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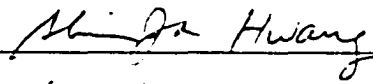
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ELEMENTS OF WUVULU GRAMMAR

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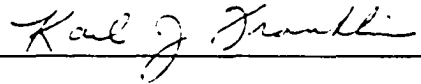
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ELEMENTS OF WUVULU GRAMMAR

by

JAMES ALTON HAFFORD

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

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April 8, 1999

ABSTRACT

ELEMENTS OF WUVULU GRAMMAR

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James Alton Hafford, M.A.

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Supervising Professor: Shin Ja Hwang

This thesis provides an overview of the elements of Wuvulu grammar. It opens by briefly stating the geographic, ethnographic and sociolinguistic contexts of the Wuvulu language. The paper then discusses the phonology, noun phrases, verbal morphology, constituent order typology, clause structure, and complex sentences. The paper closes with two analyses at the discourse level: an analysis of a Wuvulu narrative story, and a study of topic continuity in Wuvulu narrative and hortatory text types.

Some of the interesting features of the language include its rich counting systems, its system of deixis, and its complex verbal morphology. Verbal morphology is perhaps the most interesting feature of the language. Wuvulu verbs are highly agglutinative. A verb root can take a causative marker, undergo syllable or stem reduplication, and can be joined to other roots to form a compound verb stem. The verb stem can then be inflected for subject/object agreement, mood, aspect, adverbial information, and direction. Verbal morphology also intersects with the syntax of the language in that mood marking on the verb plays an important role in clause combinations.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Gloss
1,2,3	first, second, third person
adj	adjective
adjz	adjectivizer
adv	adverb
ag	agreement
an	animate
art	article
as	aspect
cj	conjunction
class	classifier
cmpz	complementizer
cplt	completive
cz	causative
deic	deictic
dem	demonstrative
deon	deontic
dir	direction
dl	dual
dst	distal
ev	eventuality
fq	frequent
hab	habitual/repeated
hrm	harmony
i	inclusive
ij	interjection
imp	imperative
in	inanimate
indir	indirect possession
ints	intensifier
ipf	imperfective
irr	irrealis
loc	location
mk	marker
mo	mood
n	noun
neg	negation
nfq	infrequent
num	number
nzr	nominalizer
ob	object
p	plural

poss	possessive
prc	process/simultaneous
prep	preposition
prf	perfect
prohib	prohibitive
pron	pronoun
propn	proper noun
prx	proximal
qfr	quantifier
rcpr	reciprocal
real	realis
rflx	reflexive
s	singular
seq	sequence
sim	simultaneous/process
su	subject
top	topic
trn	transitive
v	verb
x	exclusive

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Purpose and Scope of This Study

The Wuvulu language is little-known language of the Admiralty Islands. Blust writes:

The languages of the Western Islands (or, for that matter, the Admiralty Islands as a whole) are still very imperfectly known. . . . Ideally, any classification of the languages of the Western Islands should include descriptive sketches not only of these languages, but of selected eastern Admiralty languages as well (1996:6,7).

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an overview of some of the basic elements of Wuvulu grammar, including discussions on the phonology, grammatical categories, clause structure, complex sentences, and discourse features.

1.1 Wuvulu Geography

Wuvulu Island is the western-most island in the Manus Province of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The island is about 220 miles west of Manus Island, and about 150 miles north of Wewak. It is located approximately 142° 50' east longitude and 1° 43' south latitude. Figure 1 shows the positions of Wuvulu relative to Aua, PNG, and Australia.

Wuvulu Island is approximately 4 miles east-west and approximately 2 miles north-south. The island of Aua is about twenty-three miles northeast of Wuvulu and is populated by people who speak a dialect of the language spoken on Wuvulu.

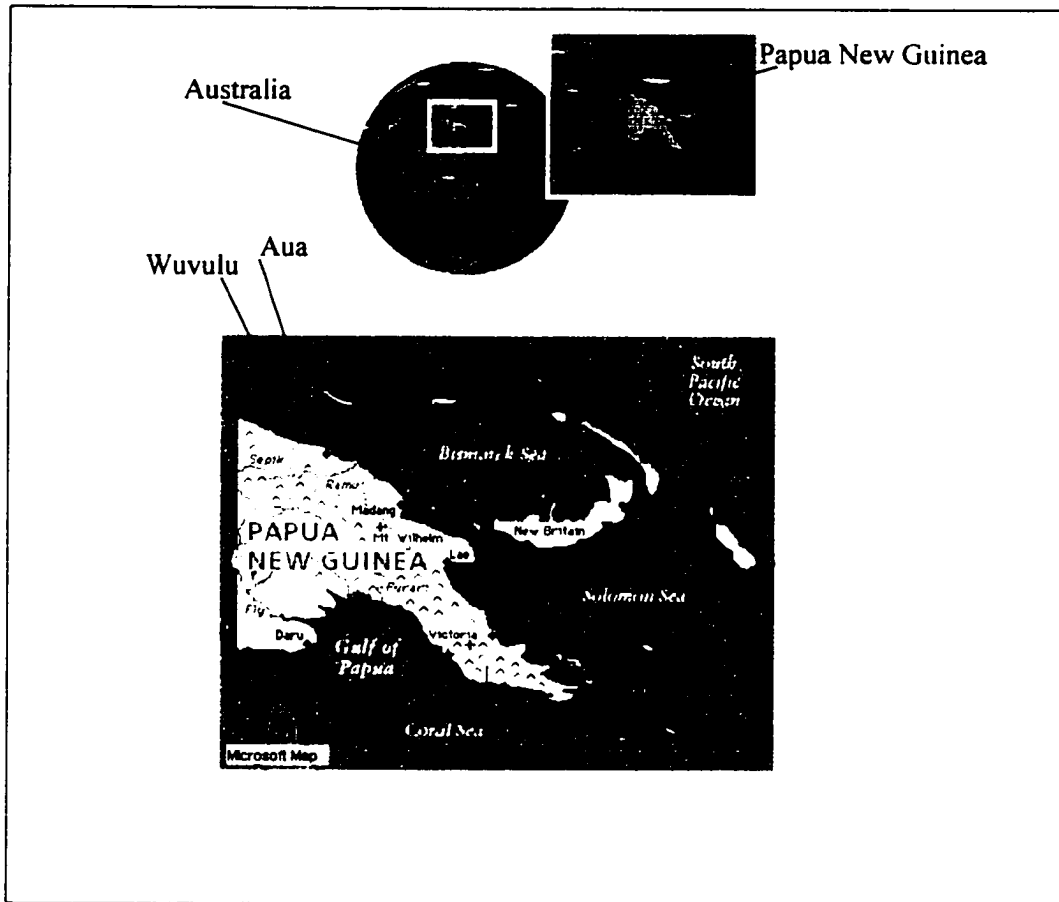


Figure 1. Australia, Papua New Guinea, Wuvulu, and Aua.

Wuvulu island is at sea level, with the maximum elevation being six feet above sea level and the air-strip being 4.5 feet above sea level. The average annual temperature in the shade is approximately 80° F.

Working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) as linguists/translators, my wife Lois and I began our work on Wuvulu Island in March 1995 and together with our three children have spent approximately twenty-four months on the island over a four-year period.

