 IPFV RED~cut-TR PL-small-TR COLL banana  
 ‘He is cutting the banana into small pieces.’

As demonstrated in 9.3.4, nuclear-layer serializations are distinct both from compounds on the one hand and from adverbial modification on the other. Neither of the latter two show the transitive suffixing found in nuclear-layer serializations; compounds because they are treated morphosyntactically as single verbs, and adverbs because they are outside the verb-phrase nucleus.

Nuclear-layer serialization in Vaeakau-Taumako is generally limited to two verbs in a single nucleus, except where directional verbs are involved; as described in 9.3.5, either non-directional verb in a complex nucleus, or both, may be followed by a directional verb.

### 15.3. Complex-event constructions

A few lexical verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako have a structure which appears to be analyzable as a sequence of two verbs functioning as a single lexical stem, where the second verb describes the result of the action described by the first verb, and where the entire complex stem takes a single set of grammatical affixes. This is the case, for example, with the two verbs *tamdea* and *taklihia*, both meaning ‘kill’, which may plausibly be segmented as *ta-mate-a* ‘hit-die-TR’ and *ta-kili-hia* ‘hit-kill-TR’, respectively.

In general, serialization where both verbs describe aspects of a single event, without there being a clear relationship of modification between the two, is very rare in Vaeakau-Taumako, and these two complex verbs, where the first element described the cause and the second the effect of a single complex event, are by far the most frequently occurring examples of such a construction. Such serialization is, however, both productive and very frequent in Äiwoo, as are lexicalized forms based on such serializations (Næss and Boerger 2008: 197–203); possibly, the few examples of such structures found in our Vaeakau-Taumako material are calqued on the Äiwoo constructions.

Apart from lexicalized expressions, (3a–b) are the only clear examples we have of this type of verb serialization. Note, though, that in (3a), which describes a cause-effect sequence, the “effect verb”, *pae* ‘be scattered’ is the initial verb; this is unusual for such constructions, where the “cause” verb would typically be expected to precede the “effect” verb. It is possible that this, too, represents a lexicalized expression.

- (3) a. *Mhatune ō ake na, ioko a lakau na ko pae ino ki te ala na.*  
 mhatu=ne      ō      ake      na      ioko      a      lakau      na  
 1PL.EXCL=PFV go.PL go.up DEM.2      CONJ COLL tree      DEM.2  
 ko      pae      ino      ki      te      ala      na  
 INCP scatter fall to SG.SP road      DEM.2  
 ‘We went further inland, and the trees, they were scattered all over the road.’
- b. *Ko thahea siki ange loa ki te matua na, ki a John.*  
 ko      thahea      siki      ange      loa      ki      te      matua      na  
 INCP drift roll go.along EMPH to SG.SP old.man      DEM.2  
 ki      a      John  
 to PERS John  
 ‘It drifted straight towards that old man, towards John.’

#### 15.4. Motion + purpose constructions

The very common construction whereby an intransitive motion verb is directly followed by another verb indicating the goal or purpose of the motion event, cannot be classified as verb serialization properly speaking. Although they superficially resemble nuclear-layer serialization, and while similar meanings are often expressed by serialization in other languages (Durie 1987: 310), it is always possible to form an equivalent structure with the subjunction *o* (14.4.5.2); a frequently-cited criterion for verb serialization is that inserting a conjunction or subjunction between the verbs should not be possible (van Staden and Reesink 2008):

- (4) a. *Hai langi na ko hano hangota.*  
 thai      langi      na      ko      hano      hangota  
 one      day      DEM.2      INCP go.SG fish  
 ‘One day he went fishing.’
- b. *Thai langi na lhatuko ō pō paikea i mouku.*  
 thai      langi      na      lhatu=ko      ō      pō      paikea      i      mouku  
 one      day      DEM.2      3PL=INCP go.PL grab crab LDA bush  
 ‘One day they went to catch crabs in the bush.’
- c. *Siai loa e kaenga latu nofo manava ai. (NUP)*  
 siai      loa      e      kaenga      latu      nofo      manava  
 NEG EMPHSG.NSP village 3PL.HORT stay rest  
 ai  
 OBL.PRO  
 ‘There was no village where they could stay and rest.’



Compare (4) to (5), with an overt subjunction:

- (5) a. *Lhatka o mai ala o fangota.*  
 lhatu=ka    o    mai    ala    o    hangota  
 3PL=FUT    go.PL    come    HYP    to    fish  
 ‘They will come here to fish.’
- b. *Lharue noho ai o memena na.*  
 lhatu=e    noho    ai    o    me~mena    na  
 3PL=GENR    sit    OBL.PRO    to    RED~talk    DEM.2  
 ‘They sat there talking.’

It is nevertheless an interesting problem how to characterize structures such as those in (4) formally. Even setting aside the possibility of inserting a subjunction, they are clearly not nuclear-layer serializations, since postnuclear elements may intervene between the verbs; rather, they are sequences of verb-phrase nuclei plus postnuclear elements subsumed under a single set of grammatical operators such as tense-aspect-mood marking and negation:

- (6) a. *A hiai ne hano lavaki, na e thailiange.*  
 a    siai    ne    hano    lavaki    na    e  
 then    NEG    PFV    go.SG    disappear    DEM.2    GENR  
 thaili-a    ange  
 wait-TR    go.along  
 ‘He did not go away, he waited for him.’
- b. *Thatuka o atu mua hangota i Malimi.*  
 thatu=ka    o    atu    mua    hangota    i    Malimi  
 1PL.INCL=FUT    go.PL    go.out    just    fish    LDA    Malimi  
 ‘We will go and fish at Malimi.’

It is not unreasonable to say that structures such as those in (6) exhibit certain characteristics of verb serialization, though they are not fully-fledged serial verb constructions. It is interesting to note that Äiwoo has two types of nuclear-layer serial verb constructions whose functions are very similar to those of the Vaeakau-Taumako head-modifier serialization construction (15.2) and the construction currently under discussion. One type is used for the modification of a head verb by one or more additional verbs, and shows formal parallels to the structure described in 15.2 in that intransitive verbs show a transitive suffix when used to modify a transitive verb (Næss and Boerger 2008: 195–197). In the other type, each verb in the complex structure is used to describe aspects of a complex event (cf. 15.3); one type of event which can be described by such a structure is that of motion for a purpose, e.g. *wo-kou* ‘go

and hide'. Conceivably, the presence of these highly frequent patterns in Äi-woo may have influenced the way in which similar event types are expressed in Vaeakau-Taumako.

## 15.5. Core-layer serialization

### 15.5.1. Introduction

The core layer of a clause, in the model of Foley and Van Valin (1984), consists of the predicate plus its valence-bound arguments, but excludes peripheral elements such as adverbial phrases or secondary participants such as beneficiaries. At the core level, verb serialization involves sequences of distinct nuclei and their arguments; the characteristic property of a serialized construction is that it requires at least one of the arguments to be coreferential for all verbs of the construction (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 190).

There are constructions in Vaeakau-Taumako which resemble core-layer serialization, but which are impossible in practice to distinguish reliably from juxtaposed clauses with equi-deletion of coreferential arguments:

- (7) *Ko nhangē te tua la koi tapenakina kaikai.*  
 ko hano ange te athua la ko-i  
 INCP go.SG go.along SG.SP spirit DEM.3 INCP-3SG  
 ta-pena-kina kaikai  
 PREF-prepare-APPL food  
 'The spirit went and prepared some food.'

The two verb phrases show separate tense-aspect-mood marking, but share a subject argument. The subject of the intransitive V1 is postposed, possibly as a means of "carrying it over" to the following verb; as noted in 13.2.4, noun phrases which encode arguments of two consecutive clauses most frequently occur in the position following the initial verb. Such syntactic sharing of arguments might be considered an indication that the verbs are serialized. On the other hand, there is nothing to preclude an analysis whereby the subject of the second clause is simply omitted under coreference with the subject of the first, in which case this is an example of argument ellipsis rather than verb serialization.

We also find constructions where the shared or omitted argument is the object of a transitive V1, and the subject of the V2. Under a serialization analysis, such structures would qualify as "switch-subject serialization" (Crowley 1987: 39):

- (8) *Ko ko teia nohine aku ko mate.*  
 ko=ko ta-ia nohine a-ku ko mate  
 2SG=INCP hit-TR wife POSS-1SG.POSS INCP die  
 ‘You killed my wife (lit. you hit my wife and (she) died).’

Again, there is no reliable way of determining whether this structure is equivalent to two separate clauses with distinct argument noun phrases, but where the subject of the second clause happens to be omitted because it is coreferent with the object of the first; or whether it is a construction specifically geared towards allowing verbs to syntactically share arguments in a serialization construction.

There are, however, some instances where it is possible to make a more solid case for a core-layer serialization analysis; these will be treated below.

### 15.5.2. Ambient serialization

Vaeakau-Taumako has a construction in which a verb phrase modifies another verb phrase, and where it is not possible to have overt noun-phrase arguments for each separate verb phrase; such instances cannot be analyzed as resulting from argument ellipsis. They represent the kind of structure which Crowley (1987: 49) refers to as “ambient serialization”, while Aikhenvald (2006: 18–19) calls it “event-argument serial verb constructions”: there are no shared arguments, the second verb phrase functions as a kind of manner adverb modifying the first verb phrase, and has no specific referent associated with its subject; it “simply describes a generalized predication” (Crowley 1987: 49). We have attested three verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako which may express such “generalized predications”: *lavoi* ‘good’, *batava* ‘good’ (a Solomon Islands Pijin loanword originating in English *proper*), and *osi* ‘finish’:

- (9) a. *Lhako kaikai ko lavoi.*  
 lha=ko kai-kai ko lavoi  
 3DU=INCP RED~eat INCP good  
 ‘They ate until they were full (lit. they ate, it was good).’
- b. *A hihinga mharuko pepenā ko barava.*  
 a hi-hinga mhatu=ko pe-pena-a ko  
 COLL RED~thing 1PL.EXCL=INCP RED~prepare-TR INCP  
 batava  
 good  
 ‘We have prepared everything properly (lit. we have prepared the things, it is good).’

- c. *Ko a poi la e khī loa, ko thahea kosi.*  
 ko a poi la e khī loa ko thahea  
 TOP COLL pig DEM.3 GENR all.go EMPHINCP drift  
 k-osi  
 INCP-finish  
 ‘The pigs were gone, they had all drifted away (lit. they drifted, it finished).’

### 15.5.3. Serialization with *toa* ‘take’

A special type of core-layer verb serialization involves the verb *toa* ‘take’ as the initial verb (V1). The rationale for classifying such constructions as serial verb constructions rather than as simple juxtapositions of clauses is that they serve a grammatical function not inherent to any of the elements separately; indeed, two distinct grammatical functions can be expressed through serialization with *toa*, each associated with a distinct word-order pattern.

#### 15.5.3.1. *toa* serialization 1: Argument introduction

Verbs meaning ‘take’ are very common in verb serialization constructions crosslinguistically. Lord (1993: 65) notes that “In many languages, a verb meaning ‘take’, occurring as the first verb in a serial verb construction, serves to introduce an object noun functioning as semantic Instrument, Patient, means, manner, or material.” Such serialized ‘take’ verbs sometimes grammaticalize further into direct-object markers.

The use of *toa* ‘take’ to introduce an object argument is very common in Vaeakau-Taumako, and includes cases where a literal interpretation “take X and do something to it” is clearly inappropriate. In example (10), such an interpretation is quite felicitous, while at the same time *a ika* ‘the fish’ is being explicitly introduced in the text for the first time; the immediately preceding part of the narrative tells of a man returning from the sea, but does not explicitly mention the fish he has caught.

- (10) *Nheho a te matuana ko ua mai.*  
 hano iho a te matua a-na  
 go.SG go.down PERS SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ko ua mai  
 INCP paddle come  
 She went down, and her husband came paddling back.

*Lhako toange a ika ko thunange.*  
 lha=ko to-a ange a ika ko thuna-a ange  
 3DU=INCP take-TR go.along COLL fish INCP cook-TR go.along  
 ‘They took the fish and cooked it.’

However, in (11), there is no literal act of taking involved:

- (11) *Te kulī koi toa na pihoulu koi luluia.*  
 te kulī ko-i to-a na pihoulu  
 SG.SP dog INCP-3SG take-TR 3SG.POSS head  
 ko-i lulu-ia  
 INCP-3SG shake-TR  
 ‘The dog shook his head.’

*toa* clearly does not refer to a physical act of taking in this example; the dog does not grab hold of its head to shake it by means of its paws. Rather, *toa* is here used to introduce an argument which is central to the further development of the narrative; there is a rat hiding in the dog’s ear, and it falls out when the dog shakes its head.

Although such constructions frequently occur when an argument is introduced into a text for the first time, there are relatively few examples in our material where it is absolutely clear that the only function of *toa* is to introduce an argument, and no literal meaning of taking is implied; this is simply because most arguments introduced in this way are objects which may be physically manipulated. Another example where a literal ‘take’ meaning is unlikely also involves a body part, similarly to (11):

- (12) *Koi toa na noko koi mueia i te paua.*  
 ko-i to-a na noko ko-i mue-ia  
 INCP-3SG take-TR 3SG.POSS buttock INCP-3SG slam-TR  
 i te paua  
 LDASG.SP giant.clam  
 ‘(The turtle) slammed into the giant clam with his bottom.’

The phrase-demarcational function of demonstratives in Vaeakau-Taumako (18.2.2) allows us to assume that when the initial verb plus object is followed by a demonstrative, they cannot be understood as being serialized to a following verb, as the demonstrative sets off the phrase in which it occurs as a distinct, independent unit. We would then predict that in a structure similar to (10–12), but with a demonstrative following the object of *toa*, only the literal ‘take, hold, grab’ reading arises. This is seen in example (13):

- (13) *Kapā ange koi toa na hau na koi vuhia mai.*  
 kapa-a ange ko-i to-a na hau na  
 reach-TR go.along INCP-3SG take-TR 3SG.POSS rope DEM.2  
 ko-i vuhi-a mai  
 INCP-3SG pull-TR come  
 ‘He reached out and grabbed the ropes (of the canoe) and pulled it towards him.’

In this example, *toa* does not function to introduce an object into the discourse; if that were the case, we would expect this object to continue to be topical, or at least be an argument, in the following clause. But the topic of this whole sequence is the canoe, which is introduced in a previous clause; the object of *vuhia mai* ‘pull towards him’ must be understood as being the canoe, not the ropes which are just an incidental instrument by means of which this is achieved. Therefore, this is not a serialization construction, but a sequence of two clauses, where the verb of the first happens to be *toa* ‘take’.

### 15.5.3.2. *toa* serialization 2: Volitional/inceptive

There are a number of cases where *toa* appears to be serialized to another verb, and where it cannot be interpreted as contributing a literal meaning of taking; but where it cannot either be analyzed as serving to introduce an object noun, as in 15.5.3.1 above.

(14) *Koi toa koi takahia te lauplaka na a ko fotu.*

ko-i        to-a        ko-i        taka-hia    te    lau    pulaka    na  
INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG stamp-TR SG.SP leaf    giant.taro DEM.2

a    ko    fotu  
then INCP perforate

‘(The pig) stamped on the taro leaf, and it broke.’

There does not appear to be any argument noun here for *toa* to introduce – the object *te lau pulaka* follows the entire verb sequence, and therefore cannot be “introduced” by *toa*. Nor does the clause refer to an event of taking. The example is taken from a story about a group of animals who use a giant taro leaf as a boat to sail out to sea; the subject participant, a pig, is standing on the leaf and does not perform any act of “taking” it. The function of *toa* in this serialization construction, which is extremely common in Vaeakau-Taumako, is to emphasize the volitional initiation of the act described by the V2. As such, it places particular focus on the instigation of the act, and therefore may be said to have a partly aspectual function.

The volitional inception reading is particularly clear in example (15). Startling someone (literally ‘cause to jump’) can be done unintentionally, but in this example it is an intentional act: the victim is sitting by the sea feeding a barracuda, and when startled he falls into the water and is eaten by the fish. The purpose of this subtle act of murder is to leave the perpetrator free to have his way with the victim’s two sisters, whom he covets. The use of *toa* here makes the intentionality of the act explicit; it is not possible to read (15) as referring to an accidental act.

- (15) *Ko ia ne mohimohi oho halāvoi la,*  
 ko ia ne mohi~mohi oho hua-lavoi la  
 TOP 3SG PFV RED~creep go.vertically CAUS-good DEM.3  
 ‘He crept up slowly,’

*leleleho na koi toa ko haplengia la mhala.*  
 le~le~le-oho na ko-i to-a  
 RED~RED~go-go.vertically DEM.2 INCP-3SG take-TR  
 ko-i hua-pole-ngia la mha-la  
 INCP-3SG CAUS-jump-TR DEM.3 man-DEM.3  
 ‘he came down and (intentionally) startled the man.’

With very few exceptions, the V2 in such serialized constructions is transitive; that is, there has to be an object involved in the event. The volitional instigation of the event is relevant precisely because it has an effect on some object; only when an act has a perceptible effect is the question of whether or not it was performed deliberately really of interest, because it determines whether or not the actor can be ascribed responsibility for the effect. This notion of responsibility or accountability is particularly clear in example (16), where a man confronts his wife’s murderer:

- (16) *A koe tau huaoaoao, koko toa ko teia nohineaku.*  
 a koe t-a-u huaoao~ao  
 PERS 2SG SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS cruel~RED  
 ko=ko to-a ko te-ia nohine a-ku  
 2SG=INCP take-TR INCP hit-TR wife POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Your crime is that you killed my wife (on purpose).’

In example (14), too, responsibility for the leaf’s breaking is ascribed to the pig; although he did not intend the leaf to break, the act that led to the breaking was deliberate, and therefore he is responsible for the result (which proves disastrous; the leaf and all its passengers sink). In the few cases where *toa* is found serialized to an intransitive verb, there is typically an effect implied, usually on the subject. In example (17), for example, the *toa* construction is used to underscore the fact that the subject participant deliberately lies down in the oven to be baked, and so assumes responsibility for the consequences:

- (17) *Koi toa ko takorake ko takoro koi taona.*  
 ko-i to-a ko takoto ake ko takoto ko-i tao-na  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP lie go.up INCP lie INCP-3SG bake-TR  
 ‘He lay down to be baked.’

### 15.5.3.3. *Word order in toa constructions: contiguous vs non-contiguous serialization*

As may be observed from examples (10–17), the two serialization constructions with *toa* differ not only in the meaning contributed by *toa*, but also in the order of the elements of the construction: in the argument-introduction SVC, the shared object occurs between the two verbs, whereas in the volitional inception construction, it follows both verbs.

This difference corresponds to what Durie (1997) refers to as *contiguous* vs. *non-contiguous* serialization. In contiguous serialization, the serialized verbs act like a single verb as far as the placement of arguments is concerned, meaning that any arguments occur outside the entire verb string; whereas in non-contiguous serialization, arguments may intervene between the verbs: “an argument is located in the usual position with respect to the *first* verb that introduces it” (Durie 1997: 307). This is exactly the difference found between the two types of *toa* construction in Vaeakau-Taumako, as long as we consider only the placement of the shared object; a subject may always be post-posed to the V1, whether the object is inside or outside the verb sequence.

The difference between contiguous and non-contiguous serialization, then, is exploited in Vaeakau-Taumako to encode two different functions in serialization constructions with the same V1. It is not surprising that in the argument-introduction construction, the introduced argument follows directly after *toa*, the verb which introduces it. By contrast, when “the verb series acts as a single verb for the purposes of placement of arguments” (Durie 1997: 302), *toa* as V1 cannot be separated from the V2 by an intervening object argument. This closer link between the verbs mirrors the function of the construction, where *toa* serves to highlight the intentionality of the act described by the V2, and so its relationship to this V2 may be said to be grammaticalized to a fairly high degree. When the object may intervene between the two verbs, on the other hand, the V1 and the V2 are in a looser relationship to each other; *toa* in such constructions either contributes its own verbal semantics to the situation, referring to an actual act of taking, or it introduces an argument which is then taken over, so to speak, by the V2. It does not, however, modify the meaning of the V2 in the manner found with the contiguous construction, where the verbs cannot be separated by an object argument.



# Chapter 16

## Negation and questions

### 16.1. Introduction

This chapter examines how statements are negated and questioned in Vaeakau-Taumako. It discusses the morphemes used to form negative and interrogative clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako, and their formal and distributional properties. Most question words (16.3.3) pattern like either nouns or verbs, while negation markers (16.2) behave like verbs in some but not all respects, and might be considered to be a sub-class of verbs. The negation of nonverbal clauses involves the same negation markers as that of verbal clauses, and is treated under each specific clause type in 13.3.

### 16.2. Negation

Vaeakau-Taumako has a number of morphemes used to express negation or prohibition (telling someone not to do something). All are typically clause-initial, and all except the admonitive particle *na* show fairly similar distributional properties, to be discussed in detail below.

Negated clauses allow only a restricted range of tense-aspect-mood markers. Prohibitive clauses, if they have a tense-aspect-mood marker at all, tend to show either *na* ‘irrealis’ or *me* ‘prescriptive’, while negated declarative clauses typically occur with either perfective *ne* or imperfective *no*, with other options only marginally represented in our data. Such restrictions on tense-aspect-mood marking under negation are typologically not unusual, cf. Miestamo (2005: 10–13, 116–128).

Negation is one of the “Secondary concepts” in Dixon’s (2006) overview of semantic verb types. Where Secondary concepts are expressed by verbs, they will typically take complement clauses (Dixon 2006: 9; cf. 14.2). Interestingly, except for the admonitive particle *na*, all negative and prohibitive morphemes in Vaeakau-Taumako show some verbal properties, including the ability to take complement clauses. They are not, however, fully verbal, and so appear to belong somewhere in between two of the categories posited by Dixon as typical formal expressions of Secondary concepts, namely lexical verbs and words modifying the verb or clause (16.2.4).

## 16.2.1. Prohibition

Prohibitive or “negative imperative” expressions are formed with the clause-initial markers *auā* ‘prohibitive; don’t’ or *na* ‘admonitive’. According to speakers, these have the same meaning in prohibitive clauses, though the admonitive use of *na* (see below) is not found with *auā*; furthermore, the two have rather different morphosyntactic properties.

16.2.1.1. *auā* ‘don’t, prohibitive’

*auā* is typically found clause-initially, although it may occasionally be preceded by a preposed subject noun phrase or a discourse particle such as *nahilā* ‘take care, make sure’. It cannot be preceded by tense-aspect-mood particles, articles, or other grammatical morphemes. Syntactically, *auā* behaves like a verb with a clausal complement, in that the clause following it is most frequently either nominalized or marked with the irrealis particle *na*; these are two of the main strategies used to form complement clauses (cf. 14.2). *Auā* may also take certain postnuclear modifiers typically found with verbs, such as *ala* ‘hypothetical’ or *oki* ‘back, again’ (1c–d). However, the inability to occur with tense-aspect-mood marking, and the lack of a purely predicative function, means that *auā* does not fulfil the usual definitional criteria of a verb in Vaekau-Taumako (cf. 3.3); cf. 16.2.4 below.

- (1) a. *Auā tau hano!*  
 auā t-a-u hano  
 PROH SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS go.SG  
 ‘Don’t go!’
- b. *Auā tau teia te tangara!*  
 auā t-a-u te-ia te tangata  
 PROH SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS hit-TR SG.SP man  
 ‘Do not kill the man!’
- c. *Auā ala tau faia e anga e tapeo i taha.*  
 auā ala t-a-u hai-a e anga  
 PROH HYP SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS do-TR SG.NSP work  
 e tapeo i taha  
 GENRbad LDA side  
 ‘You should not do bad things outside.’

- d. *Auoki tō haiange oki la manei oki la.*  
 auā oki t-ō hai-a ange oki la  
 PROH again SG.SP-2SG.POSS do-TR go.along again DEM.3  
 mua nei oki la  
 place DEM.1 again DEM.3  
 ‘Don’t ever do that anymore here.’

As is to be expected from its imperative semantics, *auā* is most frequently found with second-person subjects (see examples above), though both first- and third-person subjects do occur:

- (2) a. *Tatu noho themu, auā hatno folongā.*  
 tatu noho themu auā that=no holongā  
 1PL.INCL.HORT stay quiet PROH 1PL.INCL=IPFV make.noise  
 ‘We should all sit still and not be noisy.’
- b. *O ia auā no kutea mai tuku mata,*  
 o ia auā no kute-a mai t-o-ku  
 CONJ 3SG PROH IPFV see-TR come SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS  
 mata  
 eye  
 ‘She is not allowed to look at my face,’
- ia a iau auā taku kuteange ona mata.*  
 ia a iau auā t-a-ku kute-a ange  
 CONJ PERS 1SG PROH SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS see-TR go.along  
 o-na mata  
 POSS-3SG.POSS eye  
 ‘and I cannot look at her face.’
- c. *Koi takuange e sinana*  
 ko-i taku-a ange e sina-na  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along AG mother-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Her mother told her’
- po auā loa tena lele ifo oki o kaukau i Nupani. (NUP)*  
 po auā loa te-na lele ifo oki  
 COMP PROH EMPHSG.SP-3SG.POSS fly go.down again  
 o kau~kau i Nupani  
 to RED~swim LDA Nupani  
 ‘not to fly down again to swim on Nupani.’

There is a certain correlation between the form of the clause following *auā* and the person and number of its subject, though this is by no means absolute. With a 2nd person singular subject, the clause is most frequently nominalized,

as demonstrated by the examples in (1). However, there are occasional examples of 2SG subjects in clauses with tense-aspect-mood marking, possibly on analogy with the patterns found with subjects of other persons and numbers:

- (3) *Auā ko no hualonga!*  
 auā ko=no hualonga  
 PROH 2SG=IPFV make.noise  
 ‘Don’t make noise!’

With 2nd person dual or plural subjects the prohibitive clause usually takes the irrealis marker *na*, though other tense-aspect-mood markers are also possible:

- (4) a. *Auā kholuna ō!*  
 auā kholu=na ō  
 PROH 2DU=IRR go.PL  
 ‘Don’t you (two) go!’
- b. *Auā khomo tukua po lhatne ni Nohono, lhatne ni Vaeakau.*  
 auā khot=no taku-a po lhatu ne ni  
 PROH 2PL=IPFV say-TR COMP 3PL DEM.1 PL.NSP  
 Nohono lhatu ne ni Vaeakau  
 Main.Reefs 3PL DEM.1 PL.NSP Vaeakau  
 ‘You should not say that they (=visiting Vaeakau-Taumako speakers from Fenua Loa in the Main Reef Islands) are Main Reefs (people), they are Vaeakau (people).’
- c. *Auā holua e ila ange i ngha tai no hakeke na.* (TAU)  
 auā khoulua e ila ange i ngha tai  
 PROH 2DU GENR look go.along LDA PL.SP person  
 no hua-eke~eke na  
 IPFV CAUS-RED~surf DEM.2  
 ‘Do not look at the people surfing.’

First- and third-person examples are much rarer in our material. The most common pattern seems to be a clause marked with *no* ‘imperfective’, though there are examples both of nominalized clauses (2b–c above), and of other tense-aspect-mood markers.

- (5) a. *A heinga auā no hū ite koe.*  
 a heinga auā no hū ite koe  
 COLL thing PROHIPFV hidden LDA 2SG  
 ‘Nothing shall be hidden from you.’

- b. *Tagheinange loa po auā noi toa e hehine bakua la.*  
 tanghaina ange loa po auā no-i to-a  
 spoil go.along EMPH COMP PROH IPFV-3SG take-TR  
 e hahine bakua la  
 SG.NSP woman have.ringworm DEM.3  
 ‘He criticized him, saying that he should not marry a woman with ring worm.’
- c. *Lako takuange po auā ne fenange ki a meitaine o te kaenga.* (NUP)  
 la=ko taku-a ange po auā ne fano  
 3DU=INCP say-TR go.along COMP PROH PFV go.SG  
 ange ki a mei-taine o te kaenga  
 go.along to COLL small-girl POSS SG.SP village  
 ‘They told her not to go to the girls in the village.’

We have a single example, from a TAU speaker, of *auā* combining with *ke* ‘hortative’ preceding a nominalized clause:

- (6) *Auā ke tō sae atu ki Takulu, auā tō laka atu ki te hai la.* (TAU)  
 auā ke t-ō thae atu ki Takulu  
 PROH HORT SG.SP-2SG.POSS reach go.out to Takulu  
 auā t-ō laka atu ki te hai la  
 PROH SG.SP-2SG.POSS pass go.out to SG.SP place DEM.3  
 ‘Do not go as far as Takulu, do not go to that place.’

#### 16.2.1.2. *na* ‘admonitive’

Like *auā*, *na* may be used to express prohibition, i.e. telling someone not to do something. However, *na* lacks the verbal properties found with *auā*; we classify it as a clause-initial particle. A prohibitive clause with *na* always shows the tense-aspect-mood marker *me* ‘prescriptive’:

- (7) a. *Na me hano!*  
 na me hano  
 ADMON PRSC go.SG  
 ‘Don’t go!’
- b. *Na me teia te tangara!*  
 na me ta-ia te tangata  
 ADMON PRSC hit-TR SG.SP man  
 ‘Don’t kill the man!’

However, *na* has another use which is not found with *auā*, namely that of specifying the reason for a positive imperative, by pointing out the negative

consequences that are to be avoided by obeying the order. In such constructions, *me* sometimes occurs, but it is frequently omitted; the clause then lacks tense-aspect-mood marking, as is typical of imperative clauses (13.3.1).

- (8) a. *Meri noho lavoī, na me sepe.*  
 Meri noho lavoī na me sepe  
 Mary stay good ADMON PRSC expose.oneself  
 ‘Mary, sit properly, do not expose yourself.’
- b. *Kuteange nga memea na latu ō.*  
 kute-a ange nga memea na latu ō  
 look-TR go.along PL.SP child ADMON 3PL.HORT go.PL  
 ‘Keep an eye on the children so they do not go.’
- c. *Lekatu ki taha, na hualonga!*  
 lek-atu ki taha na hualonga  
 go-go.out to side ADMON make.noise  
 ‘Go outside and don’t make any noise.’