1.2 The Wuvulu Language

The language of Wuvulu Island is an Austronesian SVO language. There are an estimated 1,200 to 1,300 speakers of Wuvulu, with approximately 1,200 speakers resident on Wuvulu and Aua.

1.3 Genetic Affiliation

The Wuvulu language is a descendant of the Proto Oceanic language (POC). The tree in figure 2 from Ross (1988:20) shows the genetic affiliation of the Proto Oceanic language to the Proto Austronesian language.

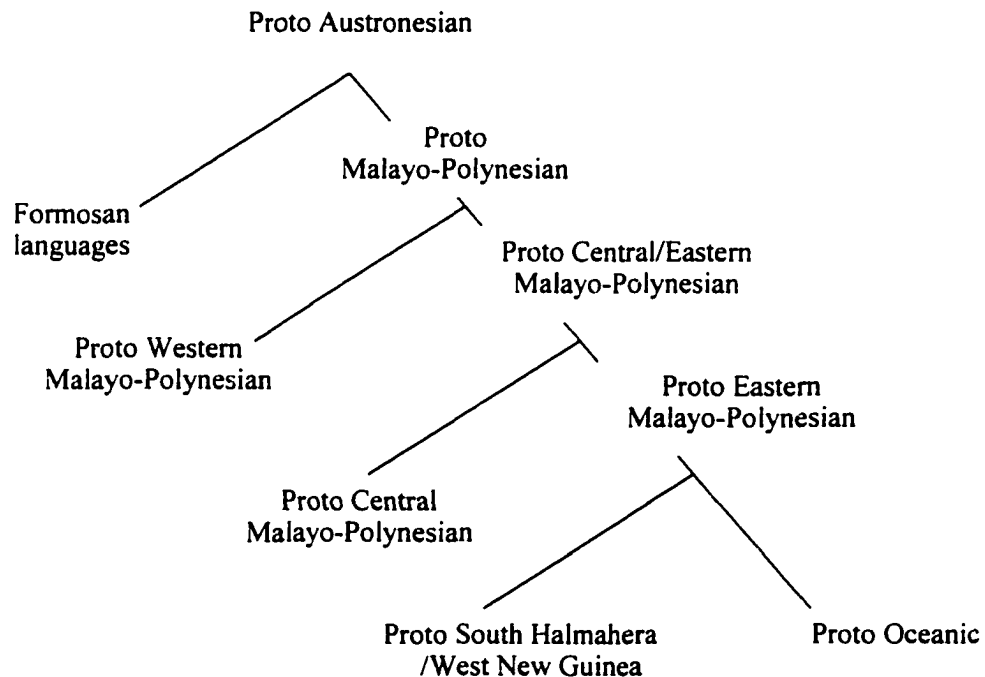


Figure 2. Genetic tree of Austronesian Subgroups.

From the Proto Oceanic language branch of the tree in figure 2, the tree of figure 3 branches to Proto Admiralty and then Proto Western Admiralty before branching to the language of Wuvulu and Aua (Ross 1988:316):

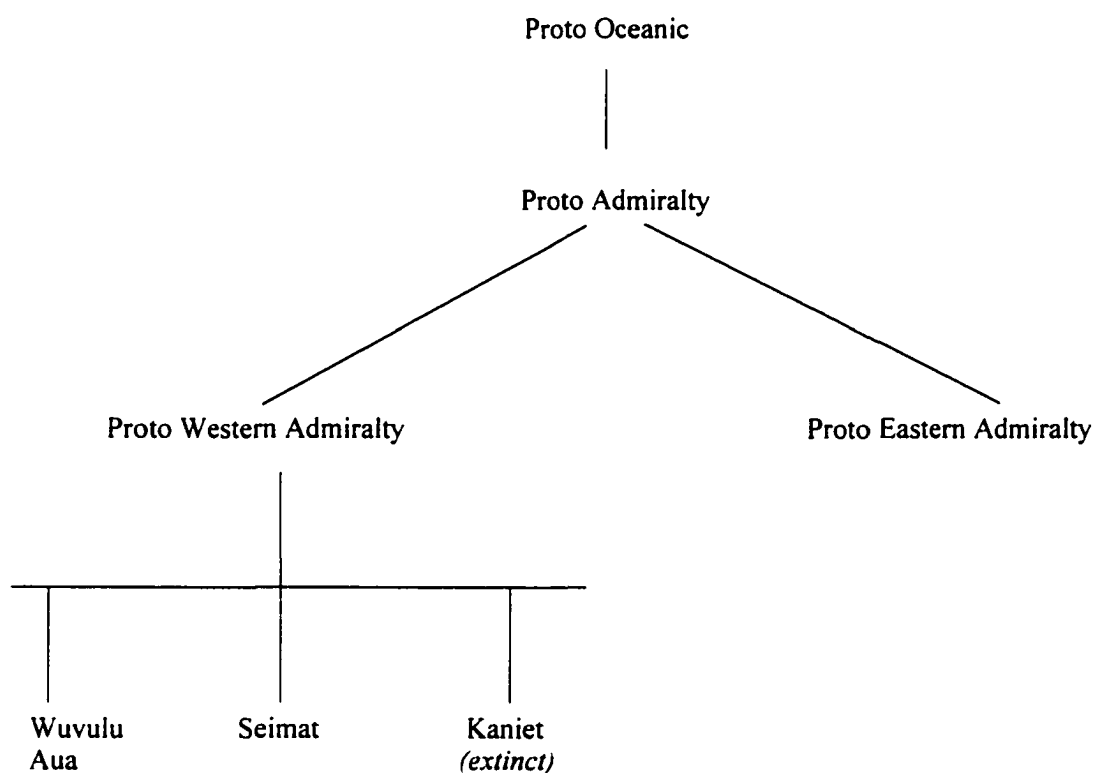


Figure 3. The Admiralties Cluster: Genetic Affiliation.

1.3.1 Morphological Typology

The Wuvulu language is highly agglutinative, especially with respect to verbs. The morphological processes which occur on verb roots in the language include affixation and reduplication. Derivational processes also occur in which verbal roots are nominalized, and in which semantically adjectival or nominal forms take on verbal morphology.

1.4 Previous Research

As was mentioned in the introduction of this paper, knowledge of the languages of Wuvulu and its neighboring islands is quite limited. Table 1, from Blust (1996:4), summarizes the linguistic research which has been conducted on the Western Islands. Numbers in parentheses represent numbers of pages, for example, there are four pages of Wuvulu grammar notes from Dempwolff (1904). All numbers without parentheses represent numbers of lexical items. For example, from Thilenius (1903) there are 101 Wuvulu words.

Table 1. Publications on Languages of the Western Islands

Source	Wuvulu	Aua	Kaniet	Agomes	Agomes	Type
Thilenius	101	-	289	117	117	lexical data
Dempwolff	490	-	305	361	361	lexical data
	6	-	-	-	-	verb paradigms
	38	-	-	-	-	toponyms
	88	-	-	-	-	personal names
	(4)	-	-	-	-	grammar notes
Hambruch	309	595	-	-	-	lexical data
	(9)	-	-	-	-	grammar notes
Smythe	-	-	(78)	-	-	sketch grammar
Z'graggen	-	170	186	-	-	lexical data

The scant linguistic work of Thilenius, Dempwolff, and Hambruch was done in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The work of both Smythe and of Z'graggen was done in the 1970s. In addition to the work listed in table 1, Malcolm Ross (1988) and Robert Blust (1978, 1996) have each worked on classifying languages of the Western Islands of Papua New Guinea. The Wuvulu data used for their classifications is based on the work mentioned in table 1, together with short lists of words gathered during brief, 1-day visits to Wuvulu and Aua.