The functions of admonition and prohibition are closely related, and indeed expressed by the same morpheme in various other languages (see e.g. Terrill 2003: 335–6, from where we have borrowed the term “admonitive”).

It is not clear whether there is any relationship between this morpheme and other instances of the form *na*, cf. 14.2.4.

### 16.2.2. Verbal negation

There are three morphemes used in verbal negation: *siai* ‘not’, *sikiai* ‘not yet’, and *hiekhī* ‘not at all’. All three may also be used independently as a negative reply to a question (‘no’, ‘not yet’, ‘not at all’).

#### 16.2.2.1. *siai*, *hiai* ‘not’

The overwhelmingly most frequent pronunciation of *siai* ‘not, no’ is *hiai* or *hieī*; but *siai* is considered the proper form in writing and in less colloquial speech.

In clausal negation (‘X does Y’ > ‘X does not do Y’) *siai* follows any preverbal arguments, but precedes the tense-aspect-mood particle and associated clitic pronoun, if any is present:

- (9) a. *Ko ia siai ne longo ange ki a sinana.*  
 ko ia siai ne longo ange ki a sina-na  
 TOP 3SG NEG PFV listen go.along to PERS mother-3SG.POSS  
 ‘She did not listen to her mother.’
- b. *Tai langi na ko te pakeo la siai nei toange ana ika.*  
 thai langi na ko te pakeo la siai ne-i  
 one day DEM.2 TOP SG.SP shark DEM.3 NEG PFV-3SG  
 to-a ange a-na ika  
 take-TR go.along POSS-3SG.POSS fish  
 ‘One day the shark did not take its fish.’
- c. *A koe siai kono mā ite koe?*  
 a koe siai ko=no mā ite koe  
 PERS 2SG NEG 2SG=IPFV ashamed LDA 2SG  
 ‘Aren’t you ashamed of yourself?’

However, if the existence of an argument’s referent is within the scope of negation (‘X does Y’ > ‘there is no X which does Y’), then this argument follows *siai*, cf. 16.2.3 below on the negation of existential clauses. The argument noun phrase takes the nonspecific article *e*.

- (10) a. *Siai loa e thaunga e thū loa.*  
 siai loa e thaunga e thū loa  
 NEG EMPH SG.SP house GENR stand EMPH  
 ‘There were no houses left standing.’
- b. *Siai loa e alo e tole na.*  
 siai loa e alo e tole na  
 NEG EMPH SG.SP canoe GENR remain DEM.2  
 ‘There were no canoes left.’
- c. *Siai loa ne kutea e tai.*  
 siai loa ne kute-a e tai  
 NEG EMPH PFV see-TR SG.NSP person  
 ‘He did not see anyone.’

The choice of tense-aspect-mood marker following *siai* is, with a few attested exceptions, limited to *ne* ‘perfective’ or *no* ‘imperfective’, plus the NUP variant *noko* of the latter. *No/noko* is used to indicate imperfective, habitual or durative aspect, while *ne* in this context is neutral concerning both tense and aspect; note the contrast in (11a) between *ne* in the negated clause and the general tense-aspect-mood particle *e* in the clause following it:

- (11) a. *Siai ne loa te thapeo, e popoto loa.*  
 siai ne loa te thapeo e po~poto loa  
 NEG PFV long SG.SP cyclone GENRRED~short EMPH  
 ‘The cyclone wasn’t long, it was short.’
- b. *E noho themu i thaunga, hiai no anga na.*  
 e noho themu i thaunga siai no anga na  
 GENRstay quiet LDA house NEG IPFV work DEM.2  
 ‘He stayed at home all the time and did not go to work.’
- c. *A fonu siai noko mena ia a latu mena siai noko maoli.* (NUP)  
 a fonu siai noko mena ia a latu mena  
 COLL turtle NEG IPFV talk CONJ POSS 3PL.POSS talk  
 siai noko maoli  
 NEG IPFV true  
 ‘Turtles do not talk, and if they do they don’t tell the truth.’

Like the prohibitive *auā* (cf. 16.2.1.1), *siai* may be followed by various modifying particles usually found with verbs, cf. *siai loa* in example (10) above and (12a).

- (12) a. *Siai ala kone lavā takina ō vae e paliki.*  
 siai ala ko=ne lava-a takina o-u vae  
 NEG HYP 2SG=PFVmanage-TR because POSS-2SG.POSS leg  
 e pa-like  
 GENR PL-small  
 ‘You certainly cannot defeat (the pig), because your legs are too short.’
- b. *E mae loa te kai ia siai oki nei fua ona mata.*  
 e mae loa te kai ia siai oki  
 GENRrefuse EMPHSG.SP eat CONJ NEG again  
 ne-i fui-a o-na mata  
 PFV-3SG wash-TR POSS-3SG.POSS eye  
 ‘He refused to eat, and he didn’t wash his face either.’

There are occasional examples where *siai* in verbal negation is treated like a verb and receives a tense-aspect-mood marker:

- (13) a. *Ko siai loa la ne kaia oki.*  
 ko siai loa la ne kaia oki  
 INCP NEG EMPHDEM.3 PFV steal again  
 ‘From that time they stole no more.’



- b. *Ko te mdangi la ko siai e kohi na.*  
 ko te matangi la ko siai  
 TOP SG.SP wind DEM.3 INCP NEG  
 e k-ohi na  
 GENR INCP-finish DEM.2  
 ‘The wind had not yet stopped.’

The occurrence of a demonstrative following *siai* plus modifiers in certain cases further suggests that *siai* in a verbal negation construction may constitute an independent predication which is not syntactically part of the phrase which is negated (cf. 18.2.2 on the phrase-demarcational use of demonstratives):

- (14) a. *Siai loa la tatune lavā a ia.* (NUP)  
 siai loa la tatu=ne lava-a a ia  
 NEG EMPHDEM.3 1PL.INCL=PFV manage-TR PERS 3SG  
 ‘We did not defeat it.’
- b. *Thai langi ala te pluplu fakatasi o te akafu ma te malama ne ka tapeo ala*  
 thai langi ala te pulu~pulu faka-tasi o te  
 one day HYP SG.SP RED~union CAUS-one POSS SG.SP  
 akafu ma te malama ne ka tapeo ala  
 moon CONJ SG.SP light DEM.1 FUT bad HYP  
 ‘One day the connection between the moon and the earth will be destroyed,’
- ia siai loa la ne lavoi oki.* (NUP)  
 ia siai loa la ne lavoi oki  
 CONJ NEG EMPHDEM.3 PFV good again  
 ‘and it will never be good again.’

Another verbal property of *siai* is that it is occasionally followed by *po*, which typically introduces a complement clause (cf. 14.2.5):

- (15) a. *Siai po ke ileila sika.*  
 siai po ke ila~ila sika  
 NEG COMP HORT RED~look straight  
 ‘She did not feel safe.’
- b. *Siai loa po kei menatua e feinga ke ohi.* (NUP)  
 siai loa po ke-i manatu-a e feinga  
 NEG EMPHCOMP HORT-3SG think-TR SG.NSP thing  
 ke osi  
 HORT finish  
 ‘He did not think of anything else.’

- c. *Ioko ia hiai po no hano kai i nghauta.*  
 ioko ia siai po no hano o kai i nghauta  
 CONJ 3SG NEG COMP IPFV go.SG to eat LDA shore  
 ‘And he did not come home to eat.’

Cf. also the use of *siai* to negate non-verbal predicates (16.2.3).

#### 16.2.2.2. *sikiai, hikiai* ‘not yet’

*Sikiai* or *hikiai* ‘not yet’ has the same basic distribution in the clause as *siai*, though it is rather less frequent; therefore we cannot establish with certainty whether all of the distributional properties cited above for *siai* also hold for *sikiai*.

Like *siai*, *sikiai* follows any preverbal argument, but precedes the tense-aspect-mood marker and optional clitic pronoun; all our examples have the perfective marker *ne*:

- (16) a. *A Osil hikiai ne ala.*  
 a Osil sikiai ne ala  
 PERS Åshild not.yet PFV wake  
 ‘Åshild is not yet up.’
- b. *Hikiai ne methua.*  
 sikiai ne mathua  
 not.yet PFV old  
 ‘They (=pumpkins) are not ripe yet.’

*Sikiai* may be followed at least by the modifying particle *loa*:

- (17) *Te fafine na sikiai loa nei kutea i Nupani.* (NUP)  
 te fafine na sikiai loa ne-i kute-a i  
 SG.SP woman DEM.2 not.yet EMPHPFV-3SG see-TR LDA  
 Nupani  
 Nupani  
 ‘He had never before seen this woman on Nupani.’

We have a single attested example of a clearly verbal use for *sikiai*:

- (18) *Koi hikiai.*  
 koi sikiai  
 still not.yet  
 ‘He is not yet here.’

As with *siai*, then, *sikiiai* patterns like a verb in some respects, though not in others; more evidence is required to establish whether *sikiiai* can occur in all the same environments as *siai*.

### 16.2.2.3. *hiekhī/hiekhīē* ‘not at all’

*Hiekhī/hiekhīē* is used for emphatic negation, translatable in English as ‘not at all’. It is not attested in our NUP material, and most of our examples are from Matema. It has the same basic distribution as *siai* and *sikiiai*, following a pre-verbal argument but preceding the tense-aspect-mood marker:

- (19) a. *Hiekhī loa nei kutea te ali na.*  
 hiekhī loa ne-i kute-a te ali na  
 not.at.all EMPHPFV-3SG see-TR SG.SP flatfish DEM.2  
 ‘He couldn’t find the flatfish at all.’
- b. *Ko lhaua hiekhī loa no kutea oho te alo ona.*  
 ko lhaua hiekhī loa no kute-a oho  
 TOP 3DU not.at.all EMPHIPFV see-TR go.vertically  
 te alo o-na  
 SG.SP canoe POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘The two didn’t see his canoe at all.’

The form *hiekhī* is usually followed by the postnuclear modifier *loa*, as seen in examples (19a–b). As is the case for *siai*, there are occasional examples of *hiekhīē* followed by the complementizer *po*:

- (20) *A thatou hiekhīē po no kutea i mui thatuno utuutu ai na.*  
 a thatou hiekhīē po no kute-a i mui  
 PERS 1PL.INCL not.at.all COMP IPFV see-TR some place  
 thatu=no utu~utu ai na  
 1PL.INCL=IPFV RED~draw OBL.PRO DEM.2  
 ‘We had no idea where to draw water.’

As with *siai* and *sikiiai*, then, *hiekhī* patterns in certain respects like a verb, but does not show all the properties characteristic of verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako.

### 16.2.3. Negation of non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are negated using the same negators as verbal clauses. We have no examples of *sikiiai* in this use, though this may be due to semantics; the concept of ‘not yet being an X (but expected to become one at some later stage)’ may simply be one which is not very frequently expressed. The exam-

ples in (21) show negated nominal clauses, (22) shows negated existential clauses, while (23) shows negated prepositional clauses:

- (21) a. *Ne lalakhai o mua ne, hiai e lalakhai o Nohono.*  
 ne lalakhai o mua ne siai e lalakhai  
 DEM.1 story POSS place DEM.1 NEG SG.NSP story  
 o Nohono  
 POSS Main.Reefs  
 ‘This is a story from here, not a story from the Main Reefs.’
- b. *Te meme nei hanauia na hiai e tai.*  
 te meme ne-i hanau-ia na siai e tai  
 SG.SP baby PFV-3SG birth-TR DEM.2 NEG SG.NSP person  
 ‘The child she gave birth to was not human (lit. not a person).’
- (22) a. *A Malani na siai e vai ai.*  
 a Malani na siai e vai ai  
 then Malani DEM.2 NEG SG.NSP water OBL.PRO  
 ‘And Malani, there was no water there.’
- b. *Hiekhī loa ni tai i thaunga.*  
 hiekhī loa ni tai i thaunga  
 not.at.all EMPHPL.NSP person LDA house  
 ‘There is no one at all in the house.’
- (23) a. *Ioko te hihī e mulimulinoko la koi laua po na paku siai i mua na.*  
 ioko te hihī e mulimulinoko la  
 CONJ SG.SP person GENR last.born DEM.3  
 ko-i lau-a po na paku siai  
 INCP-3SG find-TR COMP 3SG.POSS skin NEG  
 i mua na  
 LDA place DEM.2  
 ‘The youngest found that her skin was not there.’
- b. *Siai i te leo o te kaenga po te tangata po ke levthaki ange ki te fafine. (NUP)*  
 siai i te leo o te kaenga po te  
 NEG LDA SG.SP voice POSS SG.SP village COMP SG.SP  
 tangata po ke levthaki ange ki te fafine  
 man COMP HORT close go.along to SG.SP woman  
 ‘It is not the custom of the village (lit. in the voice of the village) for a man to be close to a woman.’

There may be a case for analyzing the negators in such constructions as negative verbs meaning ‘not be’. They replace the existential verb *ai* in negated

expressions of possession, though preceding the possessive expression rather than following it:

- (24) a. *A memea maua e ai.*  
 a memea a maua e ai  
 COLL child POSS 1DU.EXCL.POSS GENR exist  
 ‘We have children.’
- b. *Siai loa e memea a laua.*  
 siai loa e memea a laua  
 NEG EMPHSG.NSP child POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ‘They had no children.’

Though it is rare, *siai* occasionally appears in this position with what appears to be a tense-aspect-mood marker:

- (25) a. *A Dui e hiai e nohine ana.* (TAU)  
 a Dui e siai e nohine a-na  
 PERS Dui GENRNEG SG.NSP wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Dui had no wife.’
- b. *Mua ne o matou ko siai loa na ika.*  
 mua ne o matou ko siai loa  
 place DEM.1 POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS INCP NEG EMPH  
 na ika  
 3SG.POSS fish  
 ‘This place of ours has no more fish.’

#### 16.2.4. The formal status of negative morphemes

As noted above, Dixon (2006) classifies negation and prohibition as “Secondary” concepts which are variously expressed in different languages by affixes, words modifying the verb or clause, or lexical verbs; in the latter case, the verb will typically take a complement clause. In Vaeakau-Taumako, markers of negation and prohibition show some properties of verbs and some of modifying words. They generally do not take tense-aspect-mood marking or act as independent predicates, though occasional examples of this are encountered. They pattern like clausal modifiers in that they are typically clause-initial. On the other hand, they do allow complement clauses – nominalized or irrealis clauses for *auā* ‘PROH’, *po*-marked complements for *siai* ‘NEG’ and *hiekhī* ‘not at all’ (for a description of the different types of complement clauses, see 14.2); for *sikiiai* ‘not yet’ our data is insufficient on this point, but it is likely to pattern with *siai* in this respect.

Negative and prohibitive morphemes in Vaeakau-Taumako, then, appear to straddle two of the formal categories listed as typical expressions of Secondary concepts in Dixon (2006): they pattern partly like clausal modifiers, partly like verbs. Negative verbs are common in Polynesian languages (Mosel 1999: 5–7); particularly interesting is the situation in Tokelauan, where the negator *hē* patterns like a verb with non-verbal predicates, but like a particle with verbal predicates (Vonen 1999: 136–137). This resembles the situation in Vaeakau-Taumako where *siai* ‘NEG’ replaces the existential verb in negated existential clauses, and may show tense-aspect-mood marking in this position. However, unambiguously verbal behaviour is rare for negation morphemes in Vaeakau-Taumako; possibly they are in the process of developing into clausal modifiers.<sup>47</sup>

### 16.3. Questions

#### 16.3.1. Polar questions

Polar questions, i.e. questions which require the answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’, may be formed from declarative clauses simply by means of a sharply rising intonation:

- (26) a. *Thaka ō mua?*  
 tha=ka                    ō        mua  
 1DU.INCL=FUT        go.PL just  
 ‘Shall we go?’
- b. *A koe na no tahao?*  
 a        koe    na            no        tahao  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 IPFV stroll  
 ‘Were you taking a walk?’
- c. *Ko iloa te akau?*  
 ko        ilo-a        te        akau  
 2SG know-TR SG.SP reef  
 ‘Do you know the reef (I’m talking about)?’

Another common way of forming polar questions is by adding (*o*) *siai* ‘(or) not’. Unlike English questions with *or not*, which convey a certain sense of impatience (*Do you want it or not? Make up your mind!*), there are no such

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the category of “preverbiais” in Tongan, which also to a large extent express Secondary concepts (Broschart 2000).

pragmatic implications to Vaeakau-Taumako questions with *(o) siai* – they are neutral requests for information:

- (27) a. *E ai mua etai ne au o siai?* (NUP)  
 e ai mua etai ne au o siai  
 GENR exist just person PFV come CONJ NEG  
 ‘Has anyone come here?’
- b. *Ko pelange po te ngau aku kone kutea hiai?*  
 ko phe-la ange po te ngau a-ku  
 INCP like-DEM.3 go.along COMP SG.SP arrow POSS-1SG.POSS  
 ko=ne kute-a siai  
 2SG=PFV see-TR NEG  
 ‘He asked: “Have you seen my arrow?”’

In place of *siai*, *sikiiai* ‘not yet’ may be used if the question concerns something which is expected to happen sooner or later, but may not have happened yet at the time of asking:

- (28) *A hinana koi takuange po ke hano moa*  
 a hina-na ko-i taku-a ange po  
 PERS mother-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP  
 ke hano mua  
 HORT go.SG just  
 ‘His mother told him to go’
- oi kutea moa a haupē po ko lanu e hikiiai?*  
 oi kute-a mua a thaupē po ka lanu o  
 CONJ see-TR just PERS lagoon COMP FUT rise CONJ  
 sikiiai  
 not.yet  
 ‘and see if the tide was rising yet.’

A couple of examples in our corpus has *e ā* ‘what’, which possibly functions as an indicator of politeness; ‘what do you think’ = ‘if it’s okay with you’:

- (29) a. *Me sali mai moa na e ā?* (TAU)  
 me thali mai mua na e ā  
 PRSC wait come just DEM.2 GENR what  
 ‘Could you wait for me?’

- b. *Ku hatokana ma koe na e ā?* (TAU)  
 k=u hua-thoka-na ma koe na  
 HORT=1SG CAUS-same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS with 2SG DEM.2  
 e ā  
 GENR what  
 ‘Let us be friends, or what do you think?’

### 16.3.2. Tag questions

Tag questions are formed by adding *ē?* ‘right?, yes?’ at the end of the clause, with a sharply rising intonation:

- (30) a. *Hei ne e kē ko, ē?*  
 thai ne e kē ko ē  
 one DEM.1 GENR different completely yes  
 ‘This is a whole different one, right?’
- b. *Ioko thai matua, ē, hai matua. Nekepo iau ne, ē?*  
 ioko thai matua ē thai matua nekepo iau ne  
 CONJ one old.man yes one old.man like 1SG DEM.1  
 ē  
 yes  
 ‘And there was an old man, yes, an old man. Like me, eh?’
- c. *A lhako ua mai i Nihiloli na, lhako ue ē?*  
 a lha=ko ua mai i Nihiloli na  
 then 3DU=INCP paddle come LDA Nihiloli DEM.2  
 lha=ko ua ē  
 3DU=INCP paddle yes  
 ‘They paddled here from Nihiloli, they paddled, didn’t they?’

### 16.3.3. Content questions

#### 16.3.3.1. Content question without question word

Occasionally, content questions are formed without any interrogative word:

- (31) a. *Khoulua ne longo ai po a babakene uno selina,*  
 khoulua ne longo ai po a babakene  
 2DU PFV listen OBL.PRO COMP COLL pumpkin  
 u=no sel-ina  
 1SG=IPFV sell-TR  
 ‘When you heard that I was selling pumpkins,’



*hiai khome o mai vave loa?*

siai khot=ne    ̄    mai    vave    loa  
 NEG 2PL=PFV    go.PL come hurry EMPH  
 ‘(why) didn’t you come straight away?’

- b. *Ioko te sekiuriti koi tukuange po*

ioko te    sekiuriti    ko-i            taku-a    ange    po  
 CONJ SG.SP security    INCP-3SG    say-TR    go.along    COMP  
 ‘And the guards said,’

*A koe na koe tulia tō ngakau?*

a    koe    na            ko=e            tuli-a    t-ō  
 PERS 2SG    DEM.2    2SG=GENR    like-TR    SG.SP-2SG.POSS  
 ngakau  
 guts  
 ‘“(What do) you want?”’

- c. *Koi heliange po ne tnatna no malama mai*

ko-i            heili-a    ange    po            ne            te-na  
 INCP-3SG    ask-TR    go.along    COMP    DEM.1    SG.SP-DEM.2  
 te-na            no    malama    mai  
 SG.SP-DEM.2    IPFV    shine    come  
 ‘He asked, “(What is) that shining down here’

*i lunga o te pakhonga na?*

i    lunga    o    te    pakhonga    na  
 LDA    top    POSS SG.SP hole    DEM.2  
 ‘from up above the hole?’’

However, the general rule is for content questions to be formed by means of interrogative words, of which Vaeakau-Taumako has several, with a variety of formal properties. Interrogative words normally remain in situ, though *ai* ‘who’ is sometimes fronted with the topicalizing preposition *ko* (16.3.3.3); *hekai* ‘where’ also appears to be clause-initial more frequently than would be the case for a corresponding non-interrogative adverb (16.3.3.5).

### 16.3.3.2. *ā* ‘what’

*ā* ‘what’ has both nominal and verbal uses; that is, it may appear either following an article, typically the nonspecific articles *e* ‘SG’ or *ni* ‘PL’, or following a tense-aspect-mood marker. Given the homophony between the nonspecific article *e* and the general tense-aspect-mood marker *e*, it may be difficult to determine whether the phrase *e ā* is in fact nominal or verbal;

however, in (32a), the use of the oblique pro-form *ai* with anaphoric reference to *e ā* suggests that the latter is syntactically a noun phrase. We assume that this is the case for phrases of the form *e ā* in general, unless additional evidence suggests otherwise.

- (32) a. *E ā kone au ai?*  
 e            ā        ko=ne    au    ai  
 SG.NSP what 2SG=PFV come OBL.PRO  
 ‘Why did you come?’
- b. *Lhatou siai ne ilo po ni ā ne hai.*  
 lhatou siai ne ilo po ni ā ne hai  
 3PL NEG PFV know COMP PL.NSP what PFV do  
 ‘They did not know what had happened.’
- c. *A koe na ni ā kono kata ai na?*  
 a koe na ni ā ko=no kata  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 PL.NSP what 2SG=IPFV laugh  
 ai na  
 OBL.PRODEM.2  
 ‘What are you laughing at?’

When used as a verb, *ā* can be translated as ‘be what’ or ‘do what’:

- (33) a. *Ei, soa, kono ā?*  
 ei soa ko=no ā  
 hey friend 2SG=IPFV what  
 ‘Hey, friend, what are you doing?’
- b. *Te vela ko ā?*  
 te vela ko ā  
 SG.SP sun INCP what  
 ‘What is the time?’

The complementizer *po* may combine with verbal *ā*, typically preceded by *e* ‘general’ or *ke* ‘hortative’, to form expressions meaning ‘why’, ‘for what’:

- (34) a. *Ko ia nei avatu na po ke ā?*  
 ko ia nei av-atu na po ke ā  
 TOP 3SG PFV-3SG give-go.out DEM.2 COMP HORT what  
 ‘Why did she give you that?’

- b. *Po e ā ko ne lemai loa ki fale oku ai?* (NUP)  
 po e ā ko=ne le-mai loa  
 COMP GENR what 2SG=PFV go-come EMPH  
 ki fale o-ku ai  
 to house POSS-1SG.POSS OBL.PRO  
 ‘Why have you come to my house?’

The presence of the oblique pro-form *ai* in (34b) raises the question of whether *e* here is the general tense-aspect-mood particle or the singular non-specific article. By the argumentation above, it should be analysed as the article; at the same time the parallel with *ke* in (34a) suggests that it is a tense-aspect-mood particle in this construction. The structure may simply be ambiguous, cf. the discussion of the various functions of *na* in complement clauses in 14.2.4.

The expression *neka* ‘what about’ is probably also formed from the verb *ā*: *ne ke ā*, lit. ‘this should be what?’

- (35) a. *A ika neka?*  
 a ika neka  
 COLL fish what.about  
 ‘What about the fish?’
- b. *Koi tukua ange po neka? Thaka ō mua?*  
 ko-i taku-a ange po neka  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP what.about  
 tha=ka ō mua  
 1DU.INCL=FUT go.PL just  
 ‘He said: “How about it? Should we go?”’

### 16.3.3.3. *ai* ‘who’

*ai* is an interrogative pronoun meaning ‘who’. As an argument of a verb or non-verbal predicate, it is nearly always preceded by the topicalizing preposition *ko*:

- (36) a. *Ko ai nei nghainatu te hinga ne?*  
 ko ai ne-i nghai-na atu te hinga ne  
 TOP who PFV-3SG make-TR go.out SG.SP thing DEM.1  
 ‘Who did this thing to you?’

b. *Lhano anu na po a Hina ke nhangē*

lha=no anu na po a Hina ke  
 3DU=IPFV dance DEM.2 COMP PERS Hina HORT  
 hano ange  
 go.SG go.along  
 ‘They were dancing so that Hina could go’

*o hilihilia po ko ai la kai avangaina.*

o hili~hili-a po ko ai la ka-i  
 to RED~choose-TR COMP TOP who DEM.3 FUT-3SG  
 avanga-ina  
 marry-TR  
 ‘and choose whom she would marry.’

c. *Tela ko ai?*

te-la ko ai  
 SG.SP-DEM.3 TOP who  
 ‘Who is this?’

If the questioned constituent is a prepositional phrase, *ai* follows the preposition; it cannot be moved out of the phrase, a restriction which holds for prepositional phrases in general (cf. 10.7). Note that the preposition in (37) has the form *ite* usually found with personal pronouns:

(37) *Mhaka noho ange ite ai, nga tuku tungane nei tapoina mhaua?*

mha=ka noho ange ite ai nga  
 1DU.EXCL=FUT stay go.along LDA who because  
 t-o-ku tungane ne-i tapeo-ina mhaua  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS brother PFV-3SG bad-TR 1DU.EXCL  
 ‘Who will we live with, since my brother treats us badly?’

16.3.3.4. *hinē/sene* ‘who’

In contrast to *ai*, *hinē* (and the reduplicated variant *hinēnē*) is usually preceded by the personal marker *a*:

(38) a. *A kaikai ne ni aku o ne ni a hinēnē?*

a kaikai ne ni a-ku o ne  
 COLL food DEM.1 PP POSS-1SG.POSS CONJ DEM.1  
 ni a hinē~nē  
 PP POSS who~RED  
 ‘Does this food belong to me, or whose is it?’

- b. *Ko a hinē nei huaoaoina iau?*  
 ko a hinē ne-i huaoao-ina iau  
 TOP PERS who PFV-3SG cruel-TR 1SG  
 ‘Who was cruel to me?’

In NUP, the form corresponding to VAE/TAU *hinē* is *sene*:

- (39) *Ko a sene?* (NUP)  
 ko a sene  
 TOP PERS who  
 ‘Who is that?’

Occasionally, we find *ai* and *hinē* combined, though this is rare, and the function of this combination is unclear:

- (40) *Ko ai hinē ei phenaina a iau ne?*  
 ko ai hinē e-i phe-na-ina a iau ne  
 TOP who who GENR-3SG like-DEM.2-TR PERS 1SG DEM.1  
 ‘Who is doing this to me?’

#### 16.3.3.5. *he kai* ‘where’

*he kai* ‘where’ patterns like a common noun in that it frequently occurs with the specific singular article *te*, though it may also occur without any article. Syntactically, *he kai* forms nominal predicates:

- (41) a. *Hekai lua tungane?*  
 hekai lua tungane  
 where 2DU.POSS brother  
 ‘Where is your (du.) brother?’<sup>48</sup>
- b. *Te hekai te kanovaka o tatou la?*  
 te hekai te kano-vaka o tatou la  
 SG.SP where SG.SP member-canoe POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS DEM.3  
 ‘Where is our crew member?’
- c. *Te poi nei tukua na te hekai?*  
 te poi ne-i taku-a na te hekai  
 SG.SP pig PFV-3SG say-TR DEM.2 SG.SP where  
 ‘Where is the pig he talked about?’

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<sup>48</sup> The form *lua* here is unusual; it appears to be a variant of the 2DU pronominal possessive pronoun *lu* (cf. 5.2.2.2).

16.3.3.6. *hea* ‘what, where’

*hea* ‘what, where’ shows the double distribution characteristic of some local nouns (3.2.3): it may either take an article, typically *te* ‘SG.SP’, or it may follow a preposition directly without an article.

There is a tendency for the meaning of *hea* in a given sentence to correlate with this distribution, in the sense that it will have a locational meaning (‘where’) when directly following a preposition, and a more general interrogative meaning ‘what, how’ in other contexts:

- (42) a. *A koe na no noho i hea?*  
 a koe na no noho i hea  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 IPFV stay LDA where  
 ‘Where were you sitting?’
- b. *A koe ka hano ki hea?*  
 a koe ka hano ki hea  
 PERS 2SG FUT go.SG to where  
 ‘Where are you going?’
- c. *Iau ko vaevalea po lhatune kave ala ki hea.*  
 iau ko vae~vae-a po lhatu=ne kave ala  
 1SG INCP RED~not.know-TR COMP 3PL=PFV bring HYP  
 ki hea  
 to where  
 ‘I don’t know where they took him.’
- (43) a. *Te hea te mauhi?*  
 te hea te mauhi  
 SG.SP where SG.SP live  
 ‘How is life?’
- b. *Te hea te anga kua haia atu kite koe?*  
 te hea te anga ku=a hai-a atu kite koe  
 SG.SP where SG.SP work 1SG=OPT do-TR go.out to 2SG  
 ‘What can I do for you?’