In addition to the work on languages of the Western Islands, Stutzman (1997) and Hamel (1994) have publications on the grammars of Eastern Admiralties languages.

1.5 The Sociolinguistic Situation

Three languages are spoken on Wuvulu: the Wuvulu language, Melanesian Pidgin, and English. The local language is referred to as *warea gufu* 'talk of the village'. Because of the isolation of Wuvulu Island, and due to the fact that there is only one native language group on the island, the vernacular is relatively strong compared to other vernaculars in PNG and is spoken in nearly all social contexts with few exceptions. Pidgin is used with visitors and provincial government workers who are stationed on the island. English hymns and songs are sung in the church since the hymnal is written in English; however, people frequently write songs in the Wuvulu language and sing them in church. Many people own English Bibles, but some have pidgin scriptures. Perhaps three percent of the population is fluent in English. Many people are fairly fluent in pidgin; however, most prefer to use the Wuvulu language.

1.6 Dialects

There are three dialects of the Wuvulu language; two on Wuvulu and one on Aua. The two villages on Wuvulu, Onne and Auna, have a predictable phonological difference. The difference between the Wuvulu and Aua dialects is also slight, being lexical and phonological. The grammar of the three dialects appears to be the same. People from Wuvulu and Aua say they can understand one another, but mention that some of the words have different meanings.

1.7 Data and Methodology

The analyses and examples in this thesis are primarily based upon sixty-four Wuvulu texts of various genres. The texts were oral discourses which were tape-recorded

transcribed, edited and glossed with the help of several mother-tongue speakers: Lucy Aile, Samson Aile, Apagi Lalo, and Sifanamao Nafaino. The corpus consists of approximately 22,000 words.

Table 2. Wuvulu Data Corpus

Author	Village	Title of Text	Text Type	# of Words
Chifana	Onne	Maunu nomai Oala	Hortatory	88
Chifana	Onne	Papalei	Description	45
Funaigi	Wanuga	Hone	Narrative	1036
Funaigi	Wanuga	Rawarawa & Roiyo	Narrative	441
Funaigi	Wanuga	Talana ma Tafinia	Narrative	218
Lagu	Onne	Wewak	Prophecy	137
Lagu	Onne	Letter 1	Letter	158
Lagu	Onne	Letter 2	Letter	169
Lalobe	Onne	Tafi Wa	Procedural	229
Lalobe	Onne	Ei Auna nafasidi'a	Narrative	796
Lalobe	Onne	Pato (Apini)	Narrative	771
Lalobe	Onne	Mei Ama Bai'a	Narrative	442
Lilly	Onne	Pau	Procedural	57
Manite	Onne	Pa'ugu	Procedural	100
Mata	Onne	Baua Humu	Prophecy	400
Me'i	Onne	Tapudi	Narrative	931
Namo	Auna	Auna siba Wanuga	Narrative	617
Namo	Auna	Ha'ulamafa	Narrative	213
Nunu	Onne	Manumanu Apunai	Hortatory	283
Nunu	Onne	Ruarua	Description	158
Nunu	Onne	Manumanu Hinene	Expository	292
Nunu	Onne	Bigi'a Humu	Prophecy	93
Nunu	Onne	Barafi ma Pudeafo	Narrative	278
Oba	Onne	Manufau Humuna	Prophecy	51
Oba	Onne	Wai 1(Wa'ihaudo)	Description	69
Oba	Onne	Wai 2	Description	85
Paleai	Onne	Faninidoa	Narrative	558
Paleai	Onne	Ola ma Magini	Narrative	638
Pana'ai	Onne	Gufu Bara	Narrative	995
Pana'ai	Onne	Ha'o ma Mona	Narrative	1051
Pana'ai	Onne	Baude Nafapeduga Fifo'ai	Narrative	1232
Samson	Onne	Letter	Letter	16
Sidifai	Onne	Papale	Narrative	400
Sidifai	Onne	Rama'a Nifele	Narrative	198
Sidifai	Onne	Wawaduai	Narrative	615
Sumerai	Wanuga	Roro'adie	Narrative	652
Sumerai	Wanuga	Nambao	Narrative	314

Table 2—*Continued*.

Author	Village	Title of Text	Text Type	# of Words
Sumerai	Wanuga	Parasi	Narrative	307
Sumerai	Wanuga	Launa ma Para	Narrative	313
Sumerai	Wanuga	Bebeginana	Narrative	440
Taigugu	Auna	Arela, Lai, Aulolo	Narrative	647
Taigugu	Auna	Lapena—Forenai	Narrative	418
Taigugu	Auna	Hone	Narrative	1492
Talana	Onne	Na'apunai Hapena	Hortatory	34
Tawagi	Onne	Education	Hortatory	744
Wawanai	Onne	Wawa, ei Badui	Narrative	113
Wawanai	Onne	Pe'i Wa—Taba Na'a	Narrative	818
Wawanai	Onne	Suai ma Wane	Narrative	421
Wawanai	Onne	Sugafua	Narrative	408
Wawanai	Onne	Harona	Prophecy	31
Wawanai	Onne	Narani	Prophecy	31
Wawanai	Onne	Hinene	Prophecy	40
Chifana	Onne	Paiwa ni'eni'ea	Letter	62
Lagu	Onne	Oma'a Farawaninau	Letter	25

1.8 Chapter Summary

The Wuvulu language is an agglutinative Austronesian language spoken by the Wuvulu people of Papua New Guinea.

There are three highly cognate dialects of the Wuvulu language—two spoken on Wuvulu Island and one spoken on Aua Island. Vernacular language use is quite strong among the Wuvulu people. Very little previous research has been done on the Wuvulu language.

CHAPTER 2

WUVULU PHONOLOGY

2.0 Introduction

Of Oceanic languages, Lynch, Ross and Crowley (Pre-publication: 44) write:

languages in this subgroup are frequently phonologically less complex than those of many other linguistic groupings in the world. Syllable structures tend to approximate towards simple CV type, and phoneme inventories tend to be both fairly small, and characterized by relatively few complex articulations.

This characterization is true for the Wuvulu language; however there are several interesting phonological processes which are highlighted in this chapter.

2.1 Phonemic Inventory and the Orthography

There are 12 consonant phonemes and 5 vowel phonemes in the phonemic inventory of the Wuvulu language. Wuvulu phonemes are given in table 3.

Table 3. The Phonemes of Wuvulu

Consonants (12)				Vowels (5)	
p	t		ʔ	i	u
b	f				
m	n	x		ε	o
			h		
	l			a	
	w	j			

The orthographic representations of Wuvulu phonemes are given in table 4. The set of phonemes in this table is enclosed in slash marks. The orthographic representations of these phonemes are listed directly below the phonemes and are enclosed in angle brackets.

For sociolinguistic reasons the phonemes /l/, /t/, and /x/ are orthographically overdifferentiated. Decisions for overdifferentiation were made in the context of an orthography conference in which speakers of the language reached compromise with one another regarding how things are to be written. The overdifferentiated characters are related to allophonic variants which are environmentally conditioned (discussed in section 2.7.1). The orthography could be streamlined in the future, but it has been tested and seems to be functional.

Table 4. Phonemes and the Orthography

/a	ε	i	o	u	b	f	h	j	l	m	n	p	t	w	x	ʔ/
<a	e	i	o	u	b	f	h	y	l,d	m	n	p	s,t	w	r,g	'>
<A	E	I	O	U	B	F	H	Y	L	M	N	P	S,T	W	R,G	'>

2.2 Consonants

Examples of Wuvulu consonants are given in table 5. Note that the phonemes for /t/ and /l/ are overdifferentiated.

Table 5. Consonant Examples

Phoneme	Orthography	Phonetic form	Gloss
b	badu	[¹ ba.du]	'child'
	halaba	[ha.'la.ba]	'turtle'
f	fainaroa	[fa.i.na.'xo.a]	'eight'
	lofu	[¹ o.fu]	'brother'
h	hawihawi	[ha.wi.'ha.wi]	'sharktooth sword'
	punehafi	[pu.nɛ.'ha.vi]	'coral stove'
j	yau	[ja.u]	'1s pron.'
	piye	[pi.jɛ]	'beach'
l	lalo	[¹ la.l ^o]	'in'
	pa'ale	[pa.'ʔa.lɛ]	'dolphin'
	oloroa	[ʔo.l ^o .'xo.a]	'six'
	lomi	[¹ l ^o .mi]	'no,negation'
	diai	[di.'a.i]	'again'
	badu	[¹ ba.du]	'child'
	maremare	[ma.xɛ.'ma.xɛ]	'cough'
m	humu	[¹ hu.mu]	'house'
	nadi	[¹ na.di]	'all right'
n	hanunu	[ha.'nu.na]	'its meaning'
	padu	[¹ pa.du]	'dove'
p	fipui	[fi.'pu.i]	'together'
	sifisifi	[¹ ʃi.vi.'ʃi.vi]	'deceive'
t	fesu	[fɛ.'ʃu]	'wash (clothes)'
	tau	[¹ ta.u]	'papaya'
	atona	[ʔa.'to.na]	'Monday'
	wagieni	[wa.gi.'ɛ.ni]	'today'
w	ranu	[¹ xa.nu]	'water'
	oloroa	[ʔo.l ^o .'xo.a]	'six'
x	gigei	[gi.'ge.i]	'door'
	fagigi	[fa.'gi.gi]	'slowly'
	o'odu	[ʔo.'ʔo.du]	'1P pron.'
?	du'ua	[du.'ʔu.a]	'food'

2.3 Vowels

Examples of Wuvulu vowels are given in table 6. Note that words which are orthographically vowel-initial actually begin with a glottal stop as in *upu* 'grandparent.'

Table 6. Vowel Examples

Phoneme	Orthography	Phonetic form	Gloss
a	halo	[^h ha.l ^o]	'sun'
	parara	[pa. ^h xa.xa]	'thunder'
e	nene	[^h ne.nɛ]	'behind, later'
	piye	[^h pi.je]	'sand'
i	nia	[^h ni.a]	'fish'
	nadi	[^h na.di]	'okay'
o	lomi	[^h l ^o .mi]	'no, negation'
	mafufuo	[ma.fu. ^h fu.o]	'morning'
u	Fufudu	[fu. ^h fu.du]	'Wuvulu'
	upu	[^h ?u.pu]	'grandparent'

2.4 Stress

Stress is very consistently penultimate on Wuvulu words with secondary stress coming on the fourth syllable from the right for words longer than three syllables. This is typical patterning for Oceanic languages.

2.5 Syllable Patterns

Syllable patterns follow the Oceanic patterns of CV and V syllables. The word *narau* 'my thought' in example (2) has the potentially ambiguous vowel sequence *au* coming word-final. In this case stress is used to clarify the nature of the sequence. Stress falls on the sequence *rau* and reveals that the sequence is considered by the speaker to be two syllables: [na.^hra.u]. If *au* were considered to be one unit, then given the penultimate stress pattern, the word would be stressed as [^hna.rau]. Ambiguous vowel sequences are discussed further in section 2.6.

The word-final vowels of *minoa* 'yesterday' and *poa* 'ax' in (1) are examples of V syllables made up of no consonants and just a single vowel.

(1)		
V	mi.no.a	'yesterday'
	po.a	'ax'

In (2) *fu*, *da*, *na*, and *ra* are examples of CV syllables which consist of a consonant and a vowel.

(2)		
CV	fu.da	'taro'
	na.ra.u	'my thought'

2.6 Ambiguous Segments

The segment [tʃ] is considered to be a unit since it is in free variation with [s], and since there are no consonant clusters in the language. There really are no significantly ambiguous consonants in the language.

Potentially ambiguous vowel sequences involve a non-high vowel followed by a final high vowel: *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *oi*, and *ou*. It would be possible to interpret these sequences as being single nuclear units of syllables; however, stress patterns indicate that they are not single units.

Since the language has a very distinct penultimate stress pattern, the data of (3) indicate that the sequences should be interpreted as two syllables rather than as single units.

(3)				
ai	nomai	[no.'ma.i]		'come'
au	narau	[na.'ra.u]		'my thought'
ei	sifei	[si.'fe.i]		'door'
oi	fiahoi	[,fi.a.'ho.i]		'sweethearts'
ou	ro'ou	[xo.'o.u]		'them'

Another potentially ambiguous situation arises when nouns which end in *u*, such *humu* 'house', are inflected with the first person possessive suffix, *-u*. This situation is also cleared up by observing the penultimate stress pattern.

(4)				
<i>humu</i>	+	<i>-u</i>	→	<i>humu</i>
['hu.mu]		[u]		[hu.'mu.u]
'house'		1s possession		'my house'

2.7 Phonological Processes

Section 2.7.1 lists some of the common phonological processes which occur in the language. Section 2.7.2 discusses reduplication and section 2.7.3 discusses verb suffix alternation.

2.7.1 Various Processes

The common Wuvulu phonological processes are given in examples (5)-(12). Each process has a prose description followed by an example number and a rule. One or more examples showing how the rules are applied appear after each of the rules. For example, immediately after the rule of (5) is an example showing how /fafi/ becomes [favi].

The phoneme /f/ intervocalic can become voiced in rapid speech. This is a very common process in languages around the world.

(5)

/f/ → [+voice] / V ___ V

/fafi/ → [favi] 'good afternoon'

Word-final high vowels /i/ and /u/ are sometimes dropped in rapid speech.

(6)

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix}$ → ∅ / Rapid speech

/aipani/ → [aipan] 'five'

/humumu/ → [humum] 'your house'

The phoneme /x/ intervocalic can become voiced in rapid speech.

(7)

/x/ → [ɣ] / V ___ V

/eexe/ → [εɣε] 'going on ...'

The phoneme /x/ becomes the voiced velar stop when adjacent to a [+high] vowel.

(8)

/x/ → [g] % $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix}$

/xufu/ → [gufu] 'village'

/fixa/ → [figa] 'How many?'

Motivation for rules of (8) and (9) will require more research. In each case a [+continuant] segment becomes [-continuant] in the environment of a [+high] vowel.

Another potential motivation for the rule of (8) is that the point of articulation for [g] is higher than it is for [x]. The vowel height argument does not hold up for (9). Perhaps an acoustic study of the formants of the segments will shed more light on the motivation for the rules.