However, this correlation is not absolute, as there are examples of the locational meaning without a preposition present (44a); note also that *hea* may take an article even when following a preposition (44b):

- (44) a. *Ko pelange po te fea te ngata?* (NUP)  
 ko phe-la ange po te fea te ngata  
 INCP like-DEM.3 go.along COMP SG.SP where SG.SP snake  
 ‘She said, “Where is the snake?”’
- b. *Ko te poi i te hea?*  
 ko te poi i te hea  
 TOP SG.SP pig LDA SG.SP where  
 ‘Where is the pig?’

Nevertheless, *hea* seems to have a fairly general interrogative meaning which to some extent is determined by the sentential context. This generality of meaning may be part of the reason why several more specific interrogative forms build on *hea*, cf. 16.3.3.7–16.3.3.11 below.

16.3.3.7. *ahēa* ‘when (future)’ and *anaheā* ‘when (past)’

Like many Polynesian languages, Vaeakau-Taumako distinguishes between two interrogative words for ‘when’: one for asking when something happened in the past, and one for asking when something is expected to happen in the future. *ahēa* ‘when’ is used with future reference, while *anaheā* ‘when’ is used with past reference:

- (45) a. *John ka hano ahēa?*  
 John ka hano a-hea  
 John FUT go.SG FUT-where  
 ‘When will John go?’
- b. *John ne lemai anaheā?*  
 John ne le-mai ana-hea  
 John PFV go-come PST-where  
 ‘When did John come?’

Structurally, *ahēa* and *anaheā* function as adverbs; cf. the contrast between temporal adverbs such as *apō* ‘tonight’ – *anapō* ‘last night’ (11.4.3).

16.3.3.8. *peheā* ‘how, why’

*peheā* ‘how, why, what kind’ may modify either nouns or verbs, which is a distribution characteristic of verbs (cf. 9.3.4). It is probably segmentable into *phe-* ‘be like’, cf. the verbal demonstratives *phenē*, *phenā*, *phelā* (5.3.4), and *hea* ‘what, where’.

- (46) a. *A koe na no hano hano pehea?*  
 a koe na no hano~hano phe-hea  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 IPFV RED~go.SG like-where  
 ‘How did you get here?’
- b. *Ne e kaenga pehea oki tne.*  
 ne e kaenga phe-hea oki te-ne  
 DEM.1 SG.NSP village like-whereagain SG.SP-DEM.1  
 ‘What kind of village is this?’

### 16.3.3.9. *huahea* ‘how, why’

*huahea* ‘how’ appears to be a causative form of *hea* ‘what, where’, and behaves formally like a verb, taking tense-aspect-mood particles and being able to function as the main predicate of a clause:

- (47) *A koe na ne huahea mai ki muane?*  
 a koe na ne hua-hea mai ki mua ne  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 PFV CAUS-where come to place DEM.1  
 ‘How did you come here?’

*Huahea* may also function as a modifier of verbs, and overlaps in distribution to some extent with *pehea*, cf. 16.3.3.8.

- (48) *Ko khoulua na no hohoaki huehea?*  
 ko khoulua na no ho~hoaki hua-hea  
 TOP 2DU DEM.2 IPFV RED~travel CAUS-where  
 ‘Why have you come here?’

### 16.3.3.10. *neihea, nehea* ‘from where’

Only a few examples occur in our material of this form, which appears to be basically verbal in distribution.

- (49) a. *Nehea mā?*  
 nehea te-nā  
 from.where SG.SP-DEM.2  
 ‘Where is he from?’
- b. *A koe ne neihea mai ki mua ne?*  
 a koe ne neihea mai ki mua ne  
 PERS 2SG DEM.1 from.where come to place DEM.1  
 ‘From where have you come to this place?’



- c. *Na ko te utua uno kaukau ai nehea na*  
 na ko te utua u=no kau~kau ai  
 DEM.2 TOP SG.SP point 1SG=IPFV RED~swim OBL.PRO  
 nehea na  
 from.where DEM.2  
 ‘That was the point where I used to swim,’

*ko te tai na koi toa ai a iau na.*  
 ko te tai na ko-i to-a ai  
 TOP SG.SP person DEM.2 IPFV-3SG take-TR OBL.PRO  
 a iau na  
 PERS 1SG DEM.2  
 ‘where that man took me from.’

16.3.3.11. *muahea* ‘where’

*muahea* ‘where, in which place’ patterns formally like a local noun, cf. *mua* ‘place’.

- (50) a. *Kone au i muahea?*  
 ko=ne au i mua-hea  
 2SG=PFV come LDA place-where  
 ‘Where did you come from?’
- b. *A koi tukuange po muahea ka tatai atu ne?*  
 a ko-i taku-a ange po mua-hea  
 then INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP place-where  
 ka tatai atu ne  
 FUT carve go.out DEM.1  
 ‘He said, “Where should I put your tattoo?”’

16.3.3.12. *hia* ‘how many’

*hia* ‘how much, how many’ is a verb:

- (51) a. *Po ku tauia atu kiate koe e hia?*  
 po k=u taui-a atu kiate koe e hia  
 COMP HORT=1SG pay-TR go.out to 2SG GENRhow.many  
 ‘How much should I pay you?’
- b. *A koe o ngatae ko fia?*  
 a koe o ngatae ko hia  
 PERS 2SG 2SG.POSS year INCP how.many  
 ‘How old are you (lit. how many are your years)?’

# Chapter 17

## Coordination and conjunctions

### 17.1. Introduction

Coordination means the joining together of independent linguistic units which function at the same level of syntactic structure, with neither unit subordinated to the other. Coordination can take place at the level of phrases or clauses, and it may be achieved by a number of different means; in Vaeakau-Taumako the different means of coordination are juxtaposition, the use of conjunctions, and the use of so-called adverbial conjunctions, which are adverbs filling a coordinating function (17.4).

Juxtaposition involves a sequence of clauses with no overt marking of the relationship between them, as in example (1):

- (1) *Ko hano, ko hua-tū loa la i Kola la koi kahikahia mai loa na a tai na.*  
ko hano ko hua-thū loa la i Kola la  
INCP go.SG INCP CAUS-stand EMPHDEM.3 LDA Kola DEM.3  
ko-i kahi-kahi-a mai loa na a tai na  
INCP-3SG RED~invite-TR come EMPHDEM.2 COLL person DEM.2  
'She went, she started at Kola and called the people there to come.'

*Lhatuko mau mai mau mau mau mai lhatuko mau na ki Apia na.*  
lhatu=ko mau mai mau mau mau mau mai  
3PL=INCP come.PL come come.PL come.PL come.PL come  
lhatu=ko mau na ki Apia na  
3PL=INCP come.PL DEM.2 to Apia DEM.2  
'And they all came, they came to Apia.'

In principle, a variety of relations may hold between juxtaposed clauses in Vaeakau-Taumako; but the most frequent is the description of successive events, as in (1). The rest of this chapter will treat overt coordination by means of conjunctions and adverbial conjunctions.

## 17.2. Phrasal coordination

### 17.2.1. *ia* ‘and’

The conjunction *ia* ‘and’ most frequently conjoins noun phrases, usually with a simple additive meaning:

- (2) a. *Nei huatulia te malama i lunga ia te malama i lalo.*  
 ne-i hua-thū-lia te malama i lunga  
 PFV-3SG CAUS-stand-TR SG.SP light LDA top  
 ia te malama i lalo  
 CONJ SG.SP light LDA under  
 ‘He created heaven and earth.’
- b. *i lothonuthonu loa o te kaenga o te ngata na ia te kaenga o te hahine na*  
 i lothonu~thonu loa o te kaenga o te  
 LDA middle~RED EMPHPOSS SG.SP village POSS SG.SP  
 ngata na ia te kaenga o te hahine na  
 snake DEM.2 CONJ SG.SP village POSS SG.SP woman DEM.2  
 ‘halfway between the snake’s village and the woman’s village’

Occasionally, *ia* is also found conjoining verb phrases with identical subjects. The tense-aspect-mood particle may be different in each clause (3a), or it may be dropped in the second conjunct, indicating that it is to be interpreted as having the same tense/aspect/mood as the first conjunct (3b):

- (3) a. *Lhatko hatu na khai ai na,*  
 lhatu=ko hua-thū na khai ai na  
 3PL=INCP CAUS-stand IRR eat OBL.PRO DEM.2  
 ‘When they began to eat,’
- ko kholomakina po a haupe na no mā ia ko honu ake oki.*  
 ko kholomakina po a thaupē na no mā  
 INCP forget COMP PERS lagoon DEM.2 IPFV empty  
 ia ko honu ake oki  
 CONJ INCP full go.up again  
 they forgot that the sea was low, and that the tide was coming in.’
- b. *Hai tangara no lemai ia papaia a bukana.*  
 thai tangata no le-mai ia papa-ia  
 one man IPFV go-come CONJ carry.in.arms-TR  
 a buka a-na  
 COLL book POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘A man comes carrying his books in his arms.’

*Ia* is also found conjoining clauses, as in (4):

- (4) *A koi toa e Mahikihiki koi vaeange*  
 a ko-i to-a e Mahikihiki ko-i va-ia  
 then INCP-3SG take-TR AG Mahikihiki INCP-3SG space-TR  
 ange  
 go.along  
 ‘And Mahikihiki distributed (the areas)’

*po thai la ka noho la ia thai la ka noho i mua la.*  
 po thai la ka noho la  
 COMP one DEM.3 FUT stay DEM.3  
 ia thai la ka noho i mua la  
 CONJ one DEM.3 FUT stay LDA place DEM.3  
 ‘so that one stayed there, and/while the other stayed in another place.’

The preposition *ia* ‘with’ (10.5) is homophonous with the conjunction and similar in meaning. In some contexts it may be difficult to distinguish between the two, e.g. in example (5) below, where a possible analysis would be that *te buela* ‘the pot’ and *te panikeni* ‘the cup’ are discontinuous conjuncts which together make up the subject of *thū* ‘stand’:

- (5) *Te buela e thū korahi ia te panikeni.*  
 te buela e thū ko-tahi ia te panikeni  
 SG.SP pot GENR stand PREF-one with SG.SP cup  
 ‘The pot is standing together with the cup.’

However, in examples like (6), there is nothing for the element following *ia* to be conjoined with; rather, *ia omo* ‘with yam’ is a prepositional phrase functioning as an adjunct to the verb *fokina* ‘fill’:

- (6) *Lhako toa a huapotu o laua lhako toa lhako fokina ia omo.*  
 lha=ko to-a a huapotu o laua  
 3DU=INCP take-TR COLL basket POSS 3DU.POSS  
 lha=ko to-a lha=ko foki-na ia omo  
 3DU=INCP take-TR 3DU=INCP fill-TR with yam  
 ‘They took their baskets and filled them with yams.’

### 17.2.2. *ma* ‘and’

*ma* is quite similar in distribution and meaning to *ia*, but is the more frequent of the two in additive noun-phrase coordination:

- (7) a. *Te tai ma nohine ana lhanō ki mouku.*  
 te tai ma nohine a-na lha=no ō  
 SG.SP person CONJ wife POSS-3SG.POSS 3DU=IPFV go.PL  
 ki mouku  
 to bush  
 ‘The man and his wife went to the bush.’
- b. *te aliki ma o-na ve-thaliki*  
 te aliki ma o-na ve-thaliki  
 SG.SP chief CONJ POSS-3SG.POSS PL-son  
 ‘the chief and his sons’

The form *ma* is also used for inclusory coordination of nominals, where the second conjunct is interpreted as being included in the first rather than added to it; this use is not found with *ia*. In this construction, the first conjunct is a personal pronoun in the dual or plural (cf. 5.2.1.2); the pronoun then refers to the totality of persons involved, including the one(s) referred to by the second conjunct. Note that the formal status of *ma* as conjunction or preposition in such cases is unclear; hence the gloss ‘and’ rather than ‘CONJ’ in these examples.

- (8) a. *Tai tai, laua ma nohine ana, a memea laua e lua.*  
 thai tai lhaua ma nohine a-na  
 one person 3DU and wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 a memea a laua e lua  
 COLL child POSS 3DU.POSS GENR two  
 ‘There was a man; he and his wife had two children.’
- b. *mhaua ma tuku tungane*  
 mhaua ma t-o-ku tungane  
 1DU.EXCL and SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS brother  
 ‘my brother and I (\*the two of us and my brother)’

*ma* may also conjoin verb phrases:

- (9) *Lhatko noho i mua na a ngatae e lua ma e tolu.*  
 lhatu=ko noho i mua na a ngatae e lua  
 3PL=INCP stay LDA place DEM.2 COLL year GENR two  
 ma e tolu  
 CONJ GENR three  
 ‘They stayed there for two or three years.’

When more than two elements are conjoined, all our examples have *ma* and *ia* in alternation. In such cases, *ma* conjoins pairs of elements which are particu-

larly closely associated, while *ia* in turn conjoins these larger units. Thus in example (10), the contrast is between Vaeakau on the one hand and the Reef Islands and Santa Cruz on the other; Vaeakau is home, whereas the Reefs and Santa Cruz are foreign lands where people have different customs and languages:

- (10) *Ko thae ki Nohono ma Deni ia Vaeakau.*  
 ko thae ki Nohono ma Deni ia Vaeakau  
 INCP reach to Main.Reefs CONJ Santa.Cruz CONJ Vaeakau  
 ‘He reached the Reef Islands and Santa Cruz, and Vaeakau.’

This structure is very clear in the following example, which lists the qualifications required of a good chief: he should care equally for everyone in his community. Note how the members of each contrastive pair (young/old, rich/poor etc) are conjoined with *ma*, whereas the pairs in turn are conjoined with *ia*:

- (11) *A koe te aliki ne lavoina a etai katoa*  
 a koe te aliki ne lavoi-ina a etai katoa  
 PERS 2SG SG.SP chief PFV good-TR COLL people all  
 ‘As chief you should love everyone,’

*ngha tamaloa ma ngha pengi*  
 ngha tamaloa ma ngha pengi  
 PL.SP young.man CONJ PL.SP old.man  
 ‘young and old,’

*ia nghai e aliki ma nghai e nofo ko ia*  
 ia nghai e aliki ma nghai e nofo ko ia  
 CONJ some GENR chief CONJ some GENR stay TOP 3SG  
 ‘rich and poor,’

*ia nghai e maki ma nghai e lavoi*  
 ia nghai e maki ma nghai e lavoi  
 CONJ some GENR ill CONJ some GENR good  
 ‘sick and healthy,’

*ia nghai ka mhate ma nghai e mauli.* (NUP)  
 ia nghai ka mhate ma nghai e mauli  
 CONJ some FUT die.PL CONJ some GENR live  
 ‘those who are dying and those who are alive.’

As with *ia*, there is a homophonous morpheme *ma* which is a preposition with the meaning ‘with’, and which may sometimes be difficult to distinguish from

the conjunction. However, the examples in (12) below should make clear that there is in fact a difference. In (12a), where *ma* conjoins two nouns, the verb *hano* ‘go’ appears in its plural form *ō*; in other words, the conjoined noun phrases together form a single constituent which functions as the subject of the verb. In (12b), on the other hand, *ma ia* is an adjunct prepositional phrase rather than being conjoined to the subject of the verb, and the verb consequently appears in the singular.

- (12) a. *Ioko te ono ma te pakeo ko ō ange na.*  
 ioko te ono ma te pakeo  
 CONJ SG.SP barracuda CONJ SG.SP shark  
 ko ō ange na  
 INCP go.PL go.along DEM.2  
 ‘So the barracuda and the shark went along.’

- b. *Ko tuake ka hano na*  
 ko thū ake ka hano na  
 INCP stand go.up FUT go.SG DEM.2  
 ‘As she got up to go,’

*ko ia mnetua loa a hatu babukene nei avange e hinana na,*  
 ko ia manatu-a loa a hatu babukene  
 TOP 3SG think-TR EMPHCOLL stone pumpkin  
 ne-i av-ange e hina-na na  
 PFV-3SG give-go.along AG mother-3SG.POSS DEM.2  
 ‘she remembered the pumpkin seeds which her mother had given her,

*koi toa ko hano ma ia.*  
 ko-i to-a ko hano ma ia  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP go.SG with 3SG  
 ‘and she took them and went off with them.’

The formal identity of noun-phrase coordinators and comitative markers is by no means typologically unusual; and indeed comitative markers are a common source of noun-phrase conjunctions crosslinguistically (Mithun 1988: 339–340, Stassen 2000: 25–26). The fact that both the Vaeakau-Taumako comitative prepositions, *ma* and *ia*, have formally identical counterparts which function as noun-phrase conjunctions, is therefore not surprising.

### 17.3. Sentential coordination

#### 17.3.1. The discourse-contrastive conjunction *ioko* ‘and, but’

The form *ioko* functions as a coordinating conjunction, but is probably diachronically related to the topicalizing preposition *ko*. However, it cannot synchronically be analyzed as a sequence of *io+ko*; this is shown by the fact that *ioko* may be followed by topicalizing *ko*:

- (13) *Ioko ko ia ko lekange koi toa te apali ona.* (NUP)  
 ioko ko ia ko lek-ange ko-i to-a  
 CONJ TOP 3SG INCP go-go.along INCP-3SG take-TR  
 te apali o-na  
 SG.SP hat POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘And he went and took his hat.’

*Ioko* indicates a contrast in discourse, such as a change of subject or topic, or a new event in a sequence. As such, it is very common in narrative discourse, narrating a sequence of events with different subjects (14a), or contrasting different events with different participants (14b):

- (14) a. *Lhatuko oange na.*  
 lhatu=ko o ange na  
 3PL=INCP go.PL go.along DEM.2  
 ‘They went there,’

*Ioko te ngata koi saki ange lhaua,*  
 ioko te ngata ko-i saki ange lhaua  
 CONJ SG.SP snake INCP-3SG leave go.along 3DU  
 ‘and the snake left them,’

*ioko lhaua la ko o ange loa.*  
 ioko lhaua la ko o ange loa  
 CONJ 3DU DEM.3 INCP go.PL go.along EMPH  
 ‘and the two of them went on.’

- b. *A mhana o re hehine ma re tangara ko noho oki,*  
 a mha-na o te hahine ma te tangata  
 PERS father-3SG.POSSPOSS SG.SP woman CONJ SG.SP man  
 ko noho oki  
 INCP stay again  
 ‘The woman’s father and the man stayed behind,’



*ioko hinana o re tangara ma mhana o te tangara ko ahio mai oki ki Pileni ne.*

ioko hina-na o te tangata ma  
 CONJ mother-3SG.POSS POSS SG.SP man CONJ  
 mha-na o te tangata ko ahio mai oki  
 father-3SG.POSS POSS SG.SP man INCP return come again  
 ki Pileni ne  
 to Pileni DEM.1  
 ‘while the man’s mother and the man’s father returned here to Pileni’

The contrastive element must be understood as being the topic rather than necessarily the subject of the conjoined clauses. In example (15) below, the subject is the same in both clauses (*hinaku* ‘my mother’ in 15a, *ko(e)* ‘you’ in 15b), but a contrastive topic is introduced in the second clause:

- (15) a. *Ioko hinaku koi tunatu ala ni kaikai sika mauhua*

ioko hina-ku ko-i tuna-a atu ala  
 CONJ mother-1SG.POSS INCP-3SG cook-TR go.out HYP  
 ni kaikai sika ma o-ulua  
 PL.NSP food straight BEN POSS-2DU.POSS  
 ‘My mother will cook some real food for the two of you,’

*ioko a hinga na koi tōatu ala e hinaku mana.*

ioko a hinga na ko-i to-a atu ala  
 CONJ COLL thing DEM.2 INCP-3SG take-TR go.out HYP  
 e hina-ku ma-na  
 AG mother-1SG.POSS BEN-3SG.POSS  
 ‘and those (other) things she will keep for herself.’

- b. *Koko pikia ne i tō lima e lāvoi na,*

ko=ko phiki-a ne i t-ō lima  
 2SG=INCP hold-TR DEM.1 LDA SG.SP-2SG.POSS hand  
 e lāvoi na  
 GENR good DEM.2  
 ‘You hold him with your good hand,’

*ioko tō lima e tapeo na ko kaukau ai ake ai.*

ioko t-ō lima e tapeo na  
 CONJ SG.SP-2SG.POSS hand GENR bad DEM.2  
 ko kau~kau-ia ake ai  
 2SG.HORT RED~swim-TR go.up OBL.PRO  
 ‘and with your bad hand you bathe him.’

The contrastive element need not be an argument of the clause, but may be e.g. an adverbial clause marking the time at which a new event occurs (16a) or a predicate (16b):

- (16) a. *Lhatuko noho noho noho na*  
 lhatu=ko noho noho noho na  
 3PL=INCP stay stay stay DEM.2  
 ‘They all stayed on,’

*ioko haupē na mā na*  
 ioko thaupē na mā na  
 CONJ lagoon IRR empty DEM.2  
 ‘and when the tide was low’

*a tai o Pileni no khī ki Mgalumu.*  
 a tai o Pileni no khī ki Mgalumu  
 COLL person POSS Pileni IPFV go.all to Makalumu  
 ‘the people from Pileni all went to Makalumu.’

- b. *A koe mē nē*  
 a koe te-ne ne  
 PERS 2SG SG.SP-DEM.1 DEM.1  
 ‘You are here,’

*ioko te hekai a to mā?*  
 ioko te hekai a t-ō mā  
 CONJ SG.SP where PERS SG.SP-2SG.POSS sister.in.law  
 ‘but where is your sister-in-law?’

The contrast may be between an ongoing event and another event interrupting or intruding:

- (17) *E akuaku ala ioko hai meme hehine ko au ala.*  
 e aku~aku ala ioko hai meme hahine ko au ala  
 GENR RED~weed HYP CONJ one child woman INCP come HYP  
 ‘While she was weeding, a girl came.’

The contrastive reading may give rise to an adversative meaning, i.e. that the event marked by *ioko* is contrary to expectations; in such cases *ioko* is translatable as ‘but’:

- (18) a. *Kei toa harou la, matea kai oinange a ia i mouku.*  
 ke-i to-a thatou la matea  
 HORT-3SG take-TR 1PL.INCL DEM.3 maybe  
 ka-i oi-na ange a ia i mouku  
 FUT-3SG help-TR go.along PERS 3SG LDA bush  
 ‘If he had taken (=married) one of us, maybe she would have helped  
 him in the bush.’

*Ioko ia mdahahine pehea e mābī e noho themu i thaunga, hiai no anga na?*  
 ioko ia mda-hahine phe-hea e mābī e noho themu  
 CONJ 3SG kind-woman like-whereGENR lazy GENR stay quiet  
 i thaunga siai no anga na  
 LDA house NEG IPFV work DEM.2  
 ‘But what kind of lazy woman just stays in the house, and doesn’t work?’

- b. *Lharuko toumoua toumoua toumoua po ke nhake ki te hehine la, po la khai.*  
 lhatu=ko toumou-a toumou-a toumou-a po ke  
 3PL=INCP persuade-TR persuade-TR persuade-TR COMP HORT  
 hano ake ki te hahine la po la khai  
 go.SG go.up to SG.SP woman DEM.3 COMP 3DU.HORT eat  
 ‘They pleaded with him to come to the woman, so the two of them could  
 eat.’

*Ioko ia e mae loa.*  
 ioko ia e mae loa  
 CONJ 3SG GENR refuse EMPH  
 ‘But he refused.’

*Ioko* also frequently introduces the second clause (the apodosis) of a conditional construction introduced by the adverbial conjunction *halā* ‘if, assuming’ (cf. 14.4.6.2):

- (19) *Hala kone au ioko iau ko hano.*  
 halā ko=ne au ioko iau ko hano  
 assume 2SG=PFV come CONJ 1SG INCP go.SG  
 ‘In case you come, I’ll be gone.’

Note also the following example, where the clause introduced by *ioko* is clearly to be understood as the apodosis of a condition, though there is no explicit subjunction ‘if’:

- (20)
- Dekina koe fai ala i taha na ioko ngho vetungane e kuteoho a koe.*

dekina ko=e hai ala i taha na ioko  
 because 2SG=GENR do HYP LDA side DEM.2 CONJ  
 ngh-ō ve-tungane e kute-a oho a koe  
 PL.SP-2SG.POSS PL-brother GENRsee-TR go.vertically PERS 2SG  
 ‘Because if you do it outside, your brothers will see you.’

17.3.2. *io and iokoi*

Two forms are attested which are similar to *ioko* in form and function: *io*, which is attested in all three dialects, and *iokoi*, which is mainly found in TAU. Neither is very common, and our data is insufficient to determine whether they are optional variants of *ioko* or differ from it in some respect; in the examples below *ioko* would be equally possible.

- (21)
- Lhakoatu na io hai ngata na e takoto loa i te aleha.*

lha=ko ō atu na io thai ngata na  
 3DU=INCP go.PL go.out DEM.2 CONJ one snake DEM.2  
 e takoto i te ala eha  
 GENR lie LDA SG.SP road big  
 ‘They went on, and there was a snake lying on the road.’

- (22)
- Ne alake a mhana ne lekange ne tele na*

ne ala ake a mha-na ne lek-ange  
 PFV wake go.up PERS father-3SG.POSS PFV go-go.along  
 ne tele na  
 PFV run DEM.2  
 ‘His father woke up and left,’

*iokoi koi kuteange ko ia ko hinga loa po ke lekange oki o tele ki a mhana.* (TAU)

iokoi ko-i kute-a ange ko ia ko hinga loa  
 CONJ INCP-3SG see-TR go.along TOP 3SG INCP think EMPH  
 po ke lek-ange oki o tele ki a mha-na  
 COMP HORT go-go.along again CONJ run to PERS father-3SG.POSS  
 ‘and (the boy) saw him and thought that he should go to his father.’

17.3.3. *ka* ‘but, because’

*ka* is an adversative conjunction, translatable as ‘but’:

- (23) a. *Na hatu fiekai poi na, ka ka tō i hea?*  
 na thatu fie-kai poi na  
 DEM.2 1PL.INCL.HORT DES-eat pig DEM.2  
 ka ka tō i hea  
 but FUT take LDA where  
 ‘We would like to eat pork, but where would we get it?’
- b. *E tole la thai e kotahi, ka e thapeo loa.*  
 e tole la thai e ko-tahi  
 GENR remain DEM.3 one GENR PREF-one  
 ka e thapeo loa  
 but GENR bad EMPH  
 ‘There is only one left, but it’s bad.’

But *ka* is also used where the second clause is an explanation of the first, i.e. meaning ‘since’ or ‘because’ (cf. 14.4.4.3):

- (24) a. *A hina a raua te motu ona la ma ko ia e thū na.*  
 a hina a taua te motu o-na  
 PERS motherPOSS 1DU.INCL.POSS SG.SP island POSS-3SG.POSS  
 la te-na ko ia e thū na  
 DEM.3 SG.SP-DEM.2 TOP 3SG GENR stand DEM.2  
 ‘That is our mother’s island over there.’
- A ta uoho akinai ka o ta tungane ko mate.*  
 a ta ua oho akinai  
 then 1DU.INCL.HORT paddle go.vertically OBL.PRO  
 ka o ta tungane ko mate  
 CONJ POSS 1DU.INCL.POSS brother INCP die  
 ‘We should paddle there, now that our brother is dead.’
- b. *Ko ona hino ko palapala ka hiai no kai.*  
 ko o-na hino ko pala~pala ka  
 TOP POSS-3SG.POSS body INCP RED~weak CONJ  
 siai no kai  
 NEG IPFV eat  
 ‘His body got weak because he did not eat.’

#### 17.3.4. *so* ‘and’ (TAU)

*So* is only found in TAU, and even there it is rare. It conjoins clauses, though any further restrictions on its distribution cannot be determined from the available data.

- (25) *A mhela ko teki oi nongia ki hinana,*  
 a mhe-la ko teki oi nongi-a ki hina-na  
 PERS boy-DEM.3 INCP run CONJ ask-TR to mother-3SG.POSS  
 ‘The boy ran to his mother to ask (for permission),’

*ko hinana koi takuange po na e lavoi,*  
 ko hina-na ko-i taku-a ange po  
 TOP mother-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP  
 na e lavoi  
 DEM.2 GENR good  
 ‘and she said that it was okay,’

*so a hinana koi avange a proki omo e tolu po kei kina la i mua na. (TAU)*  
 so a hina-na ko-i av-ange a pitoki  
 CONJ PERS mother-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG give-go.along COLL end  
 omo e tolu po ke-i kei-na la  
 wild.yam GENR three COMP HORT-3SG eat-TR DEM.3  
 i mua na na  
 LDAplace DEM.2 DEM.2  
 ‘and she gave him three pieces of wild yam to eat there (i.e., at sea during his journey).’

### 17.3.5. *o* and *oi*

The conjunction *o* is distributionally distinct from the subjunction *o*, cf. 14.4.5.2. As a conjunction, *o* is found in the following contexts:

Firstly, it is used in contrastive constructions where the second element is a negative morpheme or a question, with the meaning ‘or what?’, ‘or not?’, cf. 16.3.1:

- (26) a. *A koe na no fiekai poi mua o hiai?*  
 a koe na no fie-kai poi mua o siai  
 PERS 2SG DEM.2 IPFV DES-eat pig just CONJ NEG  
 ‘Would you like to eat pork or not?’
- b. *Ne a kaikai ne ni aku o ne ni a hinēinē?*  
 ne a kaikai ne ni a-ku  
 DEM.1 COLL food DEM.1 PP POSS-1SG.POSS  
 o ne ni a hinē~inē  
 CONJ DEM.1 PP POSS who~RED  
 ‘This food here, is it mine, or whose is it?’