The phoneme /l/ becomes the voiced alveolar stop when adjacent to a [+high] vowel.

(9)

/l/ → [d] % _____ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-cons} \\ \text{+high} \end{bmatrix}$

/balu/ → [badu] 'child'

/fula/ → [fuda] 'taro'

/lifo/ → [difo] 'tooth'

The phoneme /l/ becomes a lateral with the secondary articulation of a voiced interdental fricative [l^{ɔ̃}] before [o].

(10)

/l/ → [l^{ɔ̃}] / _____ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-cons} \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{+round} \end{bmatrix}$

/halo/ → [hal^{ɔ̃}o] 'sun'

The phoneme /t/ becomes the voiceless alveolar stop when it comes before a [+high] vowel.

d. directionality of association is determined largely by universal principles
 prefixed reduplication is associated left to right unless specified otherwise

e. association is always phoneme-driven

The durative morpheme for verbs of motion in Wuvulu is the template CV, prefixed to the root, with unmarked left-to-right association. Examples of this type of reduplication include *lele* ‘crawl’ reduplicated to *lelele* ‘crawling’, *poni* ‘run’ reduplicated to *poponi* ‘running’. The derivation for *talai* ‘walk’ is given in figure 4.

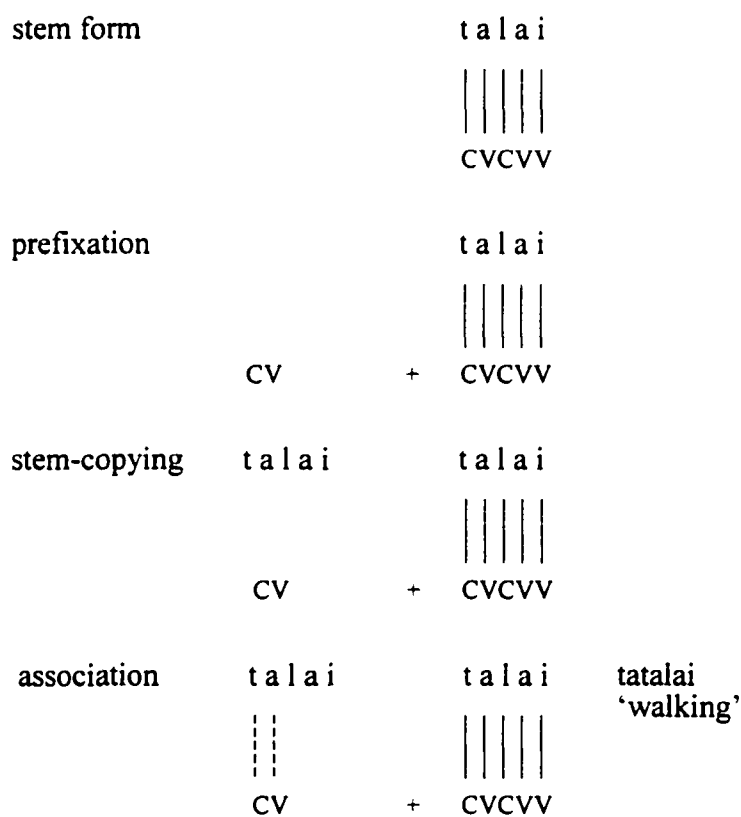


Figure 4. Reduplication of *talai* ‘walk’.

The other reduplication pattern in the language involves a simple reduplication of the entire stem as in *bigi* ‘work’ reduplicated to *bigibigi* ‘working’, *ware* ‘talk’ reduplicated to *wareware* ‘talking’, and so forth. Reduplication is also discussed in the context of the verb stem in section 4.3.1.

2.7.3 Verb Suffix Alternation

One of the prominent phonological features of many Oceanic languages is that there are no word-final consonants. A synchronic analysis of Proto-Polynesian and of most Oceanic languages results in positing a deletion rule for word-final consonants:

$$(13) \quad C \longrightarrow \emptyset / _ \#$$

Table 7 lists Wuvulu verb forms together with their transitive markers and object markers. A phonological analysis of the data has the consonant forms as part of the underlying representation of the stem morphemes: /*bigi*/, /*harof*/, /*hunum*/, /*simin*/, and /*aug*/ . The zero alternations are produced by invoking the rule of (13).

Table 7. Historical Verb-Final Consonants

Verb	Transitive marker	Object Marker	Consonant	Gloss
bigi	bigi'a	bigi'ia	'	'work'
haro	harofa	harofia	f	'call'
hunu	hunuma	hunumia	m	'drink'
simi	simina	siminia	n	'discard'
au	auga	augia	g	'put'

Kenstowicz and Kisseberth (1979:172) discuss a very similar set of data from Maori in which Hale (1973) concludes that the phonological deletion rule is no longer valid:

At some point in the development of Maori from Proto-Polynesian the consonants that alternate with zero were reanalyzed as belonging to the suffix rather than to the preceding stems. As Hale observes, if the alternating consonant has been reanalyzed as part of the suffix, leading to a proliferation of suffixal allomorphs, one might expect a tendency to regularize the alternation by identifying one of the alternants as the regular one.

Hale (1973:417) notes that “this explanation is fulfilled in Maori—the alternant /-tia/ is now regarded as the regular passive ending.” To support this interpretation Hale cites six pieces of evidence. For example, English loanwords, even unassimilated consonant-final ones, form passives with /-tia/.

Hale’s observation regarding a regularized form of the alternation appears to be true for the Wuvulu language. English loanwords form their object markers with the form /-nia/ as in *forgivenia* ‘forgive her’ and *inacutnia* ‘he cut it’.

Another piece of evidence is the use of the causative marker *fa-* with an intransitive verb. When an intransitive verb takes the causative marker, its valency is increased such that it can take an object. In these situations the language seems to favor the /-nia/ and /-na/ forms (e.g., *guta* ‘sit’, *fagutania* ‘make him sit’, cf. sections 4.3.3 and 4.4).

In a lexical analysis, verbs no longer have final consonants. Instead, verbs subcategorize for the various allomorphs of the suffix (i.e., *-gia*, *-mia*, *-nia*, etc.) with /-nia/ and /-na/ as the defaults for new words such as borrowed words.

Kenstowicz and Kisseberth (1979:173) offer an interpretation of Hale’s explanation for why the phonological analysis was not maintained:

Once the final-consonant-deletion rule was added to the grammar, the overwhelming fact confronting the language learner was that all words ended in vowels phonetically. Hale suggests that in language acquisition there is a tendency to analyze linguistic forms in such a way as to minimize the need to set up URs that violate universally true generalizations about the shape of surface phonetic forms. Since all words ended in vowels, this would force a

tendency to set up URs with final vowels, thereby leading to a reanalysis of the consonant alternating with zero as being part of the suffix

Further research with the younger generations of Wuvulu speakers could perhaps provide even more confirmation that the lexical analysis is valid.

2.8 Chapter Summary

The Wuvulu language, like most Oceanic languages, has a relatively simple phonology with V and CV syllable templates and penultimate stress. Three Wuvulu phonemes /l/, /x/, and /t/ have allophones which are environmentally conditioned. The phoneme /t/ also has an allophone in free variation with it.

The process of reduplication involves copying either the entire stem, or the initial CV portion of the stem and prefixing that copy to the original stem.