Secondly, it is used in sentential conjunction, translatable as ‘and’, ‘or’, or ‘but’:

- (27) a. *Te hehine na ko lēlekake na, o te tangara nē e lekoho.*  
 te hahine na ko le~lek-ake na  
 SG.SP woman DEM.2 INCP RED~go-go.up DEM.2  
 o te tangata ne e lek-oho  
 CONJ SG.SP man DEM.1 GENR go-down  
 ‘The woman was going up, and the man came down.’
- b. *Mui no tukuatu la na ko ia o koko hulihulilongo mai kite iau.*  
 mui no taku-a atu la na ko ia  
 place IPFV say-TR go.out DEM.3 DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 o ko=ko huli~hulilongo mai kite iau  
 CONJ 2SG=INCP RED~disobey come to 1SG  
 ‘I told you this, and you disobeyed me.’
- c. *A lhama kāmai o khoulua e vale kholuna kina la.*  
 a lhat=na kā-mai o khoulua e vale  
 PERS 3PL=IRR bring-come CONJ 2DU GENR not.know  
 kholu=na ki-na la  
 2DU=IRR eat-TR DEM.3  
 ‘They will bring it, but you cannot eat it.’

Thirdly, there are a few examples of *o* conjoining nouns in a noun phrase:

- (28) *A takapau o fala ko siu.*  
 a takapau o hala ko siu  
 COLL coconut.leaf.mat CONJ sleeping.mat INCP wet  
 ‘The coconut mats and sleeping mats got wet.’

In contrast to this, the subjunction *o* is used to form goal/purpose clauses, where the matrix verb is typically a verb of motion, and verb of the *o*-marked clause refers to the goal or purpose of this motion:

- (29) a. *Uka hano o muni.*  
 u=ka hano o muni  
 1SG=FUT go.SG to hide  
 ‘I will go and hide.’
- b. *A langi osi na, a te matua ana no ua themu loa ki moana o tauaki.*  
 a langi osi na a te matua a-na  
 COLL day finish DEM.2 PERS SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS  
 no ua themu loa ki moana o tauaki  
 IPFV paddle same EMPH to sea to fish.with.kite  
 ‘Every day, her husband paddled out to sea to kite-fish.’

The subject of the purpose clause must be coreferent with an argument of the matrix clause, most commonly the subject. The shared argument is not overtly expressed in the *o* clause, and the verb of this clause lacks tense-aspect-mood marking; it could thus be said to be non-finite. The verb always follows directly after the subjunction *o*, though various modifiers may intervene between the first verb and *o*, as seen in (29b). Compare this to the sentential conjunction *o* in (27), where both verbs have tense-aspect-mood markers, the subject differs between the two clauses and is overtly expressed in each clause, and the subject precedes the verb in the *o*-marked clause.

These distributional differences indicate that we are in fact dealing with two different constructions, and probably two different morphemes. The *o* in examples (27a–c) is clearly a conjunction, conjoining two independent clauses with no restrictions on their structure or the identity or otherwise of their arguments. On the other hand, we analyze the morpheme *o* forming purpose/goal clauses as a subjunction; it is discussed in more detail in 14.4.5.2.

The form *oi* seems to have essentially the same functions as *o*, both as a conjunction and a subjunction; we have not been able to establish any systematic differences between the two. There appears to some extent to be a correlation with the transitivity of the conjoined or subordinated clause, as suggested by the examples in (30). Diachronically there may be a link to the 3SG suffix *-i* found on tense-aspect-mood markers of transitive clauses (cf. 12.5); but the correlation is far from absolute, and we find both transitive clauses introduced by *o* and intransitive clauses introduced by *oi*, as seen in (31).

- (30) a. *A ia ka ua ki Nukapu oi felā te ngata.* (NUP)  
 a ia ka ua ki Nukapu oi fela-a te ngata  
 PERS 3SG FUT paddle to Nukapu CONJ search-TR SG.SP snake  
 ‘She will paddle to Nukapu and look for the snake.’

- b. *Lako malela loa a lako vetheki ki te kaenga o faleilei*  
 lha=ko malela loa a lha=ko vetheki ki te  
 3DU=INCP happy EMPH then 3DU=INCP run to SG.SP  
 kaenga o falei~lei  
 village CONJ fly.PL~RED  
 ‘The two were very happy and ran to the village jumping.’

*oi lako takua ange ki o la oa po ni a ne fai ite khilaua.* (NUP)  
 oi lha=ko taku-a ange ki o la ova  
 CONJ 3DU=INCP say-TR go.along to POSS 3DU.POSS relative  
 po ni ā ne hai ite khilaua  
 COMP PL.NSP what PFV do LDA 3DU  
 ‘and they told their relatives what had happened.’



- (31) a. *Ko hano o nghaina te ika ana.*  
 ko hano o hangai-ina te ika a-na  
 INCP go.SG CONJ feed-TR SG.SP fish POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He has gone to feed his fish.’
- b. *A tla ingoa e ua ki moana oi hahangota.*  
 a te-la ingoa e ua ki moana  
 then SG.SP-3DU.POSS uncle GENRpaddle to sea  
 oi ha~hangota.  
 CONJ RED~fish  
 ‘Their uncle used to paddle out to sea to fish.’

#### 17.4. Adverbial conjunctions

Adverbial conjunctions, also known as conjunctive adverbs, are essentially adverbs which serve a coordinating function. They differ from coordinating conjunctions in that they have a freer distribution in the clause, and in that they may combine with a coordinating conjunction. The distinction is not always obvious; Mithun (1988: 345) notes that “The lack of a clear distinction between adverbials and clause conjunctions is not unusual among languages”, and states that discourse adverbials are the most frequent source of clausal coordinating conjunctions crosslinguistically (Mithun 1988: 346). We have been relatively conservative in assigning items to the category of conjunctions proper; the forms to be discussed in the present section form a kind of “everything else” category, and we are open to the possibility that for some items there may be arguments for a different analysis, cf. also 18.5 on discourse particles.

##### 17.4.1. *a* ‘then’

As noted in 5.3.5, *a* ‘then’ frequently combines with the demonstratives to form deictic adverbs. However, it also occurs on its own, usually in clause-initial position, functioning to link the clause to the preceding discourse:

- (32) a. *A koi toa te huasea.*  
 a ko-i to-a te huasea  
 then INCP-3SG take-TR SG.SP club  
 ‘And then he took the club.’
- b. *A te phakhola ko mate.*  
 a te phakhola ko mate  
 then SG.SP giant INCP die  
 ‘And then the giant died.’

17.4.2. *muintange* (VAE)/*monanga* (TAU) ‘however’

These dialectal variants are most frequently found following *ka* ‘but’, but may also occur without it. Both forms are fairly rare in their respective dialects.

*muintange/monanga* is used to indicate adversativity or unexpectedness of the event expressed by the clause relative to that of the preceding clause; an appropriate translation may be ‘however’.

- (33) a. *Koi takuange ki a sokana ko Tekeia po a nohine ana ne hanaua te meme*  
 ko-i taku-a ange ki a thoka-na  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to PERS same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS  
 ko Tekeiapo a nohine a-na  
 TOP Tekeia COMP PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ne hanau-a te meme  
 PFV birth-TR SG.SP baby  
 ‘He told his friend Tekeia that his wife had given birth to a baby.’

*ka monanga koi tamdea koi kina.* (TAU)

ka monanga ko-i ta-mate-a ko-i kai-na  
 but however INCP-3SG hit-die-TR INCP-3SG eat-TR  
 ‘but that she had killed it and eaten it.’

- b. *Te sua na no hinga po ke puluhia lhaua po kei keina.*  
 te athua na no hinga po ke pulu-hia lhaua  
 SG.SP spirit DEM.2 IPFV think COMP HORT catch-TR 3DU  
 po ke-i kei-na  
 COMP HORT-3SG eat-TR  
 ‘The spirit there wanted to catch them and eat them.’

*Ka monanga te sua haleoleo o laua ko nhoho ne vaole i lhaua.* (TAU)

ka monanga te athua haleo~leo o laua  
 but however SG.SP spirit guard~RED POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ko no~noho ne vaole i lhaua  
 INCP RED~stay PFV care LDA 3DU  
 ‘However, their protective god was there and looked after the two of them.’

- (34) a. *E staka loa na e takoto na ka muintange ko ia e boho.*  
 e staka loa na e takoto na  
 GENR plenty EMPHDEM.2 GENR lie DEM.2  
 ka muintange ko ia e boho  
 but however TOP 3SG GENR young  
 ‘There are many lying there, but they are unripe.’

- b. *Ka mui nange po na tungane nei tetuā a ia na.*  
 ka mui nange po na tungane  
 but however COMP 3SG.POSS brother  
 ne-i tetua-a a ia na  
 PFV-3SG reject-TR PERS 3SG DEM.2  
 ‘However, her brother had thrown her out of his house.’

#### 17.4.3. *faiala* ‘lest, in case’

*Faiala* has a distribution like an adverb in that, when it precedes the verb of a clause, the complementizer *po* may be repeated, occurring before *faiala* and before the verb (35a). However, this is not an absolute rule, cf. (35b). *Faiala* has an evitative meaning: ‘lest, in case’.

- (35) a. *Ko te aliki koi avange a leo po latu tamatea te manumanu la*  
 ko te aliki ko-i av-ange a leo  
 TOP SG.SP chief INCP-3SG give-go.along COLL voice  
 po latu ta-mate-a te manu~manu la  
 COMP 3PL.HORT hit-die-TR SG.SP RED~animal DEM.3  
 ‘The chief ordered them to kill the bird,’

*po faiala po ke kamai e maki ki te kaenga.* (NUP)  
 po faiala po ke ka-mai e maki  
 COMP lest COMP HORT bring-come SG.NSP ill  
 ki te kaenga  
 to SG.SP village  
 ‘because it might bring sickness to the island.’

- b. *Ko ia ko ifo loa vave*  
 ko ia ko ifo loa vave  
 TOP 3SG INCP go.down EMPH hurry  
 ‘He came down in a great hurry,’

*po faiala te ū la koi keinga oki a ia.* (NUP)  
 po faiala te ū la ko-i kai-nga  
 COMP lest SG.SP coconut.crab DEM.3 INCP-3SG eat-TR  
 oki a ia  
 again PERS 3SG  
 ‘in case the coconut crab would eat all of him.’

#### 17.4.4. *halā* ‘think, assuming’

The most common translation given for *halā* is ‘if’, and in such examples it is clause-initial, resembling a conjunction or subjunction:

- (36) a. *Halā te ngaluelue na, a vai ne ko malingi.*  
 halā te ngalue~lue na a vai ne  
 assume SG.SP shake~RED DEM.2 COLL water DEM.1  
 ko malingi  
 INCP pour  
 ‘If it is shaken, the water will spill.’
- b. *Halā kone au ioko iau ko hano.*  
 halā ko=ne au ioko iau ko hano  
 assume 2SG=PFV come CONJ 1SG INCP go.SG  
 ‘In case you come, I’ll be gone.’

However, in example (37) *halā* follows a tense-aspect-mood marker, suggesting that it should in fact be analyzed as a verb or an adverb. Furthermore, it here has a meaning of ‘I suppose, I assume’:

- (37) *Hiei loa loa ne lau ange ai o mua matu mara ka iloa na*  
 siai loa loa ne lau ange ai o mua  
 NEGEMPH EMPHPFV find go.along OBL.PRO POSS little  
 matu mata ka ilo-a na  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS eye FUT know-TR DEM.2  
 ‘No, we haven’t seen her,’
- ku hala ke kake angala ki a nghi kō huamua ki nghauta la.*  
 k=u halā ke kake ange ala ki a nghi  
 HORT=1SG assume HORT climb go.along HYP to PERS some  
 ko ō hua-mua ki nghauta la  
 INCP go.PL CAUS-front to shore DEM.3  
 ‘I guess she got into (the canoes of) those who went back first.’

The sense of supposing or assuming easily gives rise to a conditional (‘if’) reading, where the proposition which is supposed or assumed is construed as a condition for something else; compare the use of English *assuming*, as in *Assuming he arrives on time, we will all go together*. The best analysis of *halā* therefore seems to be as an adverbial conjunction with the meaning ‘assuming, supposing’.

#### 17.4.5. *hana* ‘indeed’

The precise function of the rarely occurring form *hana* is unclear, and the gloss ‘indeed’ is very tentative. Of the few examples in our material, several are translated by native speakers as ‘otherwise’:

- (38) a. *Me hano hana ku taklihia a koe.*  
 me hano hana k=u ta-kili-hia a koe  
 PRSC go.SG indeed HORT=1SG hit-kill-TR PERS 2SG  
 ‘Go or I’ll kill you.’
- b. *Lhaua ko tukuange po me iho, e ā hana ma taklihia a koe.*  
 lhaua ko taku-a ange po me iho  
 3DU INCP say-TR go.along COMP PRSC go.down  
 e ā hana ma ta-kili-hia a koe  
 GENR what indeed 1DU.EXCL.HORT hit-kill-TR PERS 2SG  
 ‘They said: “Go down or we will kill you.”’

However, this gloss does not seem to be appropriate for the examples in (39):

- (39) a. *Lhatko tapena po a ngha tai ka anu*  
 lhatu=ko ta-pena po a ngha tai ka anu  
 3PL=INCP PREF-prepare COMP PERS PL.SP person FUT dance  
 ‘They prepared for people to dance,’
- ko lavoi na ne po hana a tai ko anu loa.*  
 ko lavoi na ne po hana a tai  
 INCP good DEM.2 DEM.1 COMP indeed COLL person  
 ko anu loa  
 INCP dance EMPH  
 ‘and when they were finished people did indeed start dancing.’
- b. *Hatmo kamai ki a kakaenga o rarou na,*  
 that=no kā-mai ki a ka~kaenga  
 1PL.INCL=IPFV bring-come to COLL RED~village  
 o tatou na  
 POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS DEM.2  
 ‘We bring them (=foreign words) to our villages,’
- hana ko ia noi halavakina te leo o rarou.*  
 hana ko ia no-i hua-lavaki-na  
 indeed TOP 3SG IPFV-3SG CAUS-disappear-TR  
 te leo o tatou  
 SG.SP voice POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS  
 ‘and this is causing our language to disappear.’

It seems from these examples that *hana* functions to strengthen or emphasize the content of the clause which it introduces, hence our gloss ‘indeed’. There appears to be a formal relationship between *hana* and *halā* ‘assuming’ (17.4.4), cf. *na* ‘DEM.2’ vs. *la* ‘DEM.3’, but from a synchronic perspective the precise nature of this relationship is not clear.

17.4.6. *lha* ‘lest, otherwise’

It is unclear how best to classify *lha*. It is obligatorily followed by one of the modal particles *ke* or *me*, a requirement not immediately suggestive of an adverb. At the same time, its position in the clause, following a preverbal subject noun phrase if there is one, is not typical of a conjunction, which usually precedes the clause as a whole. It is possible that it is better classified as a discourse particle, cf. 18.5.

*lha ke* typically translates as ‘otherwise’; that is, it is used in a clause referring to an event which it is desirable to avoid:

- (40) *Ioko ia ne pole lavoi loa negina po a ia ei takua na po a haupē na po ko luakirai*  
 ioko ia ne pole lavoi loa negina po a ia  
 CONJ 3SG PFV jump good EMPHbecause COMP PERS 3SG  
 e-i taku-a na po a thaupē na  
 GENR-3SG say-TR DEM.2 COMP PERS lagoon DEM.2  
 po ko luakitai  
 COMP INCP very.high.tide  
 ‘She was really shocked, and she said to herself that the tide was very high,’

*po latu hioki ai la i haupē*  
 po latu ahio oki ai la i thaupē  
 COMP 3PL.HORT return again OBL.PRODEM.3 LDA lagoon  
 ‘and that they should walk back by way of the sea,’

*po te sua lha kei toa la lharou i te hohaki a larou. (TAU)*  
 po te athua lha ke-i to-a la  
 COMP SG.SP spirit otherwise HORT-3SG take-TR DEM.3  
 llhatou i te ho~hoaki a latou  
 3PL LDA SG.SP RED~travel POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘otherwise the spirit would take them on their return trip.’

- (41) *Te pakhola koi tukuange ki nohine ana po ke kuteange te mit a laua*  
 te pakhola ko-i taku-a ange ki nohine  
 SG.SP giant INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to wife  
 a-na po ke kute-a ange  
 POSS-3SG.POSS COMP HORT see-TR go.along  
 te mit a laua  
 SG.SP meat POSS 3DU.POSS  
 ‘The giant told his wife to look after their meat,’

*lha ke lavaki ala.*

lha            ke    lavaki    ala  
otherwise   HORT disappear HYP  
'otherwise they would lose it.'

# Chapter 18

## Discourse organization

### 18.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses how Vaeakau-Taumako clauses are joined together in discourse. It focuses on the structures found in narrative discourse, as narratives form the bulk of our material; but most of the structures discussed below may also be found in other types of discourse.

As noted in chapters 14 and 17, grammatical subordination is not a salient feature of Vaeakau-Taumako grammar, and overt coordination can often be omitted. Instead, the main means of structuring and binding together discourse is the demonstratives, which have a number of discourse-organizational uses which will be discussed in this chapter. The demonstratives also play a role in tail-head linkage, a pervasive feature of Vaeakau-Taumako narrative discourse (18.3). Certain verbs may also be used with a discourse-linking function (18.4). In addition, a small set of particles have functions which are most accurately described as pertaining to the level of discourse (18.5).

### 18.2. Demonstratives in discourse

#### 18.2.1. Introduction

It has been noted several times in this grammar that the demonstrative particles *ne*, *na*, *la* occur phrase-finally in a number of different phrase types, and we have exploited this in the analysis of phrase structure in several instances (e.g. 9.1, 14.3, 15.5.3.1). The examples in (1) show a noun phrase (1a), a verb phrase (1b) and an adverbial phrase (1c) with a phrase-final demonstrative.

- (1) a. *Te hehine na ko lēlekake na.*  
te    hahine    na            ko    le~lek-ake            na  
SG.SP woman    DEM.2    INCP    RED~go-go.up    DEM.2  
'The woman went up.'



- b. *Ko hano na e kaukau i thaupē na.*  
 ko hano na e kau-kau i thaupē na  
 INCP go.SG DEM.2 GENR RED~swim LDA lagoon DEM.2  
 ‘He went and bathed in the lagoon.’
- c. *Matea atiao ala na thatuka ō atu mua hangota i Malimi.*  
 matea atiao ala na thatu=ka ō atu mua  
 maybe tomorrow HYP DEM.2 1PL.INCL=FUT go.PL go.out just  
 hangota i Malimi  
 fish LDA Malimi  
 ‘Maybe tomorrow we will go fishing at Malimi.’

What we have not addressed in any detail is the question of *when* such phrase-final demonstratives appear, particularly in verb phrases. The basic deictic and anaphoric functions of demonstratives in noun phrases were covered in 5.3, but the very central role the demonstratives play in the structuring of Vaeakau-Taumako discourse goes far beyond these core nominal uses.

The anaphoric use of demonstratives is perhaps the most obvious of their discourse-organizational functions; they are used to refer back to previously mentioned elements of discourse. However, in running text the demonstratives have a number of uses which do not appear to be directly anaphoric, but which nevertheless serve an important function in the structure and cohesion of discourse.

As noted in 5.3.1, the medial demonstrative *na* acts as the neutral or unmarked demonstrative, used when neither close proximity nor great distance is indicated. This status of *na* is even more noticeable when the discourse functions of the demonstratives are considered. In such functions, *na* is genuinely neutral in that it carries no deictic or anaphoric reference; it is therefore the default choice in a number of contexts such as phrase demarcation (18.2.2) and tail-head linkage (18.3). By contrast, *ne* and *la* always involve a meaning of relative closeness or distance, respectively; this gives rise to a number of specialized functions which will be discussed in 18.2.3–6 below.

The choice of demonstrative is influenced by a number of different factors. The basic deictic anchoring of the demonstratives is evident if one looks at the distribution of the different demonstratives in different types of text. In the traditional stories which make up most of our corpus, the use of the distal demonstrative *la* is fairly frequent. Since such stories are generally set in a remote or unspecified time and place, the choice of *la* in such cases can be taken to be reflect temporal or spatial deixis; the places, protagonists and events referred to are presented as being remote in space and/or time.

By contrast, a speech recorded at the 1997 farewell party for Even Hovdhaugen and Ingjerd Hoëm on Pileni shows not a single instance of *la*. This is a

text very much anchored in the here and now, addressing the people present directly and referring to the immediate spatial setting. As with other genres, this text makes frequent use of demonstratives, but only the proximal *ne* and the medial/neutral *na* occur:

- (2) *Okei, ne uka tukuatu na po a Even ma Ina,*

okei ne u=ka taku-a atu na po a  
 okay DEM.1 1SG=FUT say-TR go.out DEM.2 COMP PERS  
 Even ma Ina  
 Even CONJ Ina

‘Okay, now I’m going to say this: Even and Ina,’

*ne mua kainga hatne noho akinai huahiahi ne,*

ne mua kai-nga thatu ne noho akinai  
 DEM.1 little eat-NMLZ 1PL.INCL DEM.1 stay OBL.PRO  
 huahiahi ne  
 evening DEM.1

‘this little party that we are sitting at this evening,’

*hatno nghainange na po mo laua.*

that=no nghai-na ange na po mo laua  
 1PL.INCL=IPFV make-TR go.along DEM.2 COMP BEN 3DU.POSS  
 ‘we prepared it for them.’

A similar situation is found in another text in which a man laments the decline of the local language and customs. This text has only two instances of *la*, both of which appear to indicate temporal distance, cf. 18.2.6 below.

In general, even quoted direct speech in narratives shows few instances of *la*, although it can obviously be used if any of the functions of *la* described below are relevant, such as the contrastive function described in 18.2.4 and illustrated in example (3); or simply for distal deictic reference relative to the reported speech situation (example 4):

- (3) *Anā ko ia ei vlokīnatu na hai e tū i na pihoulu la*

a-na ko ia e-i vloki-na atu na  
 then-DEM.2 TOP 3SG GENR-3SG push-TR go.out DEM.2  
 thai e thū i na pihoulu la  
 one GENRstand LDA 3SG.POSS head DEM.3

‘If he tries to give you the one (= a ring) on his head,’

*auā khoulua no toange...*

auā khoulua no to-a ange  
 PROH 2DU IPFV take-TR go.along  
 ‘do not take it...’

*hai e tū i na pole na, khoulua na ko toange.*  
 thai e thū i na pole na  
 one GENR stand LDA 3SG.POSS tail DEM.2  
 khoulua na ko to-a ange  
 2DU DEM.2 INCP take-TR go.along  
 ‘the one on his tail, that you can take.’

- (4) *Iau ne ne ua mai ne*  
 iau ne ne ua mai ne  
 1SG DEM.1 PFV paddle come DEM.1  
 ‘I have paddled here’

*po me umai i babukene*  
 po me au-mai i babukene  
 COMP PRSC give-comesome pumpkin  
 ‘so that you can give me some pumpkins’

*ma tō tungane e noho mai i te kaenga la.*  
 ma t-ō tungane e noho mai  
 BEN SG.SP-2SG.POSS brother GENR stay come  
 i te kaenga la  
 LDASG.SP village DEM.3  
 ‘for your brother who lives in the other village (some distance away).’

### 18.2.2. Phrase demarcation and discourse structure

The most central function of demonstratives which is not directly deictic or anaphoric is that of phrase demarcation: A demonstrative appears at the end of a phrase as a means of clearly indicating the phrase boundary and situating the phrase within the larger context of the clause or sentence. A similar function of a similar form is noted in the Outlier East Futuna, where Moyse-Faurie (1997: 196) labels the morpheme *la* a “demarcative particle (particule démarcative)”.

Such phrase-demarcational demonstratives are used in a number of contexts. In most cases, they indicate a link between the demonstrative-marked phrase and the following material; the phrase-final demonstrative is pronounced with a rising intonation and could be said to signal that “more is coming”, i.e. that the demonstrative-marked phrase is directly connected with what follows:

- (5) *Mhatune ō ake na, ioko a lakau na, ko pae ino ki te ala na,*  
 mhatu=ne      ō      ake   na      ioko   a   lakau   na  
 1PL.EXCL=PFV   go.PL   go.up   DEM.2   CONJ   COLL   tree   DEM.2  
 ko      pae   ino   ki   te   ala   na  
 INCP   scatter   fall   to   SG.SP   path   DEM.2  
 ‘We went up, and the trees, they were scattered all over the road.’

*e takoto na, e tapeo loa.*

e      takoto   na      e      tapeo   loa  
 GNR   lie      DEM.2   GNRbad   EMPH  
 ‘they were lying there, it was very bad.’

Note the lack of a demonstrative in the final clause, as opposed to the preceding ones. Note also the demonstrative in the left-dislocated noun phrase *a lakau na* (cf. 13.4); its function is essentially the same as that of the demonstratives in the verb phrases, namely to indicate that the phrase is not independent and disconnected, but is linked directly to what follows.

This function is also central to the very frequent use of demonstratives in clause-initial and clause-medial adverbial phrases (11.5); again, the demonstrative serves to set off the adverbial phrase against the rest of the clause and link it to what follows:

- (6) a. *Thai langi na ko ia koi takua ange ki a nohine ana...*  
 thai   langi   na      ko   ia   ko-i   taku-a   ange  
 one   day   DEM.2   TOP   3SG   INCP-3SG   say-TR   go.along  
 ki   a      nohine   a-na  
 to   PERS   wife   POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘One day he said to his wife...’
- b. *Ei tukua po kei motumotia te babakene aku la,*  
 e-i      taku-a   po      ke-i      motu~motu-ia  
 GNR-3SG   say-TR   COMP   HORT-3SG   RED~cut-TR  
 te      babakene   a-ku      la  
 SG.SP   pumpkin   POSS-1SG.POSS   DEM.3  
 ‘If he says he will cut up my pumpkins,’

*ko ā uko motia hokomua na tuku lima une tokiai.*

ko      ā      u=ko      motu-ia   hoko-mua   na  
 TOP   what   1SG=INCP   cut-TR   CAUS-front   DEM.2  
 t-o-ku      lima   u=ne   toki-a   ai  
 SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS   hand   1SG=PFV   plant-TR   OBL.PRO  
 ‘first I will cut off my hand which I planted them with.’

As will be evident from the above examples, *na* is the default choice of demonstrative in such cases. We do find occasional examples of *ne* and *la* in

similar contexts, but they are rare. These demonstratives always carry an additional deictic or anaphoric meaning; in the examples below they appear to indicate temporal distance (cf. 18.2.6), *ne* referring to an event following immediately after the one previously mentioned, while *la* indicates that the event in question is distant past and now definitely over:

- (7) a. *Hai malamake oki ne, ne ua ki moana na*  
 thai malamake oki ne ne ua ki moana na  
 one morning again DEM.1 PFV paddle to sea DEM.2  
 ‘The next morning, before he paddled out to sea.’

*ioko te matua ana koi toa te atupā ona.*  
 ioko te matua a-na ko-i to-a  
 CONJ SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG take-TR  
 te atupā o-na  
 SG.SP stone.axe.head POSS-3SG.POSS  
 ‘her husband took his stone axe.’

- b. *A Tupua Ika nokoi oina mai loa kitatou fka-mua la ka ne kosi ai.* (NUP)  
 a Tupua Ika noko-i oi-na mai loa kitatou  
 PERS god fish IPFV-3SG help-TR come EMPH1PL.INCL  
 fka-mua la ka ne k-osi ai  
 CAUS-front DEM.3 but DEM.1 INCP-finish OBL.PRO  
 ‘Tupua Ika used to help us before, but now it has ended.’

The use of demonstratives in relative clauses is more complex. The fact that relative clauses constitute long and heavy noun phrases is likely to be a factor in the frequent occurrence of demonstratives in relative clauses; the demonstratives help clarify where the relative clause ends and the matrix clause begins:

- (8) a. *A kaikai nei kaumai na e tokoto na.*  
 a kaikai ne-i kau-mai na e tokoto na  
 COLL food PFV-3SG bring-come DEM.2 GENR lie DEM.2  
 ‘The food which he has brought is lying there.’

- b. *Ioko te ngata e thuabe na ko lemai ko laka.*  
 ioko te ngata e thuabe na ko le-mai ko laka  
 CONJ SG.SP snake GENRbig DEM.2 INCP go-come INCP pass  
 ‘And a big snake came and passed them.’

However, issues of spatial deixis and anaphoric distance are particularly relevant to relative clauses, as they are typically used to specify a particular referent out of several possibilities, either by referring to its location in space (‘the

book which is lying there') or by anaphoric reference to a previously mentioned entity ('the man who had come in'). The use of relative clauses to reactivate a referent which has not been mentioned for some time (cf. 18.2.3 below) may be the main reason for the unusually high frequency of distal *la* in relative clauses, cf. the general discussion of relative clauses in 14.3.

### 18.2.3. Anaphoric distance, reactivation, and topic-switch<sup>49</sup>

In their anaphoric function, the choice between the non-proximal demonstratives *na* and *la* is governed to a large extent by anaphoric distance, i.e. the distance in discourse between the antecedent and the anaphoric element. There is no absolute measure of how great the anaphoric distance must be for an element to be marked by one demonstrative rather than the other; but there is a tendency for *na* to be used with reference to antecedents which have been referred to quite recently (9a) whereas *la* is used when the antecedent was mentioned farther back in the discourse (9b).

- (9) a. *Lako nofonofo na te fafine na koi fanauange te memea tangata.*  
 lha=ko nofo~nofo na te fafine na  
 3DU=INCP RED~stay DEM.2 SG.SP woman DEM.2  
 ko-i fanau-a ange te memea tangata  
 INCP-3SG birth-TR go.along SG.SP child man  
 'They lived on, and the woman gave birth to a boy child.'

*A oa o te tangata la latukomai, latuko avange na ingoa po ko Angaifo.*  
 a ova o te tangata la lhatu=ko  
 COLL relative POSS SG.SP man DEM.3 3PL=INCP  
 ō mai lhatu=ko av-ange na ingoa  
 go.PL come 3PL=INCP give-go.along 3SG.POSS name  
 po ko Angaifo  
 COMP TOP Angaifo  
 'The man's relatives came and gave him the name Angaifo.'

*Te memea na ne fanau mai na e makona loa.* (NUP)  
 te memea na ne fanau mai na e  
 SG.SP child DEM.2 PFV birth come DEM.2 GENR  
 makhona loa  
 strong EMPH  
 'That child was very strong when he was born.'

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<sup>49</sup> This section builds to a large extent on Næss (2004a).

- b. *Lhatuko thū loa na lhatue thokange po lekē ne e kaenga pehea oki me?*  
 lhatu=ko thū loa na lhatu=e thoka ange  
 3PL=INCP stand EMPHDEM.2 3PL=GENR stare go.along  
 po lekē ne e kaenga phe-hea oki  
 COMP INTJ DEM SG.NSP village like-where again  
 te-ne  
 SG.SP-DEM.1  
 ‘They stood and stared, (saying) “Hey, what village is this?”’

*A taem mhatmōmai ai o fana ube o fana ube fana ube ne*  
 a taem mhat=no ō mai ai  
 COLL time 1PL.EXCL=IPFV go.PL come OBL.PRO  
 o fana ube o fana ube fana ube ne  
 to shoot pigeon to shoot pigeon shoot pigeon DEM.1  
 ‘All the times we have come here to shoot pigeons.’

*hiai loa hatno kutea mua ne.*  
 siai loa mhat=no kute-a mua ne  
 NEG EMPH 1PL.EXCL=IPFV see-TR place DEM.1  
 ‘we have never seen this place.’

*Anē ko a hinē e noho ai ala ne.*  
 a-ne ko a hinē e noho ai ala ne  
 then-DEM.1 TOP PERS who GENR stay OBL.PROHYP DEM.1  
 ‘So who is living here now?’”

*Ioko la ko te memea la ne hetlekaki i vaho na.*  
 ioko la ko te memea la ne  
 CONJ DEM.3 TOP SG.SP child DEM.3 PFV  
 he-telek-aki i vaho na  
 RECP-run-RECPLDA side DEM.2  
 ‘And that child (last mentioned several paragraphs previously) came wandering outside.’

A consequence of this encoding of anaphoric distance is that *la* is often seen to mark switches in subject or topic; when an entity has not been mentioned for some time, it is usually because some other entity has been the focus of attention in the meantime, and when the first entity is reintroduced into the discourse it will usually be marked by *la*. In other words, *la* is used to reactivate a previously mentioned referent. In example (10), the narrative alternates between the main protagonists, a man-eating giant on the one hand, and a brother-sister pair on the other; for each change in subject referent, *la* is used to mark the subject noun phrase:

- (10)
- Ioko lua memea la e lavaki, gina koi kina.*

ioko lua memea a-na la e lavaki  
 CONJ two child POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.3 GENR disappear  
 gina ko-i kai-na  
 because INCP-3SG eat-TR

‘And his (= the giant’s) two children were gone, because he had eaten them.’

*Ioko thau tungane la ko fulo. Lako fufulo na,*

ioko thau tungane la ko fulo la=ko  
 CONJ DY brother DEM.3 INCP run.PL 3DU=INCP  
 fu~fulo na  
 RED~run.PL DEM.2

‘And the brother and sister ran, they ran on and on,’

*ko te pakola la ne ila...*

ko te pakola la ne ila  
 TOP SG.SP giant DEM.3 PFV look

‘and the giant looked...’

Note that neither *ne* nor *na* is found in this context, which suggests a metaphorical extension of the meaning of the demonstratives from physical distance (here – there – yonder) to anaphoric distance, and a further extension from anaphoric distance to topic-switch; predictably, it is the distal demonstrative which occurs in such contexts.

A related function of *la* is the activation of referents which are identifiable, but not previously mentioned; in other words, it may be used to mark a referent which is part of the general knowledge assumed to be shared by speaker and hearer, or which is implicitly present but not explicitly mentioned in the preceding discourse. Example (11) is taken from a story about the effects of the 1993 cyclone on Nupani island; there is no previous mention of pigs in the text, but as pigs are a natural part of village life, the fact that pigs were present can be inferred:

- (11)
- Ko malamake mai na, lhatuko o atu na,*

ko malamake mai na lhatu=ko o atu na  
 INCP morning come DEM.2 3PL=INCP go.PL go.out DEM.2

‘When morning came they went out,’

*ko a poi la e khī loa, ko thahea kosi.*

ko a poi la e khī loa ko tahea k-osi  
 TOP COLL pig DEM.3 GENR go.all EMPHINCP drift INCP-finish

‘and the pigs were gone, they had all been carried away (by the wave).’



Example (12) is from the beginning of a story, and no explicit reference has been made to the grandchildren before the *la*-marked phrase; but the grandchildren are implicitly referred to through the dyad construction *thau tupuna* (cf. 7.3.5):

- (12) *Nghi thau tupuna, lhatou e noho mui hai na okhilatou.*

nghi thau thupu-na lhatou e noho  
 some DY grandparent-3SG.POSS 3PL GENR stay  
 mui hai na okhilatou  
 small place DEM.2 3PL.self

‘A group of grandmother and grandchildren lived in a place by themselves.’

*Lhatuko nohonoho na koi tukua ange e o la mokopuna la po*

lhatu=ko noho~noho na ko-i taku-a ange  
 3PL=INCP RED~stay DEM.2 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along  
 e o la mokupu-na la po  
 AG POSS 3DU.POSS grandchild-3SG.POSS DEM.3 COMP

‘One day the grandchildren said,’

*epū, a mhaua ka ō o taumi mua ma tatou.*

apū a mhaua ka ō o taumi mua  
 grandparent PERS 1DU.EXCL FUT go.PL to trap.fish just  
 ma tatou  
 BEN 1PL.INCL.POSS

‘“Grandmother, we (DU) will go and trap fish for all of us.’

In example (13), no previous mention has been made of the earth oven, but the reference to baking clearly implies an oven:

- (13) *Te aliki la ma memea ana latuko taona loa te poi efa la ma kaikai po ke kiki ai ala.*

te aliki la ma memea a-na  
 SG.SP chief DEM.3 CONJ child POSS-3SG.POSS  
 lhatu=ko tao-na loa te poi efa la  
 3PL=INCP bake-TR EMPH SG.SP pig big DEM.3  
 ma kaikai po ke kiki ai ala  
 with food COMP HORT eat.beside OBL.PROHYP

‘The chief and his children baked a big pig with some food to eat with it.’

*Ne pō ifo te aliki la ma na memea ko moe na*

ne pō ifo te aliki la ma na meme  
 DEM.1 night go.down SG.SP chief DEM.3 CONJ 3SG.POSS baby  
 ko moe na  
 INCP sleep DEM.2

‘At night, when the chief and his children were asleep,’

*ko Panaki ko fenange loa koi fukea te umu la koi toa a poi ma kaikai la.* (NUP)  
 ko Panaki ko fano ange loa ko-i fuke-a  
 TOP Panaki INCP go.SG go.along EMPHINCP-3SG open.oven-TR  
 te umu la ko-i to-a a poi  
 SG.SP earth.oven DEM.3 INCP-3SG take-TR COLL pig  
 ma kaikai la  
 CONJ food DEM.3  
 ‘Panaki went and opened the oven and took away the pork and the food.’

#### 18.2.4. *la* marking contrast

This use of *la* marking a change of discourse topic also accounts for its use in combination with the quantifier *thai* ‘one’ (cf. 7.3.3.1) with the meaning ‘another’, i.e. ‘a different X from that previously mentioned’:

- (14) a. *Te hahine la nei halauakina hai la na.*  
 te hahine la ne-i ha-lau-akina thai  
 SG.SP woman DEM.3 PFV-3SG CAUS-reach-APPL one  
 la na  
 DEM.3 DEM.2  
 ‘A woman met another one.’
- b. *Hai la lekange ei kutea o lāvoi ko lemai,*  
 thai la lek-ange e-i kute-a o lavoi  
 one DEM.3 go-go.along GENR-3SG see-TR CONJ good  
 ko le-mai  
 INCP go-come  
 ‘One of them went and looked and came back,’
- hai la lekange ei kutea o lāvoi ko lemai,*  
 thai la lek-ange e-i kute-a o lavoi  
 one DEM.3 go-go.along GENR-3SG see-TR CONJ good  
 ko le-mai  
 INCP go-come  
 ‘another one went and looked and came back,’
- hāhano kosi.*  
 ha~hano k-osi  
 RED~go.SG INCP-finish  
 ‘until they had all gone.’

Only one further step away from the ‘another’ use is the use of *la* as a marker of *contrast* – from ‘entity X as opposed to the previously mentioned entity’ to ‘entity X as opposed to another/any other’. This contrastive function explains why *la* in (15) appears with a first-person pronoun; it clearly does not indicate

spatial location or distance, but rather serves to contrast the hard-working local women to the wife from another place who does not do her share of the work – ‘us as opposed to her’:

(15) *Ne mdahahine pehea nei toa na?*

ne mda-hahine phe-hea ne-i to-a na  
 DEM.1 kind-woman like-what PFV-3SG take-TR DEM.2  
 ‘What kind of woman is this he has married?’

*Kei toa harou la, matea kai oinange a ia i mouku.*

ke-i to-a thatou la matea ka-i oi-na  
 HORT-3SG take-TR 1PL.INCL DEM.3 maybe FUT.3SG help-TR  
 ange a ia i mouku  
 go.along PERS 3SG LDA bush  
 ‘If he had taken one of us (as a wife), maybe she would have helped him in the bush.’

#### 18.2.5. *na* ‘only’

Also contrastive in a sense is the use of *na* to mean ‘only’, i.e. ‘only X as opposed to other possibilities’. Note that *na* follows the verb in this use; one might say that *na* here restricts the predication of the verb to the subset of possible referents specified by the following noun phrase. Thus e.g. in (16a), the verb *usia* ‘bite’ is followed by *na* as an indication that the act of biting in question only applies to the referent of the following object noun phrase, not to any other possible entities which in the context might have been relevant objects for ‘bite’. The contrast is even clearer in (16b), where what gets baked is something very different from what the protagonist had expected.

(16) a. *Siai noko usi a tai,*

siai noko usi a tai  
 NEG IPFV bite COLL person  
 ‘(The dog) didn’t bite people,’

*ko ia nokoi usia na ko a tai no kaia.* (NUP)

ko ia noko-i usi-a na ko a tai  
 TOP 3SG IPFV-3SG bite-TR DEM.2 TOP COLL person  
 no kaia  
 IPFV steal  
 ‘it only bit people who came to steal.’

- b. *Ne au te pakola na nei fukea ko a poi ana e lavaki, (NUP)*  
 ne au te pakola na ne-i fuke-a  
 PFV come SG.SP giant DEM.2 PFV-3SG open.oven-TR  
 ko a poi a-na e lavaki  
 TOP COLL pig POSS-3SG.POSS GENR disappear  
 ‘When the giant came to open his oven, the pork was gone,’
- e tao na ni tae.*  
 e tao na ni tae  
 GENR bake DEM.2 PL.NSP waste  
 ‘and only some shit had been baked.’

#### 18.2.6. Temporal structure

As noted in 5.3.3, the demonstratives may also be used for temporal deixis. This is exploited in discourse to indicate the temporal arrangement of events with respect to each other. Consider (17):

- (17) *I te mgava ne nekepo te leo o nga Pleni ko lavaki na,*  
 i te makavā ne nekepo te leo o nga Pleni  
 LDASG.SP time DEM.1 like SG.SP voice POSS PL.SP Pleni  
 ko lavaki na  
 INCP disappear DEM.2  
 ‘Soon the Pleni language will have disappeared,’
- ia te hai o te kastom*  
 ia te hai o te kastom  
 CONJ SG.SP side POSS SG.SP tradition  
 ‘and as for the culture,’
- nekepo uno ilatu nekepo ka lavaki oki la.*  
 nekepo u=no ila atu nekepo ka lavaki oki la  
 like 1SG=IPFV look go.out like FUT disappear again DEM.3  
 ‘the way I see it that will disappear too.’

The use of the demonstratives *na* and *la* indicate relative distance in time: *first* the language will disappear, *then* the culture. Compare also (18), from the same text, where the proximal demonstrative *ne* signals the imminence of the event referred to:

- (18) *Ka mate ne, i te hailoa i te fuamaha i te kastom.*  
 ka mate ne i te hua-ilo-a i te  
 FUT die DEM.1 LDA SG.SP CAUS-know-TR LDA SG.SP  
 fua-maha i te kastom  
 CAUS-heavy LDA SG.SP tradition  
 ‘It is about to die, the respect for the culture.’

Conceivably, this use of the demonstratives to locate events in time relative to each other is what gives rise to the use of demonstratives, typically *na*, in temporal adverbial clauses (cf. 14.4.2.1):

- (19) *A hinana ne lekange na, ko Kilikabe ko heiliange po...*  
 a hina-na ne lek-ange na  
 PERS mother-3SG.POSS PFV go-go.along DEM.2  
 ko Kilikabe ko heili-a ange po  
 TOP Kilikabe INCP ask-TR go.along COMP  
 ‘When his mother came back, Kilikabe asked...’

It should be noted, however, that the use of demonstratives to link phrases to the following discourse, described in 18.2.2 above, is clearly also relevant to their use in temporal clauses.

The function of temporal contrast, with *la* indicating a relatively greater temporal distance than *na*, is exploited systematically in running discourse to mark clauses which refer to events temporally preceding those of the main storyline, which in turn may be tracked with *na* (cf. 18.2.2 above). Thus *la*-marked clauses often have a pluperfect-like reading, in contrast to surrounding clauses with *na*:

- (20) *Ioko na tuohine la koi tātangia na tungane ko lāvoi la,*  
 ioko na tuohine la ko-i ta~tangi-a  
 CONJ 3SG.POSS sister DEM.3 INCP-3SG RED~cry-TR  
 na tungane ko lavoila  
 3SG.POSS brother INCP good DEM.3  
 ‘When the sister had finished crying over her brother,’

*ko lēmai na e fenga tai po la ō ki mouku o kali omo.*  
 ko le-mai na e fenga tai  
 INCP go-come DEM.2 GENR search person  
 po la ō ki mouku o kali omo  
 COMP 3DU.HORT go.PL to bush to dig yam  
 ‘she came looking for someone to go to the bush with her to dig yams.’

- (21) *Koi nā ai, koi nghaina atu po kei takina atu i thaupē na*  
 ko-i nā ai ko-i nghai-na atu  
 INCP-3SG place OBL.PRO INCP-3SG make-TR go.out  
 po ke-i taki-na atu i thaupē na  
 COMP HORT-3SG pull-TR go.out LDA lagoon DEM.2  
 ‘She put him there and prepared to pull him into the lagoon’

*po kei kavea oi thamunia i te pakonga nei kelia la.*  
 po ke-i kave-a oi thamu-nia i te pakonga  
 COMP HORT-3SG bring-TR CONJ bury-TR LDA SG.SP hole  
 ne-i keli-a la  
 PFV-3SG dig-TR DEM.3  
 ‘to bring him and bury him in the grave she had dug.’

*Koi takina atu ai na*  
 ko-i taki-na atu ai na  
 INCP-3SG pull-TR go.out OBL.PRO DEM.2  
 ‘She pulled him,’

*ioko a nghai i te lohiu la,*  
 ioko a nghai i te lohiu la  
 CONJ COLL some LDA SG.SP ship DEM.3  
 ‘and those who were on the ship’

*dekina la te kaliakai la, ne hohoki ake a ia la ioko ko ia ne ahio oki ki te lohiu.*  
 dekina la te kaliakai la ne ho-hoaki ake  
 because DEM.3 SG.SP dinghy DEM.3 PFV RED~travel go.up  
 a ia la ioko ko ia ne ahio oki  
 PERS 3SG DEM.3 CONJ TOP 3SG PFV return again  
 ki te lohiu  
 to SG.SP ship  
 ‘ – because the dinghy that had brought him, had gone back to the ship –’

*Alā koi kutea mai a ia no kau ange ma ia.*  
 a-la ko-i kute-a mai a ia no kau  
 then-DEM.3 INCP-3SG see-TR come PERS 3SG IPFV swim  
 ange ma ia  
 go.along with 3SG  
 ‘could see how she carried him swimming.’

### 18.2.7. Clause-initial demonstratives

The demonstrative *na* is also found clause-initially, where it usually indicates a temporal relationship between the clause and the surrounding parts of dis-

course, often translating as ‘when’, ‘while’, or ‘then’. Clause-initial demonstratives usually combine with a final demonstrative in the same clause.

(22) a. *Harukō oki ki mouku.*

lhatu=ko    ō    oki    ki    mouku  
 3PL=INCP    go.PL    again    to    bush  
 ‘They went back into the bush.’

*Na lhamōake na ioko lhaua ne e liekinatu a brēd i taha o te ala na.*

na    lhat=no    ō    ake    na    ioko    lhaua    ne  
 DEM.2    3PL=IPFV    go.PL    go.up    DEM.2    CONJ    3DU    DEM.1  
 e    lieki-ina    atu    a    brēd    i    taha    o  
 GENR    throw-TR    go.out    COLL    bread    LDA    side    POSS  
 te    ala    na  
 SG.SP    road    DEM.2  
 ‘While they were going,, the two of them threw (pieces of) bread along the road.’

b. *Ko poroporo ko tūake loa ki na ua na,*

ko    poto~poto    ko    thū    ake    loa    ki  
 INCP    RED~short    INCP    stand    go.up    EMPH    to  
 na    ua    na  
 3SG.POSS    neck    DEM.2  
 ‘He was (too) short, and (the sea) reached his neck,’

*na na pihoulu e lilo atu na ma ia na ngakau e motu.*

na    na    pihoulu    e    lilo    atu    na  
 DEM.2    3SG.POSS    head    GENR    disappear    go.out    DEM.2  
 ma    ia    na    ngakau    e    motu  
 CONJ    3SG    3SG.POSS    guts    GENR    break  
 ‘then his head disappeared and he died.’

c. *Ia ia te aliki o te thunū ange ki a (TAU)*

ia    ia    te    aliki    o    te    thunū    ange    ki    a  
 CONJ    3SG    SG.SP    chief    POSS    SG.SP    cook    go.along    to    PERS  
 na    va-thoka-na    na    po  
 3SG.POSS    PL-same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS    DEM.2    COMP  
 lhatu=e    ō    vuhi    ika    na  
 3PL=GENR    go.PL    pull    fish    DEM.2  
 ‘And he is the chief cook for his brothers when they go fishing.’

### 18.3. Tail-head linkage

The pattern known as tail-head linkage is a common feature of narrative structure throughout Melanesia (Crowley 2002: 69). It is not, however, common in Polynesian languages, and so its very frequent use in Vaeakau-Taumako is most likely a result of influence from Äiwoo.

Formally, the Vaeakau-Taumako tail-head linkage construction is characterized by the repetition of the final element of one sentence, usually a verb, or a verb plus postverbal elements, at the beginning of the next; the second occurrence is marked by the demonstrative *na*. This pattern is conceivably modelled on that of Äiwoo, where the repeated element is followed by the distal demonstrative =Câ; Äiwoo has a two-term demonstrative system, and the use of *na* in the parallel construction in Vaeakau-Taumako is likely the result of this form functioning as the neutral term in Vaeakau-Taumako's three-term system (cf. 5.3.1).

Extensive use of tail-head linkage is a central feature of narrative structure in Vaeakau-Taumako. The pattern is illustrated in examples (23–24):

(23) *Hai hahine, ko noho noho noho na, ko lea ai hai tangara.*

thai hahine ko noho noho noho na ko lea ai  
 one woman INCP stay stay stay DEM.2 INCP speak OBL.PRO  
 thai tangata  
 one man

'There was a woman, and after some time a man asked to marry her.'

*Ko lea ai hai tangata na, koi toa koi tauia.*

ko lea ai thai tangata na  
 INCP speak OBL.PRO one man DEM.2  
 ko-i to-a ko-i tauia  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG pay-TR

'A man asked to marry her, and he paid the bride price for her.'

*Koi tauia na, ko noho ange ai loa.*

ko-i tauia na ko noho ange ai loa  
 INCP pay-TR DEM.2 INCP stay go.along OBL.PROEMPH  
 'He paid the bride price, and they were married.'

*Lhako nohonohonoho na, ko hei tama.*

lha=ko noho noho noho na ko hai tama  
 3DU=INCP stay stay stay DEM.2 INCP do child  
 'After a while, she became pregnant.'



*A hei tama na, ko hanau na e tangara,*

a hai tama na ko hanau na e tangata  
 then do child DEM.2 INCP birth DEM.2 SG.NSP man  
 ‘She got pregnant and gave birth to a boy.’

*koi halengia, halengia, halengia, ko mathua.*

ko-i haele-ngia haele-ngia haele-ngia ko mathua  
 INCP-3SG care.for-TR care.for-TR care.for-TR INCP old  
 ‘She looked after him until he grew up.’

*Ko mathua, lhako noho noho noho na,*

ko mathua lha=ko noho noho noho na  
 INCP old 3DU=INCP stay stay stay DEM.2  
 ‘He grew up as time went by.’

*ko mathua na ioko hei tama oki.*

ko mathua na ioko hai tama oki  
 INCP old DEM.2 CONJ do child again  
 ‘he grew up, and she became pregnant again.’

*Ko hei tama oki na, lhako nohonoho na, ioko matuana ko mate.*

ko hai tama oki na lha=ko noho~noho na  
 INCP do child again DEM.2 3DU=INCP RED~stay DEM.2  
 ioko matua a-na ko mate  
 CONJ old.man POSS-3SG.POSS INCP die  
 ‘She became pregnant again, and after a while her husband died.’

*Ko mate na, ioko nohine ana na e noho.*

ko mate na ioko nohine a-na na  
 INCP die DEM.2 CONJ wife POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.2  
 e noho  
 GENR stay  
 ‘He died, and his wife stayed on.’

*Ko nōnōnoho na, ko hanau.*

ko nō~nō~noho na ko hanau  
 INCP RED~RED~stay DEM.2 INCP birth  
 ‘She stayed on and eventually gave birth.’

*Ko hanau na e hahine.*

ko hanau na e hahine  
 INCP birth DEM.2 SG.NSP woman  
 ‘She gave birth to a girl.’

(24) *Lhatuko vuhia mai te loku lhatko hanaia a ia i te ngau.*

lhatu=ko vuhi-a mai te loku lhatu=ko hana-ia a ia  
 3PL=INCP pull-TR come SG.SP bow 3PL=INCP shoot-TR PERS 3SG  
 i te ngau  
 LDA SG.SP arrow  
 ‘They drew the bow and shot him with an arrow.’

*Ko hanaia i te ngau na ioko ia na e kau ange.*

ko hana-ia i te ngau na  
 INCP shoot-TR LDA SG.SP arrow DEM.2  
 ioko ia na e kau ange  
 CONJ 3SG DEM.2 GENR swim go.along  
 ‘They shot him with an arrow, and he swam along.’

*Kau ange na, thai ko toko ange loa ma te kaulakau.*

kau ange na thai ko toko ange loa  
 swim go.along DEM.2 one INCP pole go.along EMPH  
 ma te kau-lakau  
 with SG.SP bamboo-tree  
 ‘He swam, and one of them poled with a stick.’

*Ko toko ange ma te kaulakau, koi toa koi vloia ai loa,*

ko toko ange ma te kau-lakau  
 INCP pole go.along with SG.SP bamboo-tree  
 ko-i to-a ko-i volo-ia ai loa  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG stick-TR OBL.PRO EMPH  
 ‘He poled with a stick and stuck it into him.’

*nei vloia na, e thuki loa i muane,*

ne-i volo-ia na e thuki loa i mua ne  
 PFV-3SG stick-TR DEM.2 GENR pierce EMPHLDA place DEM.1  
 ‘he stuck it into him and pierced him,’

*ko mate loa na e manuanu loa.*

ko mate loa na e manuanu loa  
 INCP die EMPHDEM.2 GENR float~RED EMPH  
 ‘and he died and floated up.’

As the examples show, the repeated sequence is generally the verb with its tense-aspect-mood marker plus any postverbal material; though some postverbal elements may be omitted in repetition, such as the emphatic particle *loa* in (24).

The use of *na* following the repeated material, though most likely echoing the use of deictic markers in the parallel structures in Äiwoo, also clearly relates to the discourse function of demonstratives as described in 18.2; it

serves to link the repeated material to the following discourse, and speakers often accept a translation of the repeated sequence by a subordinate temporal clause (“When they shot him...” etc.).

#### 18.4. Discourse-linkage verbs

Certain verbs with fairly general meanings are often used to link elements of discourse by referring back to or recapitulating a previous event at the beginning of a sentence, thus linking it to the event described in the following sentence. Following van Enk and de Vries (1997: 120), we will call such verbs “discourse-linkage verbs”.

The most common discourse-linkage verbs in Vaeakau-Taumako are *hano* ‘go’, *noho* ‘sit, stay’, and *(k)osi* ‘(be) finish(ed)’. *Hano* and *noho* are both commonly reduplicated in this function; they also have similar meanings of ‘after a while’ or ‘as time went by’. The *k-* in *kohi/kosi* is likely an accreted tense-aspect-mood particle (*ko* ‘inceptive’); while the verb *ohi/osi* ‘be all, be finished’ does occur without this accreted *k-*, it is the *k-* form which is typically found functioning as a discourse-linkage verb.

- (25) a. *Nghi memea, lhatue noho i a langi na huaekeeke, huaekeeke, huaekeeke.*  
 nghi memea lhatu=e noho i a langi na  
 PL.NSP child 3PL=GENR stay LDA COLL day DEM.2  
 hua-eke~eke hua-eke~eke hua-eke~eke  
 CAUS-RED~surf CAUS-RED~surf CAUS-RED~surf  
 ‘There were some children who used to surf and surf all day.’

*Nghi memea tau Neo.*  
 nghi memea tau Neo  
 PL.NSP child of Neo  
 ‘Some children from Neo.’

*Hano na, ioko te thua o Tenokula nekepō ko Menepulu, koi kuteake...*  
 hano na ioko te athua o Tenokula  
 go.SG DEM.2 CONJ SG.SP spirit POSS Tinakula  
 nekepo ko Menepulu ko-i kute-a ake  
 like TOP Menepulu INCP-3SG see-TR go.up  
 ‘After a while the spirit of Tinakula, Menepulu, saw them...’

- b. *E, malamake mai te matuana e hano ki mouku,*  
 ē malamake mai te matua a-na e  
 yes morning come SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS GENR  
 hano ki mouku  
 go.SG to bush  
 ‘In the morning her husband went to the bush.’

*ko ia ni ona loa thaunga loa.*  
 ko ia ni o-na loa thaunga loa  
 TOP 3SG PP POSS-3SG.POSS EMPH house EMPH  
 ‘while the house was for her.’

***Hanohano na, ngha hahine o mua na ko tukua po***  
 hano-hano na ngha hahine o mua na  
 RED~go.SG DEM.2 PL.SP woman POSS place DEM.2  
 ko taku-a po  
 INCP say-TR COMP  
 ‘After a while the women of that place said to themselves.’

*ne mdahahine pehea nei toa na?*  
 ne mda-hahine phe-hea ne-i to-a na  
 DEM.1 kind-woman like-what PFV-3SG take-TR DEM.2  
 ‘‘What kind of girl is this he has married?’’

- (26) a. *Ē, a koi toa koi tukuange ki a mhana po molia a iau ku noho i Lua.*  
 ē a ko-i ko-i to-a ko-i taku-a ange  
 yes then INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG say-TR go.along  
 ki a mha-na po molia a iau  
 to PERS father-3SG.POSS COMP bring-TR PERS 1SG  
 k=u noho i Lua  
 HORT=1SG stay LDA Lua  
 ‘Then he said to his father: ‘‘Take me to live in Lua.’’

*A koi toa e mhana a ia koi toa koi molia o noho mai i Lua.*  
 a ko-i to-a e mha-na a ia  
 then INCP-3SG take-TR AG father-3SG.POSSPERS 3SG  
 ko-i to-a ko-i molia o noho mai i Lua  
 INCP-3SG take-TR INCP-3SG bring-TR to stay come LDA Lua  
 ‘So his father took him and brought him to stay in Lua.’

*Na te tangara na.*  
 na te tangata na  
 DEM.2 SG.SP man DEM.2  
 ‘The boy.’

*Nohonoho na, ioko luona vetuahine tokolua la ko tukuange po molia oki mhaui matu noho ma tungane i Lua.*

noho~noho na ioko lu-o-na ve-tuahine  
 RED~stay DEM.2 CONJ two-POSS-3SG.POSS PL-sister  
 toko-lua la ko taku-a ange po molia-a  
 CLASS-two DEM.3 INCP say-TR go.along COMP bring-TR  
 oki mhaui matu noho ma tungane  
 again 1DU.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.HORT stay with brother  
 i Lua  
 LDA Lua

‘After a while his two sisters said: “Take us also to live with our brother in Lua.”’

- b. *Te aliki ko nohonoho na, na ahahine e ai.*

te aliki ko noho~noho na na ahahine  
 SG.SP chief INCP RED~stay DEM.2 3SG.POSS daughter  
 e ai  
 GENR exist

‘There was a chief who had a daughter.’

*Na ahahine ne e tapu na hanohano uabelia.*

na ahahine ne e tapu na  
 3SG.POSS daughter DEM.1 GENR forbid 3SG.POSS/IRR  
 hano~hano uabelia  
 RED~go.SG aimless

‘His daughter had been forbidden to go wandering about.’

*Nohonoho na po ke hano loa po ke kaukau.*

noho~noho na po ke hano loa po  
 RED~stay DEM.2 COMP HORT go.SG EMPH COMP  
 ke kau~kau  
 HORT RED~swim

‘From time to time she would go to have a bath.’

- (27) a. *Koi heua te pola, koi,*

ko-i heua te pola k-ohi  
 INCP-3SG weave-TR SG.SP mat INCP-finish  
 ‘He wove the mat, and when it was finished’

*koi hikia ake, koi fokina ki loto. (TAU)*

ko-i hiki-a ake ko-i fokina ki loto  
 INCP-3SG roll-TR go.up INCP-3SG put.in-TR to inside  
 ‘he rolled it up and put it inside.’