The phonological process of word-final consonant deletion appears to no longer be active in the language; rather, consonants which had once been final in verb roots are now associated with a set of suffixes, and a specific consonant, *n*, now serves as the default suffix-initial consonant for verbal object/transitive markers.

CHAPTER 3

NOUNS AND THE NOUN PHRASE

3.0 Grammatical Categories

According to Givón (1984:51), there are four commonly found word classes in languages around the world. These word classes, ranked according to their time-stability are: (1) nouns, (2) adjectives, (3) verbs, and (4) adverbs (the time-stability of adverbs varies).

The notion of time-stability as defined by Givón has to do with things that remain the same over time. Prototypical nouns such as “stone” or “tree” denote objects which are relatively stable with respect to time. Actions and states denoted by verbs tend to be less stable over time. Adjectives are somewhere between nouns and verbs on the continuum of time-stability. The time-stability of adverbs is more difficult to generalize.

In this chapter nouns and adjectives are classified according to their morphology and distribution. Chapter 4 presents verbal morphology, including adverbial affixation. The clausal distribution of noun phrases, verbs and adverbial information is presented in chapter 5.

3.1 Basic Noun Phrase Structure

Wuvulu noun phrases have head nouns which can be both premodified and postmodified according to the general noun phrase rule given in (1):

$$(1) \quad NP \rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Num}) \\ (\text{Qnt}) \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Art}) \\ (\text{Dem}) \\ \text{Pron} \end{array} \right\} (\text{Adj}) N \right\} (\text{PP})$$

The head noun of the noun phrase rule in (1) can be suffixed with a possessor agreement suffix (cf. section 3.3.1). For the purpose of the noun phrase rule in (1), the possessor agreement suffix is considered to be part of the noun.

Parentheses surrounding a constituent in the rule mean that the constituent is optional. The curly brackets mean that only one of the members is used. So a noun phrase could either have a quantifier, or a number, but not both simultaneously.

(2)
watauda nia
'Many fish'

(3)
guapalo nia
'two fish'

(4)
*watauda guapalo nia
'Many two fish'

With the exception of prepositional phrases, the sections which follow in this chapter will discuss the various constituents that make up the noun phrase. Chapter 5 discusses prepositional phrases in the context of constituent order typology.

3.2 Noun Derivation

Noun derivation is a common process in Oceanic languages. Wuvulu nouns can be derived from verbal root words by suffixing *-a* to the verbal root. For example, the nominal *warea* 'word' is derived from the verb *ware* 'to talk'. The verbal root *bigi* 'to work' is inflected with *-a* to give the noun form *bigia* 'work'.

Noun derivation does not occur with verb roots which have some other previous inflection; however, it is possible to derive a nominal form from a verb root which has been reduplicated. Verb roots can be reduplicated for durative aspect (verb root reduplication is discussed more fully in chapter 4), for example *ware* ‘to talk’ is reduplicated as *wareware* ‘discuss’. From the reduplicated verb stem, *wareware* ‘discuss’, the form *warewarea* ‘discussion’ is derived.

A derived noun form has all the distributional and structural properties that a semantically prototypical noun does, for example, it can take an article or be inflected for possession. An example of a derived nominal which is then inflected for possession is *fafanunu* ‘observe’. Its derivation is *fafanunua* ‘observation’, which can then be inflected with the first person singular suffix, *-u*, to form *fafanunuu* ‘my observation’.

(5)

Aa, fa-fanunu-a-u a'a o'ou wagieni, feni apa'a o'odu,
ij asp-look-nzr-1s prep us today this knoweledge our

'Aa, my oberservation of us today, [regarding] this knowledge of ours . . . '

3.3 Possession

For Oceanic languages, nouns are commonly classified according to whether they are directly or indirectly possessed (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley: forthcoming). The categories of direct and indirect possession correspond roughly to inalienable and alienable possession. In Wuvulu, three classifiers are associated with indirectly possessed nouns: *hana* for the class of nouns that refer to edible things, *hunu* for drinkable things, and *hape* for general indirect possession. These classifiers act as nouns (i.e., they are head nouns in the NP rule of section 3.1), taking quantifiers, articles, and bound agreement suffixes.

Wuvulu uses two grammatical devices to indicate possession: bound agreement suffixes and juxtaposed noun phrases. Directly possessed nouns can be inflected with bound possession agreement markers. Indirectly possessed nouns are not inflected with agreement markers; however, a classifier associated with an indirectly possessed noun (e.g., *hana*, edible possession) can take a bound agreement marker (cf. example (8), section 3.3.1).

3.3.1 Bound Agreement Suffixes

Possessor agreement suffixes are given in table 8. The suffixes are only used with singular possessors.

Table 8. Agreement Suffixes

Person	Suffix
first	-u
second	-mu
third	-na

As stated above, singular possessor agreement markers can be bound either to directly possessed nouns, or to the classifier of an indirectly possessed noun. In the next example (6), *hara* 'name' is a directly possessed noun which is inflected for first person possession.

(6)

Hara-u Wawa.
name-1s propn

'My name is Wawa.'

In (7) the noun *bigia* ‘work’ is an example of a directly possessed noun which takes the second person singular bound possessor suffix, *-mu* .

(7)

Tamanu bigi-a-mu
 what work-*qzr-2s*

‘What is your work?’

The previous examples demonstrate the use of possessor suffixes on directly possessed nouns. Classifiers of indirectly possessed nouns (e.g., *hana*, the edible classifier) may also be inflected for singular possessor agreement, as in *hana-na*.

(8)

Heai arewa Barafi inabigi'a ei hana-na
 one day Barafi 3s-real-work-trn art class-3s

‘One day Barafi prepared his food.’

Bound agreement suffixes exist only for singular possessors. Juxtaposed noun phrases are used to encode possession by a plural possessor. Juxtaposed NPs are discussed in section 3.3.2.

3.3.2 Juxtaposition of Noun Phrases

A second strategy for possession in Wuvulu is that of juxtaposed noun phrases. In this strategy, the possessed noun phrase precedes the possessor noun phrase. This strategy is used for both direct and indirect possession. In the case of indirect possession, the classifier precedes the possessor noun phrase as in *hape lagua* ‘possession of theirs’:

(9)

lagu-na-pa'i hepalo hape lagua
 3dl-real-have one class 3dl

'The two had a possession of theirs.'

Possession by juxtaposed noun phrases can be with two full noun phrases, or it can be as simple as two juxtaposed bare nouns.

(10)

rau niu
 leaf coconut

'coconut's leaf'

A possession phrase can consist of several levels of possession and is analogous to the English example, *The sum of the squares of the lengths of the sides of a right triangle is equal to the square of the length of its hypotenuse*. The example in (11) has the juxtaposed noun phrases *pe'i* 'bank', *fei agi'agi* 'the ditch', and *ei suta* 'the swamps'.

(11)

inatosiminia pafo pe'i fei agi'agi ei suta
 3s-realis-get-throw-3s on bank the ditch the swamp

'He threw it onto the bank of ditch of the swamps.'

3.4 Pronouns

Some of the salient features of the Wuvulu personal pronominal system are the set of dual pronouns and the inclusive/exclusive dichotomy for dual and plural pronouns.

Plural pronouns are actually grammaticalized trial forms; today they represent plurality greater than two. This trial form can be seen in morpheme *-odu* ‘three’ in plural pronouns.