- b. *Mdangi ko lāvoi na, lhatuko nghaina a puke o lārou,*  
 matangi ko lāvoi na lhatu=ko nghai-na a puke  
 wind INCP good DEM.2 3PL=INCP make-TR COLL puke  
 o lārou  
 POSS 3PL.POSS  
 ‘(One day when) the wind was good, they prepared their *puke*-canoes.’

*kohi na, lhatuko fuloho ki Pleni ne.*

- k-ohi na lhatu=ko fulo oho  
 INCP-finish DEM.2 3PL=INCP run.PL.go.vertically  
 ki Pleni ne  
 to Pileni DEM.1  
 ‘and when they were ready they sailed here to Pileni.’

The verb *tahuli* has the lexical meaning ‘turn’ (28), but is most frequently used with a discourse-linking function, and is then typically translated by consultants as ‘then’. In such contexts it may appear without a tense-aspect-mood marker (29a), but more frequently it occurs with inceptive *ko* (29b):

(28) *Ko tahuli ange.*

- ko tahuli ange  
 INCP turn go.along  
 ‘He turned around.’

(29) a. *Lhako thae loa ki te potu na,*

- lha=ko thae loa ki te potu na  
 3DU=INCP reach EMPH to SG.SP edge DEM.2  
 ‘They reached the far point of the reef.’

*a tahuli lhako uoho loa ki Tenekula na.*

- a tahuli lha=ko ua oho loa  
 then turn 3DU=INCP paddle go.vertically EMPH  
 ki Tenekula na  
 to Tinakula DEM.2  
 ‘and then they paddled to Tinakula.’

b. *Ioko ia na kaukau oki ai.*

- ioko ia na kau~kau oki ai  
 CONJ 3SG PST RED~swim again OBL.PRO  
 ‘And (the boy) was swimming there again.’

*E, a ko tahuli na koi toa loa te memea la koi tukuange po lemai o kake.*  
 ē a ko tahuli na ko-i to-a loa  
 yes then INCP turn DEM.2 INCP-3SG take-TR EMPH  
 te memea la ko-i taku-a ange po  
 SG.SP child DEM.3 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP  
 le-mai o kake  
 go-come to climb  
 ‘Then he took the child and said, “Come, climb up.”’

The line between tail-head linkage (18.3) and the use of discourse-linkage verbs can at times be difficult to draw. As may be seen from the above examples, discourse-linkage verbs tend to make up a verb phrase of their own and be followed by the demonstrative *na*, parallel to the repeated verb in tail-head linkage. Discourse-linkage verbs are usually not repeated in the manner characteristic of tail-head linkage; but examples such as (30) do occur:

(30) a. *Ē, ioko na tungane la ko nōnoho,*  
 ē ioko na tungane la ko nō~noho  
 yes CONJ 3SG.POSS brother DEM.3 INCP RED~stay  
 ‘And her brother stayed on,’

*nohonoho na, ko mate oki.*  
 noho~noho na ko mate oki  
 RED~stay DEM.2 INCP die again  
 ‘and after a while he died too.’

b. *Ko lēlea i a hahine o te kaenga na, hanohano na kohi loa.*  
 ko le~lea i a hahine o te kaenga na  
 INCP RED~speak LDA COLL woman POSS SG.SP village DEM.2  
 hano~hano na k-ohi loa  
 RED~go.SG DEM.2 INCP-finish EMPH  
 ‘They spoke to the women in the village (about marriage), until they were all finished.’

*Kohi na ko ia e mae ai loa.*  
 k-ohi na ko ia e mae ai loa  
 INCP-finish DEM.2 TOP 3SG GENR refuse OBL.PRO EMPH  
 ‘They were finished, he had refused (all of) them.’

## 18.5. Discourse particles

Discourse particles are words which have scope over an entire clause or sentence, and which do not show the distribution characteristic of adverbs

(11.4.5). The distinction between discourse particles and adverbial conjunctions (17.4) is, however, far from clear-cut, and several of the forms discussed in 17.4 have a distribution similar to those discussed below. The difference is mainly a functional one, in that the forms classified as adverbial conjunctions have meanings more reminiscent of conjunctions, whereas the particles discussed below have more modal-like meanings. The “fluidity of the boundary between discourse adverbials and syntactic conjunctions” (Mithun 1988: 348) applies in Vaeakau-Taumako throughout the cline from discourse particle to adverbial conjunction to fully grammaticalized conjunctions; and we are the first to admit that the boundaries we suggest might well have been drawn elsewhere, based on other criteria.

### 18.5.1. *nekepo* ‘like; you know’

The form *nekepo* or *nepo* is highly frequent in informal Vaeakau-Taumako discourse, as can be seen from the following excerpt from a text:

(31) *E, na te lau na, nga Nihiloli ne nekepo lhatuko pikia loa, te lau na, lau ma ko ia loa.*

e na te lau na nga Nihiloli ne nekepo  
 yes DEM.2 SG.SP leaf.net DEM.2 PL.SP Nihiloli DEM.1 like  
 lhatu=ko phiki-a loa te lau na lau te-na  
 3PL=INCP hold-TR EMPHSG.SP leaf.net DEM.2 leaf.net SG.SP-DEM.2  
 ko ia loa  
 TOP 3SG EMPH

‘Yes, the *lau* [type of fishing net made by tying coconut fronds around a long rope, which is then used to encircle and trap fish], the people here in Nihiloli, you know, they took it, the *lau*, that was indeed the *lau*.’

*A nga Nihiloli na, lhatuko pikia te lau na, lhatuko fangā te fau na,*

a nga Nihiloli na lhatu=ko piki-a te lau  
 PERS PL.SP Nihiloli DEM.2 3PL=INCP hold-TR SG.SP leaf.net  
 na lhatu=ko fanga-a te fau na  
 DEM.2 3PL=INCP split-TR SG.SP rope DEM.2

‘The Nihiloli people took the *lau*, they split a rope.’

*lhatuko ieia a fāniu, lhatuko fifi ai.*

lhatu=ko ie-ia a fā-niu lhatu=ko fifi ai  
 3PL=INCP tear-TR COLL stem-coconut 3PL=INCP tie OBL.PRO

‘they tore coconut leaves and tied them around it.’



*Ioko hinana nei hanauia na, nekepo no hano ko ia siai ni launuu, e fau.*

ioko hina-na ne-i hanau-ia na nekepo  
 CONJ mother-3SG.POSS PFV-3SG birth-TR DEM.2 like  
 no hano ko ia siai ni lau-niu e fau  
 IPFV go.SG TOP 3SG NEG PL.NSP leaf-coconut SG.NSP rope  
 ‘[When] the mother gave birth to it, you know, it was not coconut leaves, it was a rope.’

*E, na te lau na nekepo ne tupu loa na i Nihiloli ne.*

ē na te lau na nekepo ne tupu loa  
 yes DEM.2 SG.SP leaf.net DEM.2 like PFV grow EMPH  
 na i Nihiloli ne  
 DEM.2 LDA Nihiloli DEM.1  
 ‘The lau, you know, it started here in Nihiloli.’

Diachronically, at least, the form is clearly segmentable; the stress pattern [‘nekepo] violates all possible Vaeakau-Taumako stress rules for a monomorphemic form. A segmentation *ne ke po*, where *ne* may be tentatively identified as a demonstrative, yields the attested stress pattern.

Identifying the segments is less straightforward. Glossing *ne ke po* ‘DEM.1 HORT COMP’ is a possibility, but yields a highly unusual structure, with a tense-aspect-mood particle directly preceding the complementizer *po* (cf. 14.2.5). A perhaps more plausible analysis is that the form derives from *na ko ia po* ‘DEM.2 TOP 3SG COMP’ ‘that’s it; it’s like this’. As noted in 10.6.3, the expression *na ko ia* is highly frequent in Vaeakau-Taumako discourse, and it also occurs preceding *po*:

(32) a. *Na ko ia po te lalakhai mui kahi ai na ko ia.*

na ko ia po te lalakhai mui k-ohi  
 DEM.2 TOP 3SG COMP SG.SP story place INCP-finish  
 ai na ko ia  
 OBL.PRO DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 ‘That’s it, that’s where the story ends.’

b. *Koi tukutukuange po lhaua na po na ko ia po nonoho ange i a king.*

ko-i taku~taku-a ange po lhaua na  
 INCP-3SG RED~say-TR go.along COMP 3DU DEM.2  
 po na ko ia po no~noho ange  
 COMP DEM.2 TOP 3SG COMP RED~stay go.along  
 i a king  
 LDA PERS king  
 ‘She said that the two of them had been living with the king.’

Synchronically, however, the uses of *nekepo* differ somewhat from those found with *na ko ia (po)*. In the simplest cases, *nekepo* translates quite straightforwardly as ‘(be) like’ and functions like a predicate, though taking no tense-aspect-mood marking; in (33c) it introduces an adverbial clause, still with the meaning ‘like, as if’:

- (33) a. *Ioko thai matua, ē, hai matua. Nekepo iau ne, ē?*  
 ioko thai matua ē thai matua nekepo iau ne ē  
 CONJ one old.man yes one old.man like 1SG DEM.1 yes  
 ‘And there was an old man, yes, an old man. Like me, eh?’
- b. *A taku tama na e ngata, siai nekepo ko a meitama kono kutea na.*  
 a t-a-ku tama na e ngata  
 PERS SG.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS child DEM.2 SG.NSP snake  
 siai nekepo ko a mei-tama ko=no kute-a na  
 NEG like TOP COLL small-child 2SG=IPFV see-TR DEM.2  
 ‘But my son is a snake, he is not like the boys you usually see.’
- c. *Ko te talo la ko tupu ake oki i mangai*  
 ko te talo la ko tupu ake oki i mangai  
 TOP SG.SP taro DEM.3 INCP grow go.up again LDA place  
 ‘The taro grew back in that place’

*noko tū ai nekepo siai ne keli la. (NUP)*  
 noko thū ai nekepo siai ne keli la  
 IPFV stand OBL.PRO like NEG PFV dig DEM.3  
 ‘and stood there as if it had never been dug up.’

More frequently, however, *nekepo* is used to hedge a statement, indicate uncertainty, invite agreement, or as a hesitation filler, in a manner quite similar to the English expressions *like* or *you know*. Accordingly, we transcribe it as a single item and gloss it as ‘like’. Note that in example (31) above, the speaker had been asked on the spur of the moment to explain the fishing method in question; he was thus unprepared, and the high frequency of *nekepo* in this example reflects this.

- (34) a. *Te memea aku nekepō thatue iloa loa te tapavela ne lavaki ai.*  
 te memea a-ku nekepo thatu=e  
 SG.SP child POSS-1SG.POSS like 1PL.INCL=GENR  
 ilo-a loa te tapavela ne lavaki ai  
 know-TR EMPH SG.SP time PFV disappear OBL.PRO  
 ‘I think we all know how long my child has been gone.’

- b. *Ioko ia nekepo te taine a te hetū na nheho ange na.*  
 ioko ia nekepo te taine a te hetū na  
 CONJ 3SG like SG.SP girl POSS SG.SP star DEM.2  
 hano iho ange na  
 go.SG go.down go.along DEM.2  
 ‘And she, you know, the daughter of the star, went out.’
- c. *Hokomua mai nga memea tangara lharou nepō te holau lhatuno noho ai,*  
 hoko-mua mai nga memea tangata lhatou  
 CAUS-front come PL.SP child man 3PL  
 nekepo te holau lhatu=no noho ai  
 like SG.SP men’s.house 3PL=IPFV stay OBL.PRO  
 ‘Before, the young men, you know, the single men’s house, they would stay there.’

*ia tai matua nōfo ki te folau o akoakina*  
 ia a tai matua no ō oho  
 CONJ COLL person old IPFV go.PL go.vertically  
 ki te holau o ako~ako-ina  
 to SG.SP men’s.house to RED~teach-TR  
 ‘and the older men would go to the house and teach them.’

*nepō a memea tangara i te folau.*  
 nekepo a memea tangata i te holau  
 like COLL child man LDA SG.SP men’s.house  
 ‘you know, the young men in the men’s house.’

As can be seen from the examples, *nekepo* has a variable distribution, occurring at the beginning of clauses, verb phrases, and noun phrases. It also appears to function as a predicate in the examples in (33). This clearly distinguishes it from adverbs, which may be clause-initial, but not verb phrase-initial or noun phrase-initial, as well as from verbs which only occur in the verb-phrase nucleus.

#### 18.5.2. *nahilā* ‘mind, make sure’

*nahilā* ‘mind, make sure’ occurs clause-initially, sometimes following a conjunction or adverbial conjunction. It is used to admonish the addressee and emphasize the importance of the proposition expressed by the clause, which is usually an order or request.

- (35) a. *Nahilā koko tukuange ki a John po ke au.*  
 nahilā ko=ko taku-a ange ki a John  
 mind 2SG=INCP say-TR go.along to PERS John  
 po ke au  
 COMP HORT come  
 ‘Make sure you tell John to come.’
- b. *Ka nahilā aua koulua na mathaku.*  
 ka nahilā auā koulua na mathaku  
 but mind PROH 2DU IRR afraid  
 ‘But mind you don’t get frightened.’

18.5.3. *nahinā* ‘just’

*nahinā* ‘just’ is clearly formally related to *nahilā* (18.5.2). Our data on the use of this form is extremely limited; in the available examples, it occurs at the beginning of a relative clause with the meaning ‘just, just where’:

- (36) *pointi Nōlā nahenā no kaukau ai*  
 pointi Nōlā nahinā no kau~kau ai  
 point Nola just IPFV RED~swim OBL.PRO  
 ‘the point at Nola just where he used to swim’

# Appendix 1

## Texts

In the following texts selected from our corpus, all three main dialect areas, Vaeakau, Nupani, and Taumako, are represented; in addition we have included a text from Matema, cf. 1.4.1. Two of the texts have been transcribed from our recordings, whereas two are presented as they were written down by the speakers.

### Vaeakau: Our culture and language

Told by Silas Loa from Nukapu, October 2003. Transcribed with the help of Edward Makiu, Nifiloli.

This text is a good example of colloquial Vaeakau dialect. Silas Loa, though born on Nukapu, at the time of recording spent more time on Nifiloli. He and Hovdhaugen had known each other since 1998 and had often discussed the matters presented by Silas in this speech, which was given on Nukapu when Hovdhaugen visited the island in 2003. This text does not represent a recognized genre and was not particularly well received by the audience, who wanted a *lalakhai* ‘fairytale’ or a *tala* ‘legend, true historical narrative’. The extensive use of the discourse particle *nekepo* as a hesitation filler, usually in the short form *nepo*, signals that the speaker is talking about something he is not accustomed to speaking about to a large audience, and that the text is of a type lacking an established pattern.

*I te mgava ne nekepō te leo o ngha pleni ko lavaki na,*

i	te	makavā	ne	nekepo	te	leo	o	ngha	Pileni
LDA	SG.SP	time	DEM.1	like	SG.SP	voice	POSS	PL.SP	Pileni
ko	lavaki	na							
INCP	disappear	DEM.2							

At this time, the language of the Pileni people is disappearing,

*ia te hai i te kastom*

ia	te	hai	i	te	kastom
CONJ	SG.SP	side	LDA	SG.SP	tradition

and as far as the culture is concerned,

*nekepō uno ilatu nekepō ka lavaki oki la.*

nekepo	u=no	ila	atu	nekepo	ka	lavaki	oki	la
like	1SG=IPFV	see go.out	like	FUT	disappear	again	DEM.3	

the way I see it that is going to disappear too.

*Ka a hihinga e pele nepō ka lavaki ai na,*

ka a hi~hinga e pele nekepo ka lavaki ai na  
 but COLL RED~thing GENR many like FUT disappear OBL.PRODEM.2  
 Many things will disappear along with it,

*kina thatuno toa mai a leoleo nepō i taha mai.*

kina thatu=no to-a mai a leo~leo nekepo i  
 because 1PL.INCL=IPFV take-TR come COLL RED~voice like LDA  
 taha mai  
 outside come  
 because we are importing words from abroad.

*Hatno kamai ki a kakaenga o rarou na,*

that=no ka-mai ki a ka~kaenga o tatou  
 1PL.INCL=IPFV bring-come to COLL RED~village POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS  
 na  
 DEM.2  
 We bring them to our villages,

*hana ko ia noi halavakina te leo o rarou,*

hana ko ia no-i hua-lavaki-na te leo  
 indeed TOP 3SG IPFV-3SG CAUS-disappear-TR SG.SP voice  
 o tatou  
 POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS  
 and that causes our language to disappear,

*te leo o nga Pleni, ia te kastom.*

te leo o nga Pleni ia te kastom  
 SG.SP voice POSS PL.SP Pleni CONJ SG.SP tradition  
 the language of the Pleni people, and our culture.

*Te kastom mai ne fokomua mai ne*

te kastom mai ne hoko-mua mai ne  
 SG.SP tradition come DEM.1 CAUS-front come DEM.1  
 The tradition here before,

*nepō hatno longo ange o tatu matetua,*

nekepo thatu=no longo ange o tatu matua~tua  
 like 1PL.INCL=IPFV listen go.along POSS 1PL.INCL.POSS old.man~RED  
 well, we listened to our old people,

*nepō lhatno tala mai (k)ī harou na,*  
 nekepo lhat=no tala mai ki thatou na  
 like 3PL=IPFV tell come to 1PL.INCL DEM.2  
 they would tell us about it,

*nekpō fokomua e kē*  
 nekepo hoko-mua e kē  
 like CAUS-front GENR different  
 it was different before,

*ia nene o lharou na oki e kē.*  
 ia ne~ne o latou na oki e kē  
 CONJ RED~DEM.1 POSS 3PL.POSS DEM.2 again GENR different  
 and now it has changed.

*Hatno ilaru po te kastom ko hiai ne mahi.*  
 thatu=no ila atu po te kastom ko siai ne  
 1PL.INCL=IPFV see go.out COMP SG.SP tradition INCP NEG PFV  
 mahi  
 strong  
 We see that the culture is not strong.

*Ko mahi mai na ko a hinga no vakhei mai.*  
 ko mahi mai na ko a hinga no vakhei mai  
 INCP strong come DEM.2 TOP COLL thing IPFV climb.PL come  
 It was strong until those things arrived.

*A leoleo nepō ne vakhei mai*  
 a leo~leo nekepo ne vakhei mai  
 COLL RED~voice like DEM.1 climb.PL come  
 The words came here,

*gina hatue ileila i te mngava ne ne,*  
 dekina thatu=e ila~ila i te makavā ne ne  
 because 1PL.INCL=GENR RED~see LDA SG.SP time DEM.1 DEM.1  
 because we see now at this time,

*i te hai nepō hatna huamahaina tai*  
 i te hai nekepō that=na hua-maha-ina a tai  
 LDA SG.SP side like 1PL.INCL=IRR CAUS-heavy-TR COLL person  
 when it comes to our respecting people,

*kohi ai.*

k-ohi ai  
INCP-finish OBL.PRO  
it is gone.

*Ne makhona mai i harou*

ne makhona mai i thatou  
PFV strong come LDA 1PL.INCL  
It used to be strong with us,

*io re kastom mai hokomua nepō te huamaha na*

io te kastom mai hoko-mua nekepo te hua-maha na  
CONJ SG.SP tradition come CAUS-front like SG.SP CAUS-heavy DEM.2  
our tradition before, the respect,

*lharou ko mahi ange lharou e, a huamahaina te tai.*

lhatou ko mahi ange lhatou ē a hua-maha-ina te tai  
3PL INCP strong go.along 3PL yesthen CAUS-heavy-TR SG.SP person  
they kept it strong, they respected people.

*A tai e vakei mai na*

a tai e vakhei mai na  
COLL person GENR climb.PL come DEM.2  
People who came here,

*lhatue hamahaina oki te kaenga*

lhatu=e hua-maha-ina oki te kaenga  
3PL=GENR CAUS-heavy-TR again SG.SP village  
they respected the village too,

*ia hokomua mai ngha memea tangara*

ia hoko-mua mai ngha memea tangata  
CONJ CAUS-front come PL.SP child man  
and in former times, the young men,

*lharou nepō te holau lhatuno noho ai*

lhatou nekepo te holau lhatu=no noho ai  
3PL like SG.SP men's.house 3PL=IPFV stay OBL.PRO  
you know, the single men's house, they stayed there,



*ia tai matua nōfo ki te folau o akoakina*

ia a tai matua no ō oho ki te holau  
 CONJ COLL person old IPFV go.PL go.vertically to SG.SP men's.house  
 o ako~ako-ina  
 CONJ RED~learn-TR  
 and the old people would go to the single men's house to teach,

*nepō a memea tangara i te folau.*

nekepo a memea tangata i te holau  
 like COLL child man LDA SG.SP men's.house  
 you know, the young men in the single men's house.

*Ka i te mngava ne nepō a tai matua kōhi ai*

ka i te makavā ne nekepo a tai matua  
 but LDA SG.SP time DEM.1 like COLL person old  
 k-ohi ai  
 INCP-finish OBL.PRO  
 But nowadays the old men have stopped doing it.

*nepō hokomua mai na a holau e ai ia kakaenga*

nekepo hoko-mua mai na a holau e ai  
 like CAUS-front come DEM.2 COLL men's.house GENR exist  
 i a ka~kaenga  
 LDA COLL RED~village  
 Before, there were single men's houses in the villages,

*nepo lhatno oho ki a holau huahiahi,*

nekepo lhat=no oho ki a holau huahi~ahi  
 like 3PL=INCP go.vertically to COLL men's.house evening~RED  
 and they went there in the evenings

*lhatno akoakoina nekepō a meitama i te hai i te kastom.*

lhat=no ako~ako-ina nekepo a mei-tama i te hai  
 3PL=INCP RED~learn-TR like COLL small-child LDA SG.SP side  
 i te kastom  
 LDA SG.SP tradition  
 and taught the young boys about the traditions.

*Po la pelā ngha meitama lhatuna nofo*

po la phe-la ngha mei-tama lhatu=na noho  
 COMP DEM.3 like-DEM.3 PL.SP small-child 3PL=IRR stay  
 Like that, the young boys stayed

*nekepō lhatuna faia o latou anga la pelā e,*

nekepo lhatu=na fai-a o latou anga la phe-la e  
 like 3PL=IRR do-TR POSS 3PL.POSS work DEM.3 like-DEM.3 yes  
 and did their work like that,

*dekina fokomua mai nepo te kastom efangē i lhatou ko te ala muahau i mua ne*

dekina hoko-mua mai nekepo te kastom efa ange  
 because CAUS-front come like SG.SP tradition big go.along  
 i lhatou ko te ala muahau i mua ne  
 LDA 3PL TOP SG.SP road money LDA place DEM.1  
 because the tradition used to put great pressure on them to get feather money,

*lhatmo fetuaki ia puke*

lhat=no fetuaki i a puke  
 3PL=IPFV travel LDA COLL puke  
 they would go travelling on the *puke* canoes.

*Hatmo longo ange po lhatmo fetuakina i moana,*

thatu=no longo ange po lhatu=no fetuaki-na i moana  
 1PL.INCL=IPFV listen go.along COMP 3PL=IPFV travel-TR LDA sea  
 We hear that they sailed them out to sea,

*lhatmo vakhona honu o nō pakea,*

lhat=no va-khona honu o nō pakea  
 3PL=IPFV CAUS-be.caught turtle CONJ snare shark  
 they would catch turtles with nets and snare sharks,

*a lhatmo kave ala ki Deni.*

a lhat=no kave ala ki Deni  
 then 3PL=IPFV bring HYP to Santa.Cruz  
 and then they brought (their catch) to Santa Cruz.

*Lhatmo toa a mahau sika, ko kamai ki Veiakau,*

lhat=no to-a a muahau sika ko ka-mai ki Vaeakau  
 3PL=IPFV take-TR COLL money straight INCP bring-come to Vaeakau  
 They got proper feather money and brought it here to Vaeakau,

*lhatmo tauī kaikai ai.*

lhat=no tauī kaikai ai  
 3PL=INCP buy food OBL.PRO  
 they bought food with it,

*Lhatno nghaina a tai o te kaenga.*

lhatu=no hangai-ina a tai o te kaenga  
 3PL=IPFV feed-TR COLL person POSS SG.SP village  
 they would feed people in the village.

*Ioko te mngava ne ne hatmo ileilatu ne*

ioko te makavā ne ne that=no ila~ila atu  
 CONJ SG.SP time DEM.1 DEM.1 1PL.INCL=IPFVRED~look go.out  
 ne  
 DEM.1  
 But these days we see,

*nepō hatuno fetuake po ni hinga na*

nekepo thatu=no fetuakipo ni hinga na  
 like 1PL.INCL=IPFV travel COMP PL.NSP thing DEM.2  
 when we travel for things like that,

*tai la napō fetuaki ki te muli ona hai la e fetuaki ki te muli ona,*

thai la nekepo fetuaki ki te muli o-na  
 one DEM.3 like travel to SG.SP back POSS-3SG.POSS  
 thai la e fetuaki ki te muli o-na  
 one DEM.3 GENR travel to SG.SP back POSS-3SG.POSS  
 everyone goes in his own direction.

*ioko fokomua mai ngha aliki na ko ia ni ā lhatuno faifaia na ko ia,*

ioko hoko-mua mai ngha aliki na ko ia  
 CONJ CAUS-front come PL.SP chief DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 ni ā lhatu=no fai~fai-a na ko ia  
 PL.NSP what 3PL=IPFV RED~do-TR DEM.2 TOP 3SG  
 Before, the chiefs used to organize this sort of thing,

*nepō lhatno nohoakina a meitama i te folau.*

nekepo lhatu=no noho-akina a mei-tama i te  
 like 3PL=IPFV stay-APPL COLL small-child LDA SG.SP  
 holau  
 men's.house  
 and they made the young men stay in the single men's house.

*Lhatno tukuange po anga po hatuna falaoina,*

lhat=no taku-a ange po anga po thatu=na  
 3PL=IPFV say-TR go.along COMP work COMP 1PL.INCL=IRR  
 falao-ina  
 follow-TR  
 They told us to work and we obeyed,

*hatna tautalia, dekina thatu nofo lavoi ai i te kastom.*

that=na tauta-lia dekina thatu nofo lavoi ai  
 1PL.INCL=IRR obey-TR because 1PL.INCL stay good OBL.PRO  
 i te kastom  
 LDA SG.SP tradition  
 we obeyed because we were well versed in the traditions.

*A haruko ileilei ne te leo o nga Pileni, ko nhatu ne ko lavaki.*

a thatu=ko ila~ila ai ne te leo  
 then 1PL.INCL=INCP RED~look OBL.PRO DEM.1 SG.SP voice  
 o nga Pileni ko hano atu ne ko lavaki  
 POSS PL.SP Pileni INCP go.SG go.out DEM.1 INCP disappear  
 But now we see that the language of the Pileni people is going to disappear.

*Ko lavaki ne, ia te hai i te kastom o marou ko penā oki.*

ko lavaki ne ia te hai i te kastom  
 INCP disappear DEM.1 CONJ SG.SP side POSS SG.SP tradition  
 o matou ko phe-na oki  
 POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS INCP like-DEM.2 again  
 It is disappearing now, and then our culture will do the same.

*Ko nhatu ne ko lavaki oki,*

ko hano atu ne ko lavaki oki  
 INCP go.SG go.out DEM.1 INCP disappear again  
 It will gradually disappear too,

*dekina a hinga e pele no vakhei mai na*

dekina a hinga e pele no vakhei mai na  
 because COLL thing GENR many IPFV climb.PL come DEM.2  
 because of all the things which come here,

*hatno toatu na*

that=no to-a atu na  
 1PL.INCL=IPFV take-TR go.out DEM.2  
 which we take,

*ko a hinga no vakhei mai,*

ko a hinga no vakhei mai  
 TOP COLL thing IPFV climb.PL come  
 the things which come here,

*ioko ia tatu ilalaila lavoi na*

ioko ia tatu ila~la~ila lavoi na  
 CONJ 3SG 1PL.INCL.HORT RED~RED~look good DEM.2  
 we must see it clearly

*nepo hatnō atu ia mngavā no mai ne.*

nekepo that=no                      ō    atu    i    a    makavā    no    mai  
 like    1PL.INCL=IPFV    go.PL    go.out LDA    COLL time    IPFV come  
 ne  
 DEM.1

as we go into these times that are coming.

*Matea nekepō kono toa mai oki te leo marou*

matea nekepo ko=no            to-a            mai    oki    te    leo    o  
 maybe like            2SG=IPFV    take-TR    come    again    SG.SP voice    POSS  
 matou  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS

Maybe when you take our language,

*matea pelā e lavoī na*

matea phe-la            e            lavoī    na  
 maybe like-DEM.3    GENR good    DEM.2  
 maybe it could be good like that,

*ko te kastom o marou ke makhona oki*

ko    te    kastom    o    matou                      ke    makhona    oki  
 TOP    SG.SP tradition    POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS    HORT strong    again  
 our tradition could be strong again,

*ke makhona oki ki te leo o marou*

ke    makhona    oki    ki    te    leo    o    matou  
 HORT strong    again to    SG.SP voice    POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS  
 our language could be stronger too,

*nekepō o memea o marou ke o ala ki te skul*

nekepo    a    memea    o    matou                      ke    ō    ala  
 like            COLL child            POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS    HORT go.PL HYP  
 ki    te    skul  
 to    SG.SP school

like when our children go to school,

*e ō mai ala na lharou no phaua ia pepa*

e    ō    mai    ala    na    lhatou    no    phau-a    i    a    pepa  
 GENR go.PL come    HYP    DEM.2    3PL    IPFV    count-TR LDA    COLL paper  
 when they go, they can read the books

*nekepō kono tutuia te leo marou na*

nekepo ko=no tu~tui-a te leo o  
 like 2SG=IPFV RED~write-TR SG.SP voice POSS  
 matou na  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS DEM.2  
 that your write in our language,

*ko re kastom, e, lhare longo, lhare falao ake,*

ko te kastom ē lhat=e longo lhat=e falao ake  
 TOP SG.SP tradition yes 3PL=GENR listen 3PL=GENR follow go.up  
 the tradition, right, they can listen and follow it,

*lhatue tautaliake na, e sika loa.*

lhatu=e tau~tauli-a ake na e sika loa  
 3PL=GENR RED~obey-TR go.up DEM.2 GENRstraight EMPH  
 they can follow it correctly.

*Ioko ia nekepō pelā po tutuia te leo marou i te buka koe pepena mai ala*

ioko ia nekepo phe-la po tu~tui-a te leo  
 CONJ 3SG like like-DEM.3 COMP RED~write-TR SG.SP voice  
 o matou i te buka ko=e pe~pena  
 POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS LDA SG.SP book 2SG=GENR RED~prepare  
 mai ala  
 come HYP

And so writing down our language in the book which you are preparing for us (is important),

*ioko mharou nekepō siai ala mhatne akoakoina a memea marou i te kastom na,*

ioko mhatou nekepo siai ala mhat=ne ako~ako-ina  
 CONJ 1PL.EXCL like NEG HYP 1PL.EXCL=PFV RED~learn-TR  
 a memea a matou i te kastom na  
 COLL child POSS 1PL.EXCL.POSS LDA SG.SP tradition DEM.2  
 so if we do not teach our children about the traditions,

*ioko lharou nakepo lhatne phauala te leo ra o ngha Pileni i te pepa na.*

ioko lhatou nekepo lhat=ne phau-a ala te leo  
 CONJ 3PL like 3PL=PFV count-TR HYP SG.SP voice  
 t-a o ngha Pileni i te pepa na  
 SG.SP-POSS POSS PL.SP Pileni LDA SG.SP paper DEM.2  
 they can read the Pileni language on paper.

*Na lhatue papauala na*

na lhatu=e pa~phau-a ala na  
 DEM.2 3PL=GENR RED~count-TR HYP DEM.2  
 They can read it

*lhatue ilo loa na lhatma phaua loa penā.*

lhatu=e ilo loa na lhat=na phau-a loa phe-na  
 3PL=GENR know EMPHDEM.2 3PL=IRR count-TR EMPH like-DEM.2  
 and learn to read like that.

*Ko lharou lhatue velevelea na te manatunga o te hinga na*

ko lhatou lhatu=e vale~vale-a na  
 TOP 3PL 3PL=GENR RED~not.know-TR DEM.2  
 te manatu-nga o te hinga na  
 SG.SP think-NMLZ POSS SG.SP thing DEM.2  
 (Otherwise) they do not know the meaning of things

*e te hekai na tokoro.*

o te hekai na takoto  
 CONJ SG.SP where IRR lie  
 or where they should be.

*Te kapuhilongo tenā na tokoro, dekina te leo o nga Pileni, nepō e takoro te leo ia te kastom.*

te kapuhilongo te-na na takoto dekina te leo  
 SG.SP word SG.SP-DEM.2 IRR lie because SG.SP voice  
 o nga Pileni nekepo e takoto te leo ia te kastom  
 POSS PL.SP Pileni like GENR lie SG.SP voice CONJ SG.SP tradition  
 A certain word exists because the Pileni language and the culture exist.

*Anē hare phaua, hare menamena i te leo nga Pileni*

a-ne that=e phau-a that=e mena~mena  
 then-DEM.1 1PL.INCL=GENR count-TR 1PL.INCL=GENR RED~speak  
 i te leo o nga Pileni  
 LDA SG.SP voice POSS PL.SP Pileni  
 Now we read and speak in the Pileni language,

*na ko te kastom na e takorange oki.*

na ko te kastom na e takoto ange oki  
 DEM.2 TOP SG.SP tradition DEM.2 GENR lie go.along again  
 and the tradition still exists.

*A pelā po mua taem ne nepō marou a tai matua ia ngha nohine ne (lhatu)<sup>50</sup> koi maui ne pelā,*

a phe-la po mua taem ne nekepo mhatou  
 CONJ like-DEM.3 COMP little time DEM.1 like 1PL.EXCL  
 a tai ma~matua ia ngha nohine ne koi maui ne  
 COLL person RED~old CONJ PL.SP old.woman DEM.1still live DEM.1  
 phe-la  
 like-DEM.3

And, you know, while the old men and women are still alive,

*matea e lavoi oki la po lhatu takumai oki te kastom o ngha Pileni na takoro.*

matea e lavoi oki la po lhatu taku-a  
 maybe GENR good again DEM.3 COMP 3PL.HORT say-TR  
 mai oki te kastom o ngha pileni na takoto  
 come again SG.SP tradition POSS PL.SP Pileni PST lie  
 maybe it would be good if they told us again about the old traditions of the Pileni  
 people.

*Hai mngavā la nepō a buka ne na o mai ala na thae mai ki mharou*

thai makavā la nekepo a buka ne na ō mai  
 one time DEM.3 like COLL book DEM.1 IRR go.PL come  
 ala na thae mai ki mhatou  
 HYP IRR reach come to 1PL.EXCL

When we receive these books,

*nekepō a hinga ne ia ko te kastom na e tokoro*

nekepo a hinga ne ia ko te kastom na e  
 like COLL think DEM.1 CONJ TOP SG.SP tradition DEM.2 GENR  
 takoto  
 lie

these things, like the established tradition,

*a lhatu e phau ala ia pepa*

a lhatu=e phau ala i a pepa  
 then 3PL=GENR count HYP LDA COLL paper  
 they can read about it on paper

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<sup>50</sup> The pronoun *lhatu* is absent from the original text, but was added by the consultant during transcription.



*ioko lharou e kuteala, e sika ala ma te kastom ia leo o Pleni.*

ioko lhatou e kute-a ala e sika ala  
 CONJ 3PL GENRsee-TR HYP GENRstraight HYP  
 ma te kastom i a leo o Pleni  
 BEN SG.SP tradition LDA COLL voice POSS Pileni  
 and they can see the real tradition and language of the Pileni people.

*A te kastom.*

a te kastom  
 PERS SG.SP tradition  
 The tradition.

*Ana ko ia mua hinga kuno takua po ku hukuatu*

a-na ko ia mua hinga ku=no taku-a po  
 then-DEM.2 TOP 3SG little thing 1SG=IPFV say-TR COMP  
 k=u huku-a atu  
 HORT=1SG put-TR go.out  
 That was the little thing I told myself to speak to you about,

*po me hukuaiala po ni pepa*

po me huku-a ai ala po ni pepa  
 COMP PRSC put-TR OBL.PROHYP COMP PL.NSP paper  
 so you can put it on paper

*po lhatu phau ala i te hai o te kastom*

po lhatu phau ala i te hai o te kastom  
 COMP 3PL.HORT count HYP LDA SG.SP side POSS SG.SP tradition  
 so they can read about the traditions

*ioko i te hinga uno ileila loa akinai.*

ioko i te hinga u=no ila~ila loa akinai  
 CONJ LDA SG.SP thing 1SG=IPFV RED~look EMPH OBL.PRO  
 and the things I look at here.

*Te kastom ka mate ne,*

te kastom ka mate ne  
 SG.SP tradition FUT die DEM.1  
 The tradition will die,

*i te hailoa i te fuamaha i te kastom*

i te hua-ilo-a i te hua-maha i te kastom  
 LDA SG.SP CAUS-know-TR LDA SG.SP CAUS-heavy LDA SG.SP tradition  
 the respect for the traditions,

*koe hamahaina te tai*

ko=e            hua=maha=ina        te        tai  
 2SG=GENR CAUS-heavy-TR    SG.SP person  
 you should respect people,

*na ko ia loa te kastom na tokoro.*

na        ko        ia        loa        te        kastom    na        takoto  
 DEM.2    TOP    3SG    EMPH    SG.SP tradition    PST    lie  
 that is the old tradition.

*A matea na ko ia loa mua hinga uno takua po ku takua atu.*

a        matea na        ko        ia        loa        mua    hinga  
 then    maybe DEM.2    TOP    3SG    EMPH    small thing  
 no        taku-a    po        k=u        taku-a    atu  
 IPFV say-TR    COMP    HORT=1SG say-TR    go.out  
 I think that is all I wanted to speak to you about.

## Nupani: A story about a fight on Tinakula

Written by Christian Tekilamata, Nupani/Minevi

Christian Tekilamata is considered locally to be the main expert on the Nupani dialect, and is one of the few people who still speak it. He had also written down a large number of stories which Hovdhaugen was allowed to use in his work with the grammar and dictionary. While Christian's spoken language shows clear influences from VAE, e.g. the use of *h* instead of *f* and initial aspirated consonants in pronouns, there is next to nothing of this visible in his written texts. One example in the text below is the alternation between NUP *etai* and VAE *tai* 'person'.

*Fkamua mai a etai o Nupani latunoko fulo ki Deni na*

fka-mua    mai    a    etai    o    Nupani    latu=noko    fulo  
 CAUS-front    come    COLL    person    POSS    Nupani    3PL=IPFV    run.PL  
 ki Deni    na  
 to Santa.Cruz DEM.2

Long ago, when people from Nupani went to Santa Cruz,

*siai loa e kaenga latu nofo manava ai.*

siai    loa    e    kaenga    latu    nofo    manava    ai  
 NEG    EMPHGENR    village    3PL.HORT    stay    rest    OBL.PRO  
 there was no island for them to rest on (on the way).

*Latunoko laka loa ki Deni o foakina ai a ika o latou*

latu=noko    laka    loa    ki    Deni    o    foaki-na    ai  
 3PL=IPFV    pass    EMPHto    Santa.Cruz    to    earn-TR    OBL.PRO  
 a    ika    o    latou  
 COLL    fish    POSS    3PL.POSS

They would go to Santa Cruz to make money from their fish

*po ke tauia ai ni kaikai.*

po    ke    tauia    ai    ni    kaikai  
 COMP    HORT    buy-TR    OBL.PRO    PL.NSP    food  
 to buy food with.

*Tai afiafi na ko tai fonu ko kake ake*

thai    afiafi    na    ko    thai    fonu    ko    kake    ake  
 one    evening    DEM.2    TOP    one    turtle    INCP    climb    go.up  
 One evening a turtle came ashore

*po kei fanaua ona fua i te one o Pakonga i Nupani.*

po ke-i fanau-a o-na fua i te one  
 COMP HORT-3SG birth-TR POSS.3SG.POSSfruit LDA SG.SP sand  
 o Pakonga i Nupani  
 POSS Pakonga LDA Nupani  
 to lay its eggs in the sand of Pakonga on Nupani Island.

*Ko thai fafine ko fene ifo po kei fua ona lima na*

ko thai fafine ko fano ifo po ke-i fua-a  
 TOP one woman INCP go.SG go.down COMP HORT-3SG wash-TR  
 o-na lima na  
 POSS-3SG.POSS hand DEM.2  
 A woman came down to wash her hands

*ko ia koi kutea thai fonu ko tū ake*

ko ia ko-i kute-a thai fonu ko thū ake  
 TOP 3SG INCP-3SG see-TR one turtle INCP stand go.up  
 and she saw a turtle which had come ashore

*po koi fanaua ona fua.*

po ko-i fanau-a o-na fua  
 COMP INCP-3SG birth-TR POSS-3SG.POSS fruit  
 to lay its eggs.

*Ko lekange po kei tamatea na*

ko lek-ange po ke-i ta-mate-a na  
 INCP go-go.along COMP HORT-3SG hit-die-TRDEM.2  
 She went to kill it,

*ko ia koi takua ange po*

ko ia ko-i taku-a ange po  
 TOP 3SG INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP  
 but the turtle said,

*aua tou tamatea a iau.*

auā t-o-u ta-mate-a a iau  
 PROH SG.SP-POSS-2SG.POSS hit-die-TR PERS 1SG  
 Don't kill me.

*Thai langi ala uka kamai te lavoi ki a tai ou.*

thai langi ala u=ka ka-mai te lavoi ki  
 one day HYP 1SG=FUT bring-come SG.SP good to  
 a tai o-u  
 COLL person POSS-2SG.POSS  
 One day I will bring something good to your people.

*Koe kutea ala thai kaenga e lekake ai ala te khofu na*

ko=e kute-a ala thai kaenga e lek-ake ai ala  
 2SG=GENR see-TR HYP one village GENR go-go.up OBL.PROHYP  
 te khofu na  
 SG.SP smoke DEM.2

When you see an island with smoke coming up from it,

*ni ou loa.*

ni o-u loa  
 PP POSS-2SG.POSS EMPH  
 it is yours.

*Ko fenake te fafine la koi takua ange a mena ne ki a tai na*

ko fano ake te fafine la ko-i taku-a ange  
 INCP go.SG go.up SG.SP woman DEM.3 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along  
 a mena ne ki a tai na  
 COLL talk DEM.1 to COLL person DEM.2

The woman went and told this to the people,

*ko kilatou latuko foloto ange ki te ia.*

ko kilatou latu=ko foloto ange ki te ia  
 TOP 3PL 3PL=INCP angry go.along to SG.SP 3SG  
 but they got angry with her.

*Latuko takua ange po siai po me ke tamatea po tatu keinga i te kaenga.*

latu=ko taku-a ange po siai po me ke  
 3PL=INCP say-TR go.along COMP NEG COMP PRSC HORT  
 ta-mate-a po tatu mena kai-nga i te kaenga  
 hit-die-TRCOMP 1PL.INCL.POSS eat-TR LDA SG.SP village  
 They said: Couldn't you have killed her for our village feast?

*A fonu siai noko mena*

a fonu siai noko mena  
 COLL turtle NEG IPFV talk  
 Turtles don't talk,

*ia a latu mena siai noko maoli.*

ia a latu mena siai noko maoli  
 CONJ POSS 3PL.POSS talk NEG IPFV true  
 and when they do they don't tell the truth.

*Ko nghai tangata ko fulo po latu tamatea te fonu la*

ko nghai tangata ko fulo po latu ta-mate-a  
 TOP some man INCP run.PLCOMP 3PL.HORT hit-die-TR  
 te fonu la  
 SG.SP turtle DEM.3

Some men ran to kill the turtle,

*na ko ia ko fano.*

na ko ia ko fano  
 DEM.2 TOP 3SG INCP go.SG  
 but it had gone.

*Latuko toa na ko na fua.*

latu=ko to-a na ko na fua  
 3PL=INCP take-TR DEM.2 TOP 3SG.POSS fruit  
 So they just took its eggs.

*Ko thai pō te mdangi ko thaka na*

ko thai pō te matangi ko thaka na  
 TOP one night SG.SP wind INCP strong DEM.2  
 One stormy night

*ko thai keu e malamala ake loa i anga o Nupani ma Deni*

ko thai keu e malamala ake loa i anga  
 TOP one fire GENRRED~light go.up EMPHLDA gap  
 o Nupani ma Deni  
 POSS Nupani CONJ Santa.Cruz  
 a fire lit up between Nupani and Santa Cruz,

*ia na mafana e thae ange oki ki Nupani.*

ia na mafana e thae ange oki ki Nupani  
 CONJ 3SG.POSS hot GENR reach go.along again to Nupani  
 and the heat was felt all the way to Nupani.

*Ne malamake na ko thai kaenga e khofu e tū na*

ne malamake na ko thai kaenga e khofu e  
 DEM.1 morning DEM.2 INCP one village GENR smoke GENR  
 tū na  
 stand DEM.2

In the morning a smoky island was standing there,

*e lavethaki ange loa ki Nupani ma Deni.*

e lavethaki ange loa ki Nupani ma Deni  
 GENR close go.along EMPH to Nupani CONJ Santa.Cruz  
 close to Nupani and Santa Cruz.

*Ngha tai ko olia loa te fafine la*

ngha tai ko oli-a loa te fafine la  
 PL.SP person INCP thank-TR EMPHSG.SP woman DEM.3  
 The people thanked the woman,

*ia latuko tapena latuka o akina.*

ia latu=ko ta-pena latu=ka o akina  
 CONJ 3PL=INCP PREF-prepare 3PL=FUT go.PL OBL.PRO  
 and they prepared to go there.

*Thai langi latue tapena po latuka o ki te kaenga na*

thai langi latu=e ta-pena po latu=ka o  
 one day 3PL=GENR PREF-prepare COMP 3PL=FUT go.PL  
 ki te kaenga na  
 to SG.SP village DEM.2  
 One day while they were preparing to go to that island,

*ko te fonu e kotasi la ko fenake oki*

ko te fonu e ko-tasi la ko fano ake oki  
 TOP SG.SP turtle GENR PREF-one DEM.3 INCP go.SG go.up again  
 the same turtle came ashore again

*po kei fanaua ona fua noko tole.*

po ke-i fanau-a o-na fua noko tole  
 COMP HORT-3SG birth-TR POSS-3SG.POSS fruit IPFV remain  
 to lay its remaining eggs.

*Ko fenake i te fenua e ao na*

ko fano ake i te fenua e ao na  
 INCP go.SG go.up LDA SG.SP land GENR dawn DEM.2  
 The turtle came early in the morning,

*ko te fafine e kotasi la ko fenange oki*

ko te fafine e ko-tasi la ko fano ange oki  
 TOP SG.SP woman GENR PREF-one DEM.3 INCP go.SG go.along again  
 and the same woman came again

*po ke fefenga fafie po ke khā i te keu.*

po ke fe~fenga fafie po ke khā i te keu  
 COMP HORT RED~search firewood COMP HORT burn LDA SG.SP fire  
 to collect firewood to burn on the fire.

*Te fonu la ko mena ange oki kite ia.*

te fonu la ko mena ange oki kite ia  
 SG.SP turtle DEM.3 INCP talk go.along again to 3SG  
 The turtle spoke to her again:

*Ngha tai autou latu toa ala ni ivi tai po ma ngau latu fanafana ai.*

ngha tai a-utou latu to-a ala ni ivi  
 PL.SP person POSS-2PL.POSS 3PL.HORT take-TR HYP PL.NSP bone  
 tai po ma ngau latu fana~fana ai  
 person COMP BEN arrow 3PL.HORT RED~shoot OBL.PRO  
 Your people must use human bones for the arrows they will shoot with.

*A etai ko nofo i te kaenga e fou ka lavoi.*

a etai ko nofo i te kaenga e fou ka lavoi  
 COLL person INCP stay LDA SG.SP village GENR new FUT good  
 There are already plenty of people on the new island.

*Te fafine la ko fano koi takua ange ki te aliki o te kaenga na*

te fafine la ko fano ko-i taku-a ange  
 SG.SP woman DEM.3 INCP go.SG INCP-3SG say-TR go.along  
 ki te aliki o te kaenga na  
 to SG.SP chief POSS SG.SP village DEM.2  
 The woman went and told the chief of the village,

*o latuko fkatū loa te penapena ngau ivi tai.*

o latu=ko fka-thū loa te pena-pena ngau ivi tai  
 CONJ 3PL=INCP CAUS-stand EMPH SG.SP RED~prepare arrow bone person  
 and they began to prepare human-bone arrows.

*Ne osi na latuko fulo loa ki Tinakula.*

ne osi na latu=ko fulo loa ki Tinakula  
 PFV finish DEM.2 3PL=INCP run.PLEMPH to Tinakula  
 When they were done, they left immediately for Tinakula.

*Ko a etai o Deni ne mua ifo ki Tinakula po latu toa la*

ko a etai o Deni ne mua ifo ki Tinakula  
 TOP COLL person POSS Santa.Cruz PFV front go.down to Tinakula  
 po latu to-a la  
 COMP 3PL.HORT take-TR DEM.3  
 People from Santa Cruz first came to Tinakula to take possession of it,

*latue nofo mai i te fai e anga ki Deni*

latu=e nofo mai i te fai e anga ki Deni  
 3PL=GENR stay come LDA SG.SP side GENR face to Santa.Cruz  
 and they settled on the side facing Santa Cruz,



*ia nga Nupani la e nofo i te fai e anga ki Nupani.*

ia nga Nupani la e nofo i te fai  
 CONJ PL.SP Nupani DEM.3 GENR stay LDA SG.SP side  
 e anga ki Nupani  
 GENR face to Nupani  
 and people from Nupani settled on the side facing Nupani.

*Ko kilatou e valevalea po te fai e nofo ai thanga Deni.*

ko kilatou e vale~vale-a po te fai e  
 TOP 3PL GENRRED~not.know-TR COMP SG.SP side GENR  
 nofo ai thanga Deni  
 stay OBL.PRO group Santa.Cruz  
 They didn't know where the Santa Cruz group were staying.

*Thai pō na ko thanga Nupani e nofo mai i te fai la*

thai pō na ko thanga Nupani e nofo mai i  
 one night DEM.2 TOP group Nupani GENR stay come LDA  
 te fai la  
 SG.SP side DEM.3  
 One night the group from Nupani who were staying on that side

*ko fkaasia thai keu, ko malama na*

ko fka-kha-sia thai keu ko malama na  
 TOP CAUS-burn-TR one fire INCP light DEM.2  
 made a fire that lit up,

*koi kutea mai e nga Deni na malamanga.*

ko-i kute-a mai e nga Deni na malamanga  
 INCP-3SG see-TR come AG PL.SP Santa.Cruz 3SG.POSS light-NMLZ  
 and the people from Santa Cruz saw the light.

*Latune fulo mai malamake na te vethaki ko tū loa.*

latu=ne fulo mai malamake na te vethaki ko tū loa  
 3PL=PFV run.PL come morning DEM.2 SG.SP fight INCP stand EMPH  
 They came in the morning, and the fight began.

*Thanga Nupani e vō loa ne thū ai a ngau*

thanga Nupani e vō loa ne thū ai a ngau  
 group Nupani GENR many EMPHPFV stand OBL.PRO COLL arrow  
 Many from the Nupani group were hit by arrows,

*ka siai loa thai kilatou ne mate,*

ka siai loa thai kilatou ne mate  
 but NEG EMPH one 3PL PFV die  
 but none of them died.

*ko a tai o Deni la e vō la ne thū ai a ngau ivi tai la*

ko a tai o Deni la e vō la  
 TOP COLL person POSS Santa.Cruz DEM.3 GENR many DEM.3  
 ne thū ai a ngau ivi tai la  
 PFV stand OBL.PRO COLL arrow bone person DEM.3

But many of the men from Santa Cruz were hit by the arrows made from human bone,

*ne mate katoa loa.*

ne mate katoa loa  
 PFV die all EMPH  
 and all of them died.

*Siai loa thai kilatou e maui.*

siai loa thai kilatou e maui  
 NEG EMPH one 3PL GENR live

Not one of them survived.

*Ko a etai o Nupani la ko toa loa Tinakula mo latou*

ko a etai o Nupani la ko to-a loa Tinakula  
 TOP COLL person POSS Nupani DEM.3 INCP take-TR EMPH Tinakula  
 mo latou  
 BEN 3PL.POSS

Then the people of Nupani took Tinakula as their property,

*a latuko pikia loa ko thae mai ki te makavā ne.*

a latu=ko pikia-a loa ko thae mai ki te  
 CONJ 3PL=INCP hold-TR EMPH INCP reach come to SG.SP  
 makavā ne  
 time DEM.1

and they have kept it to this day.

*Tene ko te pole o te tlatlakai.*

te-ne ko te pole o te tlatlakai  
 SG.SP-DEM.1 TOP SG.SP tail POSS SG.SP story

This is the end of the story.

## Taumako: A story of Papa in the Duff Islands

Written by Noel Hatu, Tahua

This story was presented to us in writing in 2005 by Noel Hatu from Tahua in the Duff Islands, and translated and analyzed by Noel Hatu and Even Hovdhaugen. The text is a *lalakhai*, a traditional fairytale or “kastom stori”, one of the main genres of Vaeakau-Taumako oral literature. It is a good example of the Taumako dialect, but also of Vaeakau-Taumako as written by the native speakers; accordingly we have retained the text in the form that it was written. Noel Hatu is a prolific writer of *lalakhais* and legends and a person with a profound knowledge of local culture and of the Vaeakau-Taumako language.

*Hai nonohine o Papa na ingoa ko Mataro.*

thai no~nohine o Papa na ingoa ko Mataro  
 one RED~wife POSS Papa 3SG.POSS name TOP Mataro  
 There was an old woman from Papa by the name of Matato.

*No noho i Papa i Taumako ma temaruana ko Tekeia.*

no noho i Papa i Taumako ma te matua  
 IPFV stay LDA Papa LDA Taumako with SG.SP old.man  
 a-na ko Tekeia  
 POSS-3SG.POSS TOP Tekeia  
 She lived on Papa on Taumako with her husband, Tekeia.

*Ne laka a ngarae ne lua na, ioko a nohine ana ko haitama.*

ne laka a ngarae ne lua na ioko a nohine  
 PFV pass COLL year PFV two DEM.2 CONJ PERS wife  
 a-na ko hai tama.  
 POSS-3SG.POSS INCP do child  
 After two years his wife became pregnant.

*A akahu ne tauono, ko laka na,*

a akahu ne tau-ono ko laka na  
 COLL moon PFV CLASS-six INCP pass DEM.2  
 When six months had passed,

*a tmaruana ko holau ma nghirai ite puke ki Nohono ia lui Nohono e lua.*

a te matua a-na ko holau ma nghirai  
 PERS SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS INCP sail with PL.NSP  
 tai i te puke ki Nohono ia lui Nohono  
 person LDA SG.SP puke to Main.Reefs CONJ two Main.Reefs  
 e lua  
 GENR two

her husband sailed with some people on a *puke*-canoe to the Reef Islands and Vaeakau  
 (lit. the lesser of the two Reef Islands).

*Ko noho i Pileni a kahu e tolu*

ko noho i Pileni a akahu e tolu  
 INCP stay LDA Pileni COLL month GENR three  
 He stopped at Pileni for three months,

*a nohine ana ko hanauai te meme.*

a nohine a-na ko hanau-a ai te meme  
 PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS INCP birth-TR OBL.PRO SG.SP baby  
 and in the meantime his wife gave birth to a baby.

*Ioko ia koi kina te memeara*

ioko ia ko-i kai-na te meme a-na  
 CONJ 3SG INCP-3SG eat-TRSG.SP baby POSS-3SG.POSS  
 And then she ate her baby,

*nigina a ia ko tupu pakhola.*

negina a ia ko tupu pakhola  
 because PERS 3SG INCP grow giant  
 because she had turned into a giant.

*Ioko hai tai e tau laiti e noho i Pileni.*

ioko hai tai e tau laiti e noho i Pileni  
 CONJ one person SG.NSP shaman GENR stay LDA Pileni  
 But there was a shaman living on Pileni.

*Koi takuange kia sokana ko Tekeia*

ko-i taku-a ange ki a thoka-na  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to PERS same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS  
 ko Tekeia  
 TOP Tekeia  
 He told his friend Tekeia

*po a nohine ana, ne hanaua te meme*

po a nohine a-na ne hanau-a te meme  
 COMP PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS PFV birth-TR SG.SP baby  
 that his wife had given birth to a baby,

*ka monanga koi tamdea koi kina.*

ka monanga ko-i ta-mate-a ko-i kai-na  
 but however INCP-3SG hit-die-TRINCP-3SG eat-TR  
 but that she had killed and eaten it.

*Hai langi koi takunge kia Tekeia*

thai langi ko-i taku-a ange ki a Tekeia  
 one day INCP-3SG say-TR go.along to PERS Tekeia  
 One day he told Tekeia

*po a nohine ana ko tupu pakhola na*

po a nohine a-na ko tupu pakhola na  
 COMP PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS INCP grow giant DEM.2  
 that his wife had become a giant

*koi kina te meme olarou,*

ko-i ki-na te meme o latou  
 INCP-3SG eat-TR SG.SP baby POSS 3PL.POSS  
 and eaten their baby.

*aia e hioki alana*

a ia e ahio oki ala na  
 PERS 3SG GENR return again HYP DEM.2  
 and that if he returned home,

*koia ka hai ange oki la mī e korahila.*

ko ia ka hai ange oki la mui e ko-tahi la  
 TOP 3SG FUT do go.along again DEM.3 place GENR PREF-oneDEM.3  
 she would do the same thing to him.

*A Tekeia ko mdaku ia nohine ana*

a Tekeiako matakui i a nohine a-na  
 PERS TekeiaINCP fear LDA PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 Tekeia became afraid of his wife

*ko mae loa nha hano ki mona.*

ko mae loa te-na hano ki mua o-na  
 INCP refuse EMPH SG.SP-3SG.POSS go.SG to place POSS-3SG.POSS  
 and did not want to go home.

*Haioki langi a sokana e Pileni koi takuange, Tekeia*

thai oki langi a thoka-na e Pileni  
 one again day PERS same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS SG.SP Pileni  
 ko-i taku-a ange Tekeia  
 INCP-3SG say-TR go.along Tekeia  
 Another day his friend from Pileni told Tekeia

*poke holau oki ki Papa o kutea a nohine ana*

po ke holau oki ki Papa o kute-a a nohine  
 COMP HORT sail again to Papa to see-TR PERS wife  
 a-na  
 POSS-3SG.POSS  
 to sail back to Papa to see his wife,

*ioko ia emae na hano.*

ioko ia e mae na hano  
 CONJ 3SG GENRrefuse 3SG.POSS go.SG  
 and he refused to go.

*Ioko sokana koi takuange*

ioko thoka-na ko-i taku-a ange  
 CONJ same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS INCP-3SG say-TR go.along  
 But his friend told him

*po ke au po lhaua ka holau ki Papa.*

po ke au po lhaua ka holau ki Papa  
 COMP HORT come COMP 3DU FUT sail to Papa  
 to come with him, that the two of them would sail to Papa.

*Lhaua koi noho ai i moana na,*

lhaua koi noho ai i moana na  
 3DU still stay OBL.PRO LDA sea DEM.2  
 While they were still at sea,

*te taulaiti koi kuteatu a nohine la*

te taulaiti ko-i kute-a atu a nohine la  
 SG.SP shaman INCP-3SG see-TR go.away PERS wife DEM.3  
 the shaman saw the wife

*no tele tele ite kainga la,*

no tele tele i te kaenga la  
 IPFV run run LDA SG.SP village DEM.3  
 walking quickly in the village,

*etele i te proki la ko tuvihi kire prok la.*

e tele i te pitoki la ko tuvihi ki te pitoki la  
 GENR run LDA SG.SP end DEM.3 INCP return to SG.SP end DEM.3  
 walking from one end of the village to the other and back again.