Table 9. Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		inclusive	exclusive	inclusive	exclusive
1 st person	<i>yau</i>	<i>agua</i>	<i>haigua</i>	<i>o'odu</i>	<i>hai'odu</i>
2 nd person	<i>yoi</i>	<i>hamugua</i>		<i>hamu'odu</i>	
3 rd person	<i>ia</i>	<i>lagua</i>		<i>ro'odu</i>	

The dual forms are all derived from the root for the number two, *gua*. A closer inspection of the pronouns given above shows that *hamu-* inflects for second person dual and plural, *hai-* inflects for exclusion, and *-'odu* designates plurality greater than two.

3.5 Adjectives

True adjectives are difficult to find in many Austronesian languages, and the Wuvulu language is no exception. Noun attribution is typically expressed with a stative predication. There appears to be a small closed set of words that function as adjectives. Some of the known members of the set include: *pusu'oro* ‘small’, *baua* ‘big’, *mala* ‘long’, *welegu* ‘short’, *babai* ‘hot’, and *magigi* ‘cold’.

Wuvulu adjectives consist of a root and an optional third person agreement marker: root + (*-na*). The agreement marker, *-na*, suffixes an adjective and agrees in person and number with a third person singular head noun that it modifies.

The example in (12) shows that *-na* is used in one noun phrase and not in the other (i.e., *baua naranarau* ‘my big idea’ versus *bauana humu* ‘big house’).

(12)
 fei **baua** nara-nara-u ba yau nei-pa'i **baua-na** humu
 art big rd-thought-ag cmpz I must-have **big-3s** house
 ‘The primary thinking of mine [is] that I must have [a] big house.’

3.6 Deixis, Articles and Demonstratives

In order to properly discuss Wuvulu articles and demonstratives it is necessary to briefly introduce the Wuvulu system of deictic words. This system is introduced in section 3.6.1 followed by a discussion of articles and demonstratives in section 3.6.2.

3.6.1 Wuvulu Deictic Words

Wuvulu has an extremely productive system of deixis. An entire thesis could probably be written on Wuvulu deixis; however, only a brief introduction to the system can be given here.

Wuvulu deixis is built around the notions of “close” (proximal), “distant” (distal), and “general” (unspecified) entities. There are three morphemes at the core of this system: *eni* ‘proximal’, *ena* ‘distal’, and *ei* ‘general’.

These three morphemes are inflected to give articles and demonstratives, words for time reference (e.g., example (63), p.73), spatial reference, and anaphoric/cataphoric reference within discourse. Table 10 lists some of the deictic forms which are part of the system.

Two deictic morphemes which are worth mentioning in this section because they are used frequently in discourse deixis are *si-* ‘therefore’ for anaphoric (back) reference,

and *ale-* ‘like/similar to’ for anaphoric and cataphoric (forward) reference.

Table 10. Wuvulu Deictic Words

Function/Type		inflection	general	proximal	distal
			ei	eni	ena
articles/dem	animate sg. beings	<i>m-</i>	<i>mei</i>	<i>meni</i>	<i>mena</i>
	inanimate sg. objects	<i>f-</i>	<i>fei</i>	<i>feni</i>	<i>fena</i>
	(in)animate time/pl objects	∅	<i>ei</i>	<i>eni</i>	<i>ena</i>
discourse (anaphoric)	animate beings	<i>si-</i>	<i>simei</i>	<i>simeni</i>	<i>simena</i>
	inanimate reference	<i>si-</i>	<i>sifei</i>	<i>sifeni</i>	<i>sifena</i>
	(in)animate plural	<i>si-</i>	<i>si'ei</i>	<i>si'eni</i>	<i>si'ena</i>
discourse (ana/ cataphoric)	animate sg. beings	<i>ale-</i>	<i>alemei</i>	<i>alemeni</i>	<i>alemena</i>
	inanimate sg. objects	<i>ale-</i>	<i>alefei</i>	<i>alefeni</i>	<i>alefena</i>
	(in)animate plural	<i>ale-</i>	<i>ale'ei</i>	<i>ale'eni</i>	<i>ale'ena</i>
spacial	adjacency	<i>pe-</i>	<i>pepei</i>	<i>pepeni</i>	<i>pepena</i>
	location	<i>y-</i>	<i>yei</i>	<i>yeni</i>	<i>yena</i>

The morphemes *si-* and *ale-* can prefix any article or demonstrative. The inflected form is a reference to some semantically appropriate referent. We get *simei* ‘the person referred to previously’, *sifei* ‘the thing referred to previously’, *si'ei* ‘the things/ones referred to previously’, *ale'ena* ‘like those’, *ale'eni* ‘like these . . .’, and so forth.

In most Wuvulu narratives the word *si'ei* is used as a transitional point between episodes and is often glossed ‘therefore’ with the meaning “because of the things just mentioned”

To illustrate how discourse deixis is used in Wuvulu texts, an excerpt is taken from the story of appendix A. In the story, the text given in (13) comes immediately before the sentence of example (14).

(13)

Why did Barafi, who has strength, gather the people [to help him]?
 He will cause the taro belonging to the two of us to be finished off.
 The way he operates is like that. And why didn't he carry it himself?

In the text of example (13), a participant named Pudeafo is thinking to himself. He is angry because his brother didn't carry a stone, but got people to help him and would have to feed them taro as payment for their help. This situation caused Pudeafo to go and carry the stone himself and throw it. This angry reaction of Pudeafo is given in example (14):

(14)

si'ei Pudeafo i-na-poro-'a fei mugo ma i-na-to-simi-nia
 adv propn su-real-carry-trn the stone and 3s-real-get-throw-3s
 'Therefore Pudeafo carried the stone and threw it . . . '

In (14) the deictic *si'ei* is referring to the situation of example (13). Because of this situation, Pudeafo becomes angry and acts on his anger.

Another extremely frequent use of discourse deixis occurs in the closure of stories. An estimated 75 percent of the traditional stories end with the phrase *si'ei, fei u'uga* 'that's it, the story' where *si'ei* 'that's it' refers to the entire story.

3.6.2 Articles and Demonstratives

Articles and demonstratives in the Wuvulu language indicate the number, animacy, and definiteness of the nouns they modify.

The morphology of Wuvulu articles and demonstratives is given in table 11. Animacy is only specified for singular reference and is restricted to people, God, angels, Satan, and demons.

Table 11. Articles and Demonstratives

		Articles	Demonstratives	
			Proximal	Distal
Singular	Animate	<i>mei</i>	<i>meni</i>	<i>mena</i>
	Inanimate	<i>fei</i>	<i>feni</i>	<i>fena</i>
Plural		<i>ei</i>	<i>eni</i>	<i>ena</i>

Table 11 shows that *m* (animate) + *ei* (definite) gives the singular animate article, and that *f* (inanimate) + *ei* (definite) yields the singular inanimate article. Without the word-initial *f* or *m*, the articles and demonstratives are plural.

In example (15), the singular inanimate article *fei* 'the' modifies the head noun *loana* 'his leaf'.

(15)

na ua i-na-rasi-'a hamu'o, hamo-nei-tau-'ua
 if just 3s-real-overpower-trn 2p 2p-must-hold-just

fei loa-na
 the leaf-3s

'If he overpowers you, you must just hold the leaf (of his).'

Example (16) shows that *meni*, the animate singular (proximal) demonstrative can operate as a pronoun—without modifying a head noun. All articles and demonstratives can act as pronouns.