*Te nohine na no tele tele ai na*

te nohine na no tele tele ai na  
 SG.SP wife DEM.2 IPFV run run OBL.PRODEM.2  
 The woman was running there

*nigina koi kutea oho te puke la ne lemai ki nghauta*

nigina ko-i kute-a oho te puke la  
 because INCP-3SG see-TR go.vertically SG.SP puke DEM.3  
 ne le-mai ki nghauta  
 PFV go-come to shore  
 because she could see the *puke*-canoe about to come ashore,

*koa vasoka na o Tekeia ko menange kiteia*

ko a va-thoka-na o Tekeia ko mena ange  
 TOP PERS PL-same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS POSS Tekeia INCP talk go.along  
 kite ia  
 to 3SG  
 and Tekeia's friend said to him:

*po ila moa, a nohineau langa tlaia.*

po ila mua a nohine a-u la nga  
 COMP look just PERS wife POSS-2SG.POSS DEM.3 PRON.3  
 te-la ia  
 SG.SP-DEM.3 3SG  
 Look, that is your wife there.

*Na no hinga po a ia na e nohine,*

na no hinga po a ia na e nohine  
 DEM.2 IPFV do COMP PERS 3SG DEM.2 SG.NSP RED~wife  
 She acts like a woman,

*ioko ia na, nae pakhola loa ma.*

ioko ia na na e pakhola loa te-na  
 CONJ 3SG DEM.2 DEM.2 SG.NSP giant EMPHSG.SP-DEM.2  
 but she is really a giant.

*Lhatko sae mai ki nghaura.*

lhat=ko thae mai ki nghaura.  
 3PL=INCP reach come to shore  
 Then they went ashore.

*A tmaruana ko tahao ake ki hale ona*

a te matua a-na ko tahao ake ki hale  
 then SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS INCP stroll go.up to house  
 o-na  
 POSS-3SG.POSS  
 The husband walked up to his house

*koi kuteange a nohine ana*

ko-i kute-a ange a nohine a-na  
 INCP-3SG see-TR go.along PERS wife POSS-3SG.POSS  
 and saw his wife

*e noho ange lhevesaki ange kite keu.*

e noho ange lhevesaki ange ki te keu  
 GENR stay go.along close go.along to SG.SP fire  
 sitting close to the fire.

*Koi kavuhiakea ia ia kahu,*

ko-i kavu-hia<sup>51</sup>ake a ia i a kahu  
 INCP-3SG cloth-TR go.up PERS 3SG LDA COLL cloth  
 She covered herself up with clothes

*ko heheinga po, na e nonohine no noho ange kite keu*

ko he~heinga po na e no~nohine no noho ange  
 INCP RED~do COMP DEM.2 SG.SP RED~wife IPFV stay go.along  
 ki te keu  
 to SG.SP fire  
 and acted like a woman sitting by the fire

*po aia na ko hanau.*

po a ia na ko hanau  
 COMP PERS 3SG DEM.2 INCP birth  
 after she has given birth.

*A tmaruana ko heliange*

a te matua a-na ko heili-a ange  
 then SG.SP old.man POSS-3SG.POSS INCP ask-TR go.along  
 Her husband asked,

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<sup>51</sup> From \*kahuhia, cf. 2.4.6.



*po "Hekai te meme?"*

po hekai te meme  
 COMP where SG.SP baby  
 Where is the baby?

*Ioko te nohine la a na mamnatunga e ai poke avange oki la kia tmaruana.*

ioko te nohine la a na ma~manatu-nga  
 CONJ SG.SP wife DEM.3 COLL 3SG.POSS RED~think -NMLZ  
 e ai po ke av-ange oki la ki a te  
 GENR exist COMP HORT give-go.along again DEM.3 to PERS SG.SP  
 matua a-na  
 old.man POSS-3SG.POSS  
 The wife had a plan to give it to her husband.

*Lhatou ne o ki mouku na*

lhatou ne o ki mouku na  
 3PL PFV go.PL to bush DEM.2  
 When they went to the bush,

*koia te nohine la ko heiliange kia hilaua ma na thokana po*

ko ia te nohine la ko heili-a ange ki a hilaua  
 TOP 3SG SG.SP wife DEM.3 INCP ask-TR go.along to COLL 3DU  
 ma na thoka-na po  
 with 3SG.POSS same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS COMP  
 the woman asked him and his friend

*la vakhei o faki ihi.*

la vakhei o faki ihi  
 3DU.HORT climb.PL to pick chestnut  
 to climb up and pick chestnuts.

*Lhatue vakhei na lhatue fakioho kite nohine la na*

lhatu=e vakhei na lhatu=e faki oho  
 3PL=GENR climb.PL DEM.2 3PL=GENR pick go.vertically  
 ki te nohine la na  
 to SG.SP woman DEM.3 DEM.2  
 The men climbed up and dropped (the nuts) down to the woman,

*ioko ila ko liekina ke mao ite tahito ihi na*

ioko ila ko liaki-na ke mao i te tahito ihi na  
 CONJ then INCP throw-TR HORT far LDA SG.SP base chestnut DEM.2  
 and they threw them far away from the tree,

*nekina ke hano la o tutuhia mai i mao la*

nekina ke hano la o tu~tuhi-a mai i mao la  
 because HORT go.SG DEM.3 to RED-pick-TR come LDA far DEM.3  
 so she would have to go far away to pick them up,

*ka hilaua ko hoihoi ki lalo o seki.*

ka hilaua ko hoihoi ki lalo o vetheki  
 but 3DU INCP go.PL to down to run  
 and they went down and ran away.

*Te taulaiti ko takuange kia na tokana*

te taulaitu ko taku-a ange ki a na  
 SG.SP shaman INCP say-TR go.along to PERS 3SG.POSS  
 thoka-na  
 same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS  
 The shaman told his friend

*po kei tutuhia a laumea katoa i nghamouku na,*

po ke-i tu~tuhi-a a laumea katoa i ngha  
 COMP HORT-3SG RED~pick-TR COLL leaf all LDA PL.SP  
 mouku na  
 bush DEM.2  
 to collect all the leaves in the bush

*aua loa hai na hiai.*

auā loa thai na siai  
 PROHEMPH one IRR NEG  
 and not to miss a single one.

*Lhauko havivili kite kainga*

lhau=ko hua-vi~vili ki te kaenga  
 3DU=INCP CAUS-RED~run to SG.SP village  
 They hurried back to the village

*o takinoho tepuke ki haupe,*

o taki-na oho te puke ki thaupē  
 POSS pull-TR go.vertically SG.SP puke to lagoon  
 and pulled the *puke*-canoe out into the lagoon

*ia, lhako holau ai ki Pileni*

ia lha=ko holau ai ki Pileni  
 CONJ 3DU=INCP sail OBL.PRO to Pileni  
 and sailed with it to Pileni.

*Lhaua koi holauatu ai na*

lhaua koi holau atu ai na  
 3DU still sail go.out OBL.PRODEM.2  
 While they were still sailing,

*io ko te pakhola ko lele mai phela e lohiu lelele la.*

ioko te pakhola ko lelemai phe-la e lohiu  
 CONJ SG.SP giant INCP fly come like-DEM.3 SG.NSP ship  
 le~lele la  
 RED~fly DEM.3  
 the giant came flying like a plane!

*Ō, tokana, hitaua ne ka mate loa ke, ko menange te taulati la,*

ō thoka-na hitaua ne ka mate loa  
 INTJ same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS 1DU.INCL DEM.1 FUT die EMPH  
 kē ko mena ange te taulaitu la  
 really INCP talk go.along SG.SP shaman DEM.3  
 Oh, brother, we are going to die, said the shaman,

*koia koi heliange kia sokana po aia ne siaki hiai hai laumea.*

ko ia ko-i heili-a ange ki a  
 TOP 3SG INCP-3SG ask-TR go.along to PERS  
 thoka-na po a ia ne siaki siai thai  
 same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSSCOMP PERS 3SG PFV throw NEG one  
 laumea  
 leaf  
 and he asked his friend if he had missed any of the leaves.

*Ioko ia koi mnetua po aia nei toana e lau phai po mona pepekau.*

ioko ia ko-i manatu-a po a ia ne-i to-a  
 CONJ 3SG INCP-3SG think-TR COMP PERS 3SG PFV-3SG take-TR  
 na e lau phai po m-o-na pepekau  
 DEM.2 SG.NSP leaf swamp.taro COMP BEN-POSS-3SG.POSS wing  
 Then he realized that she was using swamp taro leaves as wings.

*A ia ko valo, “ngoku vasokana, tuomai halavoi.”*

a ia ko valo ng-o-ku  
 PERS 3SG INCP call PL.SP-POSS-1SG.POSS  
 va-thoka-na tu o mai hua-lavoi  
 PL-same.sex.sibling-3SG.POSS 2PL.HORT go.PL come CAUS-good  
 He called out, My friends, come slowly.

*Te pakhola ko saemai ki tepuke.*

te pakhola ko thae mai ki te puke  
 SG.SP giant INCP reach come to SG.SP puke  
 The giant landed on the *puke*-canoe.

*Lhatko holau ite pō eloana,*

lhat=ko holau i te pō e loa na  
 3PL=INCP sail LDA SG.SP night GENR long DEM.2  
 They sailed all night,

*te pakhola ko heli po e kahu*

te pakhola ko heili po e kahu  
 SG.SP giant INCP ask COMP SG.SP cloth  
 and the giant asked for a blanket,

*negina po a ia no mgalili.*

negina po a ia no makalili  
 because COMP PERS 3SG IPFV cold  
 because she was getting cold.

*Lhatko toa te lā nalua ko kavuhiai aia.*

lhat=ko to-a te lā na lua ko kavu-hia  
 3PL=INCP take-TR SG.SP sail 3SG.POSS/IRR two INCP cover-TR  
 ai a ia  
 OBL.PROPERS 3SG  
 They took the spare sail and covered her,

*Lhatko lihia vakaoina a ia ma fau.*

lhat=ko lihi-a vakao-ina a ia ma fau  
 3PL=INCP bind-TR encircle-TR PERS 3SG with rope  
 they tied it around her with ropes.

*“O, ko mahanahana,” koi takuange po “oliatu”.*

o ko mahana~hana ko-i taku-a ange po oli  
 INTJ INCP warm~RED INCP-3SG say-TR go.along COMP thank  
 atu  
 go.out  
 Oh, it is warm, she said, Thank you.

*Lhako holau, holau na,*

lha=ko holau holau na  
 3DU=INCP sail sail DEM.2  
 They sailed on and on,

*te pakhola ne femoe na*

te pakhola ne fele-moe na  
 SG.SP giant PFV DES-sleep DEM.2  
 and when the giant got sleepy,

*lhatko hihikea a ia kite taha ote puke*

lhat=ko hi~hike-a a ia ki te taha o te puke  
 3PL=INCP RED~roll-TR PERS 3SG to SG.SP side POSS SG.SP puke  
 they rolled her over the side of the *puke*-canoe,

*ko tō ki haupē a na loa e vehiki e vaulima<sup>52</sup> ki mī e uli*

ko tō ki thaupē a-na loa<sup>53</sup> e vehiki e tau-lima  
 INCP fallto lagoon POSS-3SG.POSSlong GENR hundred GENR CLASS-five  
 ki mui e uli  
 to place GENR black  
 and she fell 500 metres down into the deep dark sea,

*aia ko mate.*

a ia ko mate  
 PERS 3SG INCP die  
 and she died.

*Kohi.*

k-ohi  
 INCP-finish  
 That is all.

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<sup>52</sup> *vau-* is a rare TAU variant of the general classifying prefix *tau-*.

<sup>53</sup> its length = its depth.

**Matema: *Mala hekai* – ‘cruel garden’**

Told by Elison Laura, Matema

This story was told by Elison Laura, born in 1980 on Matema and the son of paramount chief Aliko Toitua. The recording was made in October 2003 on Matema by Even Hovdhaugen, and transcribed with the help of Jack Vahi, Matema/Pileni, and Charles Bice Mete, Pileni.

Our material from Matema is not sufficient to state whether or not there is a separate Matema dialect (cf. Davenport 1972: 28), or to describe the characteristic features of such a dialect. What we can observe in our material is a mixture of features from the other three dialects in the speech of some people. This is especially apparent in the pronouns. A characteristic feature of Vaeakau-Taumako as spoken on Matema is *satou* 1PL.INCL, which shows the sound change *th* > *s*, otherwise found only in TAU. 1st and 3rd person dual and plural clitic subject pronouns have initial aspirated consonants in VAE and TAU (*tha*=, *mha*=, *lha*=, *that(u)*=, *mhat(u)*=, *lhat(u)*=) while the aspiration is absent in NUP (*ta*=, *ma*=, *la*= *tat(u)*= etc.). In the present story the narrator alternates constantly between aspirated and unaspirated forms.

As for the claim that the island name ‘Matema’ was brought by white people, it should be noted that this name is most likely of Äiwoo origin, cf. 1.2.2.

*A iau ka menamenaina mai na nekepo hokomua mai ne po nga rai no tukuange te ingoa o muane po Mala hekai.*

a	iau	ka	mena~mena-ina	mai	na	nekepo	hoko-mua	mai
PERS	1SG	FUT	RED~speak-TR	come	DEM.2	like	CAUS-front	come
ne	po	ng	hai	no	taku-a	ange	te	ingoa
DEM.1	COMP	PL.SP	person	INCP	say-TR	go.along	SG.SP	name

o mua ne po mala hekai

POSS place DEM.1 COMP gardencruel

I will now speak about how people used to call this place *Mala hekai* (cruel garden).

*A lhatmo avange ai te ingoa ana ai*

a	lhat=no	av-ange	ai	te	ingoa	a-na
PERS	3PL=IPFV	give-go.along	OBL.PRO	SG.SP	name	POSS-3SG.POSS

ai

OBL.PRO

They gave it that name

*dekina huamua mai na, ne a Mdemā ne, ona tai ne e hapuapuamu karoa*  
 dekina hua-mua mai na ne a Matema ne  
 because CAUS-front come DEM.2 DEM.1 COLL Matema DEM.1  
 o-na tai ne e hua-pua~puamu katoa  
 POSS-3SG.POSS person DEM.1 GENR CAUS-RED~cruel all  
 because in former days the people here on Matema were very cruel

*a pepelā po lhatu kuteange hai botu o Pileni o Nifiloli o Nukapu,*  
 a pe~pe-la po lhatu kute-a ange thai botu  
 then RED~like-DEM.3 COMP 3PL see-TR go.along one boat  
 o Pileni o Nihiloli o Nukapu  
 POSS Pileni CONJ Nifiloli CONJ Nukapu  
 so if they saw a boat from Pileni or Nifiloli or Nukapu

*napoke lemai na ke laka themu loa i te hai ki tua,*  
 nekepo le-mai na ke laka themu loa  
 like go-come DEM.2 HORT pass quiet EMPH  
 i te hai ki tua  
 LDA SG.SP side to back  
 coming here to pass quietly on the back side of the island,

*e, ko na pelā e laka te hai ki lalo na*  
 ē ko na pe-la e laka te hai ki lalo na  
 yesTOP DEM.2 like-DEM.3 GENR pass SG.SP side to down DEM.2  
 that is, passing on the western side,

*ko lharou ko tukua loa po na a tai na nekepo ni tai loa ka lavaki, e,*  
 ko lhatou ko taku-a loa po na a tai na  
 TOP 3PL INCP say-TR EMPHCOMP DEM.2 COLL person DEM.2  
 nekepo ni tai loa ka lavaki e  
 like PL.NSP person EMPHFUT disappear yes  
 then they would say to themselves, ‘Those people are about to disappear’.

*a lhatue kuteoho na, lhatuko huehouhia loa a alo o larou,*  
 a lhatu=e kute-a oho na lhatu=ko hua-hou-hia  
 then 3PL=GENR see-TR go. vertically DEM.2 3PL=INCP CAUS-new-TR  
 loa a alo o latou  
 EMPHCOLL canoe POSS 3PL.POSS  
 They would look up and tie the outriggers to their canoes

*lhatukoho loa.*  
 lhatu=ko ō oho loa  
 3PL=INCP go.PL go.vertically EMPH  
 and go up (i.e. eastwards).

*Ta la pelā larue tatakāke*

tā la pe-la lhatu=e ta~takā ake  
 hit DEM.3 like-DEM.3 3PL=GENR RED~chase go.up  
 They struck like that, they chased them,

*lare thaeange te botu na,*

lhat=e thae-a ange te botu na  
 3PL=GENR reach-TR go.along SG.SP boat DEM.2  
 and when they reached the boat,

*lharuko tō loa a tai lharuko teia loa.*

lhatu=ko to-a loa a tai lhatu=ko ta-ia loa  
 3PL=INCP take-TR EMPHCOLL person 3PL=INCP hit-TR EMPH  
 they took the people and killed them.

*Teia, larou ko toa a penpenu a lārou, lharuko kamai.*

te-ia lhatou ko to-a a pen~penu a latou  
 hit-TR 3PL INCP take-TR COLL RED~thing POSS 3PL.POSS  
 lhatu=ko ka-mai  
 3PL=INCP bring-come  
 They killed them and took their things, which they brought here.

*Na ko ia nekepo ngha Mdemā hokomua,*

na ko ia nekepo ngha Matema hoko-mua  
 DEM.2 TOP 3SG like PL.SP Matema CAUS-front  
 That's how the people on Matema were before,

*latno noho na nekepo ni tai e thapeo, e,*

lhat=no noho na nekepo ni tai e thapeo e  
 3PL=IPFV stay DEM.2 like PL.NSP person GENR bad yes  
 they were like bad people.

*ia ia na pela koe ua mai*

ia ia na pe-la ko=e ua mai  
 CONJ 3SG DEM.2 like-DEM.3 2SG=GENR paddle come  
 If you happened to paddle here

*koe kake mai ki te kaenga na, koe kake mai ki nghauta na,*

ko=e kake mai ki te kaenga na ko=e kake mai  
 2SG=GENR climb come to SG.SP village DEM.2 2SG=GENR climb come  
 ki nghauta na  
 to shore DEM.2  
 and reach the island and come ashore,



*koe noho na, me halohalongo ala na kilharou loa, e.*

ko=e noho na me ha-lo~ha-longo ala na  
 2SG=GENR stay DEM.2 PRSC CAUS-RED~CAUS-listen HYP DEM.2  
 kilhatou loa ē  
 3PL EMPH yes  
 you had to listen to them.

*Ioko ia pelā, koe nonoho ange,*

ioko ia pe-la ko=e no~noho ange  
 CONJ 3SG like-DEM.3 2SG=GENR RED~stay go.along  
 And like that, if you stayed for a while

*koe tukua po koe po me hiokina.*

ko=e taku-a po koe po me ahio-kina  
 2SG=GENR say-TR COMP 2SG COMP PRSC return-APPL  
 and then decided to go home.

*Ko hioki ko koe hiai kone tae ki kaenga*

ko ahio oki ko koe siai ko=ne tae ki kaenga  
 INCP return again TOP 2SG NEG 2SG=PFV reach to village  
 You would go, but you would not reach home,

*ko hio mai oki na.*

ko ahio mai oki na  
 INCP go come again DEM.2  
 you would come back here.

*Lhatou e hulo mai na, latuko teia loa a koe,*

lhatou e hulo mai na latu=ko te-ia loa a koe  
 3PL GENR run.PL come DEM.2 3PL=INCP hit-TR EMPH PERS 2SG  
 They would come running and beat you,

*ngina lharuko tukua po na me noho themu,*

negina lhatu=ko taku-a po na me noho themu  
 because 3PL=INCP say-TR COMP DEM.2 PRSC stay quiet  
 because they told you to stay,

*ioko koe ko tukua po me ue.*

ioko koe ko taku-a po me ua  
 CONJ 2SG INCP say-TR COMP PRSC paddle  
 and you wanted to paddle.

*A me ue na me thae loa ki mui no uakinange,*

a me ua na me thae loa ki mui  
 then PRSC paddle DEM.2 PRSC reach EMPH to place  
 no ua-kina ange  
 IPFV paddle-APPL go.along  
 You must paddle and reach the place which you were paddling to,

*kono hio mai oki na o ā oki ē.*

ko=no ahio mai oki na o ā oki ē  
 2SG=IPFV return come again DEM.2 CONJ what again yes  
 when you came back here or whatever.

*Ina pelā po me tukua po me noho i te kaenga la.*

i-na pe-la po me taku-a po me noho  
 LDA-DEM.2 like-DEM.3 COMP PRSC say-TR COMP PRSC stay  
 i te kaenga la  
 LDA SG.SP village DEM.3  
 Then if you said that you must stay in the other village,

*Kone noho mua ala tu atu*

ko=ne noho mua ala thū atu  
 2SG=PFV stay little HYP stand go.out  
 you would stay a little while, and when you stood up

*latuko teia loa a koe.*

lhatu=ko te-ia loa a koe  
 3PL=INCP hit-TR EMPHPERS 2SG  
 they would kill you.

*A na ko ia a Mdema ne nekepo hokomua mai, na ko na tai e tapeo, e.*

a na ko ia a Matema ne nekepo  
 then DEM.2 TOP 3SG COLL Matema DEM.1 like  
 hoko-mua mai na ko na tai e tapeo e  
 CAUS-front come DEM.2 TOP PL.SP person GENR bad yes  
 Like that, the people here in Matema used to be bad people.

*A lhatmo tukuange na po mala hekai.*

a lhat=no taku-a ange na po mala hekai  
 then 3PL=IPFV say-TR go.along DEM.2 COMP garden cruel  
 They used to call it *Mala hekai* (“cruel garden”).

*Ē, anē nēnē nekepo lhatuko ō mai ko ngha thai e thea,*

ē a ne ne-ne nekepo lhatu=ko ō mai  
 yesthen DEM.1 RED~DEM.1 like 3PL=INCP go.PL come  
 ko ngha tai e thea  
 TOP PL.SP person GENR white  
 And these days, when the white people came,

*a rai e thea komai na*

a tai e thea ko ō mai na  
 COLL person GENR white INCP go.PL come DEM.2  
 when the white people came here,

*laruko uia na ingoa po Matema na, e.*

lhatu=ko ui-a na ingoa po Matema na ē  
 3PL=INCP change-TR 3SG.POSS name COMP Matema DEM.2 yes  
 they changed its name to Matema.

*Ko ia na po hokomua mai te mua na*

ko ia na po hoko-mua mai te mua na  
 TOP 3SG DEM.2 COMP CAUS-front come SG.SP place DEM.2  
 But in earlier times, that place,

*latmo tukuange po Mala hekai.*

lhat=no taku-a ange po mala hekai  
 3PL=IPFV say-TR go.along COMP garden cruel  
 they called it *Mala hekai*.

*Marea na ko ia loa po memena poporo ne*

matea na ko ia loa po me~mena po~poto ne  
 maybe DEM.2 TOP 3SG EMPHCOMP RED~speak RED~short DEM.1  
 I think that is the little story

*po ku tukua mai po huamua o mua ne ona tai tna tokotokoro.*

po k=u taku-a mai po hua-mua o mua  
 COMP HORT=1SG say-TR come COMP CAUS-front POSS place  
 ne o-na tai te-na toko~toko~koto  
 DEM.1 POSS-3SG.POSS person SG.SP-3SG.POSS RED~RED~lie  
 I could tell about the ways of people here before.

*Marea na ko ia osi.*

matea na ko ia osi  
 maybe DEM.2 TOP 3SG finish  
 I think that's all.

## Appendix 2

### List of grammatical morphemes

Below is a list of the grammatical morphemes discussed in this grammar, with a reference to the section where each morpheme is discussed.

MORPHEME	FUNCTION	REFERENCE
<i>a</i>	personal marker	7.3.1
<i>a</i>	collective article	7.3.2.6
<i>a</i>	possessive preposition	10.3
<i>a-</i>	future prefix on temporal adverbs	6.2.3
<i>a-</i>	verbalizing prefix of abundance	6.2.4
<i>-a</i>	transitive suffix	8.2.2
<i>ai</i>	oblique pro-form	5.2.3
<i>-akina</i>	applicative suffix	8.2.3
<i>akinai</i>	oblique pro-form	5.2.3
<i>ana-</i>	past prefix on temporal adverbs	6.2.3
<i>-anga</i>	nominalizing suffix	8.2.5.1
<i>auā</i>	prohibitive marker	16.2.1.1
<i>-Cia</i>	transitive suffix	8.2.2
<i>e</i>	agentive preposition	10.6.1
<i>e</i>	general TAM particle	12.2.1
<i>e</i>	singular nonspecific article	7.3.2.2
<i>fele-</i>	desiderative prefix (TAU)	8.2.7
<i>fie-</i>	desiderative prefix (NUP)	8.2.7
<i>fka-</i>	causative prefix	8.2.1
<i>he-</i>	causative prefix	8.2.1
<i>he-...-aki</i>	reciprocal/plural circumfix	8.2.6
<i>hie-</i>	desiderative prefix (VAE)	8.2.7
<i>hiekhī</i>	negative marker	16.2.2.3
<i>hua-, haka-</i>	causative prefix	8.2.1
<i>i</i>	associative particle	6.3.5
<i>i</i>	locative-directional-ablative preposition	10.2
<i>-i</i>	3rd singular suffix in transitive clauses	12.5
<i>-i</i>	vocative suffix	6.2.7
<i>-ia</i>	transitive suffix	8.2.2
<i>ia</i>	3rd singular independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>ia</i>	conjunction	17.2.1
<i>ia</i>	comitative preposition	10.5
<i>iaū</i>	1st singular independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>-ina</i>	transitive suffix	8.2.2
<i>ioko</i>	conjunction	17.3.1

MORPHEME	FUNCTION	REFERENCE
<i>ka</i>	future particle	12.3.1
<i>ka</i>	conjunction	17.3.3
<i>ke</i>	hortative particle	12.4.2
<i>khol(u)=</i>	2nd dual subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>khot(u)=</i>	2nd plural subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>khoulua</i>	2nd dual independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>khoutou</i>	2nd plural independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>ki</i>	directional preposition	10.2
<i>ko</i>	inceptive aspect particle	12.2.2
<i>ko</i>	topicalizing preposition	10.6.3
<i>ko</i>	2nd singular hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>koe</i>	2nd singular independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>ko-</i>	numeral prefix on <i>tahi</i> 'one'	8.2.8
<i>ko=</i>	2nd singular subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>ku=</i>	1st singular subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>-ku</i>	1st singular possessive suffix	6.2.2
<i>la</i>	3rd dual hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>la</i>	demonstrative	5.3.1
<i>la-</i>	plural prefix	8.1
<i>latu</i>	3rd plural hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>lha(u)=</i>	3rd dual subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>lhaua</i>	3rd dual independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>lhat(u)=</i>	3rd plural subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>lhatou</i>	3rd plural independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>lu</i>	2nd dual hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>ma</i>	1st dual exclusive hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>ma</i>	benefactive preposition	10.4
<i>ma</i>	comitative preposition	10.5
<i>ma</i>	conjunction	17.2.2
<i>ma-</i>	intransitive prefix	8.2.4
<i>mai</i>	preposition	10.2
<i>matu</i>	1st plural exclusive hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>me</i>	prescriptive particle	12.4.3
<i>mha(u)=</i>	1st dual exclusive subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>mhaua</i>	1st dual exclusive independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>mhat(u)=</i>	1st plural exclusive subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>mhatou</i>	1st plural exclusive independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>mo</i>	benefactive preposition	10.4
<i>na</i>	demonstrative	5.3.1
<i>na</i>	admonitive particle	16.2.1.2
<i>na</i>	past tense particle	12.3.2

MORPHEME	FUNCTION	REFERENCE
<i>na</i>	irrealis particle	12.4.4
<i>-na</i>	3rd singular possessive suffix	6.2.2
<i>-na</i>	transitive suffix	8.2.2
<i>ne</i>	demonstrative	5.3.1
<i>ne</i>	perfective aspect particle	12.2.3
<i>nga</i>	3rd person pronoun/pronominal copula	5.2.1.6
<i>-nga</i>	transitive suffix	8.2.2
<i>-nga</i>	nominalizing suffix	8.2.5.1
<i>ngha</i>	plural specific article	7.3.2.5
<i>ni</i>	plural nonspecific article	7.3.2.4
<i>ni</i>	predicative possessive particle	13.3.6
<i>no, noko</i>	imperfective aspect particle	12.2.4
<i>o</i>	possessive preposition	10.3
<i>o</i>	conjunction	17.3.5
<i>o</i>	subjunction	14.4.5.2
<i>okho-</i>	emphatic coreferential pronoun prefix	5.2.1.5
<i>pa-</i>	plural prefix	8.1
<i>po</i>	complementizer	14.2.5
<i>siai</i>	negative marker	16.2.2.1
<i>sikiiai</i>	negative marker	16.2.2.2
<i>ta</i>	1st dual inclusive hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>taki-</i>	distributive prefix on numerals	8.2.8
<i>tatu</i>	1st plural inclusive hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>tatuko-</i>	nominalizing person prefix on numerals	8.2.5.2
<i>tau</i>	dyad particle	7.3.5
<i>tau</i>	relational particle	6.3.6
<i>tau-</i>	numeral classifier	8.2.8
<i>te</i>	singular specific article	7.3.2.3
<i>thaua</i>	1st dual inclusive independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>tha(u)=</i>	1st dual inclusive subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>thatou</i>	1st plural inclusive independent pronoun	5.2.1.2
<i>that(u)=</i>	1st plural inclusive subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>toko-</i>	numeral classifier	8.2.8
<i>tu</i>	2nd plural hortative pronoun	5.2.1.4
<i>u=</i>	1st singular subject clitic	5.2.1.3
<i>-u</i>	2nd singular possessive suffix	6.2.2
<i>va-</i>	causative prefix	8.2.1
<i>va-/ve-</i>	plural prefix	6.2.1

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