(16)

Lomi na-'aida hara-na, yoi ma'ua **meni**, Beatau
 neg real-know name-3s 2s but **this** propn

'You do not know his name, but this is Beatau.'

Example (17) reveals the way in which a Wuvulu speaker can use a proximal demonstrative pronoun (e.g., *meni hani'u* 'this devil') for reference to a more topical entity, and then switch to a distal pronoun to provide background information regarding that same entity as in *mena toloa* 'that fire-stoker', or *mena guguai* 'that follower'.

(17)

mate i-na-no-mai **meni** hani'u, **mena** tolo-a
 because 3s-real-move-dir **this** devil **that** stoke-trn

hafi-u, **mena** gu-gua-ia wara-u, aba i-po'o-fa-mamo
 fire-1s **that** asp-hear-3s word-1s neg 3s-ints-cz-reconsider

' . . . because when this devil comes, that [one who] stokes my fire, that [one who] listens to my commands, he definitely will not reconsider.'

Wuvulu does not have a special class of indefinite articles, but rather uses the number one as an indefinite article. Since there are several counting systems in the language, the actual word used for 'one' varies depending on the semantic category of the modified noun.

In (18) indefinite reference to a person is made using the word *hemea* 'one'. In example (19) there is indefinite reference to a dove using the word *hepalo* 'one'.

(18)

hemea rama'a, hara-na Aripelei, i-na-guta-'oma'a-ia
one person name-3s propn 3s-real-sit-wait-3s

'A person [whose] name is Aripelei sat [and] waited for her.'

(19)
 ia, na-pa'i **hepalo** hape-na, padu
 she real-have **one** class-3s dove

'She has a possession, [a] dove.'

3.7 Quantifiers and Numbers

There is a small closed set of quantifiers in Wuvulu: *hefia* 'some', *watauda* 'many', *ma'ida* 'few', *mina* 'all'. Quantifier words come before the noun phrases they modify.

(20)
 I-na-pa'i **watauda** maumau ei papalei
 3s-real-have **many** shape art cloud

'The clouds have many forms.'

Wuvulu words are fairly fluid with respect to their grammatical categorization. In (20) the word *watauda* 'many/much' functions as a quantifier which modifies the noun *maumau* 'shape'. In (21) the word *watauda* 'much' functions as an adverb, modifying the verb *rararapa* 'wander', and the quantifier *ma'ida* 'few' modifies *du'ua* 'food'.

(21)
 ma o-'a-ra-ra-rapa **watauda**,
 ma 2s-irr-rd-rd-wander **much**

ma'ida du'ua haigua na-pa'i yoi lomi hana-mu
few food 1dlx real-have you neg class-2s

'And if you wander a lot, the limited food of ours will not be yours.'

The Wuvulu language has some very rich counting systems, many of which are not well known by people under about 40 years old. Some of the basics of Wuvulu counting are included in sections 3.7.1-3.7.4.

3.7.1 Cardinal Numbers

The most common counting system is a base-10 system used for counting ordinary objects. The conjunction *ma* 'and' is used in number formation, for example, *hefua ma hepalo* 'ten and one' forms the number eleven. *Pa'aniana* denotes the tens place, *pu'u* denotes the hundreds place, and *pufaba'a* denotes the thousands place. In (22) numbers are given for one through nine, counting by tens, and counting by hundreds.

(22)

1	<i>hepalo</i>
2	<i>guapalo</i>
3	<i>odumanu</i>
4	<i>obao</i>
5	<i>aipani</i>
6	<i>oloroa</i>
7	<i>olorompalo (oloroa ma hepalo)</i>
8	<i>fainaroa</i>
9	<i>faimpalo</i>
10	<i>hefua</i>
20	<i>enu pa'aniana</i>
30	<i>odufua pa'aniana.</i>
40	<i>gunaroa pa'aniana</i>
50	<i>aipan pa'aniana</i>
60	<i>oloroa pa'aniana</i>
70	<i>oloroamfua pa'aniana</i>
80	<i>fainaroa pa'aniana</i>
90	<i>faimfua pa'aniana</i>
100	<i>hefa pu'u</i>
200	<i>enu pu'u</i>
300	<i>odufua pu'u</i>
400	<i>gunaroa pu'u</i>
500	<i>aipani pu'u</i>
600	<i>oloroa pu'u</i>
700	<i>olaromfua pu'u</i>
800	<i>fainaroa pu'u</i>
900	<i>faimfua pu'u</i>

Numbers are formed by conjoining the appropriate numbers as spelled out above. For example, 483 is *gunaroa pu'u ma fainaroa pa'aniana ma odumanu* 'four hundred and eighty and three'. The thousands place numbers are exactly like the hundreds place numbers except that instead of *pu'u* the word *pufaba'a* follows the base number.

(23)	1,000	<i>hefa pufaba'a</i>
	2,000	<i>enu pufaba'a</i>
	3,000	<i>odufua pufaba'a</i>
	4,000	<i>gunaroa pufaba'a</i>
	5,000	<i>aipani pufaba'a</i>
	6,000	<i>oloaroa pufaba'a</i>
	7,000	<i>oloromfua pufaba'a</i>
	8,000	<i>fainaroa pufaba'a</i>
	9,000	<i>faimfua pufaba'a</i>

Larger numbers are formed from appropriate combinations of the base-10 forms.

(24)	20,000	<i>enu pa'aniana pufaba'a</i> (<i>enu pa'aniana</i> =20, <i>pufaba'a</i> =1,000)
	90,000	<i>faimfua pa'aniana pufaba'a</i>
	100,000	<i>hefa pu'u pufaba'a</i>
	1,000,000	<i>hefa pufaba'a pufaba'a</i>
	90,000,000	<i>faimfua pa'aniana pufaba'a pufaba'a</i>

3.7.2 Counting People

A slightly different counting system is used to count people. For numbers over 20 the system is identical to the system for cardinal numbers for counting objects. For counting from 1 person to 19 people the numbers in (25) are used:

(25)

1	<i>hemea</i>
2	<i>helagui</i>
3	<i>o'odui</i>
4	<i>gunaroa</i>
5	<i>aipani</i>
6	<i>oloroa</i>
7	<i>oloromemea</i>
8	<i>fainaroa</i>
9	<i>faimea</i>
10	<i>hefua</i>
11	<i>hefua ma hemea</i>
12	<i>hefua ma helagui</i>
13	<i>hefua ma o'odui</i>
. . .	<i>hefua ma faimea</i>

3.7.3 Ordinal Numbers

With the available data to date, the ordinal numbers only appear to go to three, but further research may prove that they go beyond this. The ordinal numbers are derived by suffixing *-poa* to the number root:

(26)

first	<i>hepoa</i>
second	<i>guapoa</i>
third	<i>odupoa</i>

3.7.4 Other Bases and Classifiers

Wuvulu counting also has binary, quaternary, and hexadecimal systems used for counting piles of coconuts. The base-16 system counts into the thousands. These systems were used in the past when a coconut plantation was in operation, but do not appear to be used much today.

(27)

base two
roa 'two'
gua 'four'
odu 'six'
fa 'eight'
reya 'ten'

base four
obau 'four'
rua'o 'eight'
odu'o 'twelve'
hemoro 'sixteen'

Base-16 numbers for 1 to 10 groups of 16 are listed in (28).

(28)

hemoro 'one sixteen', *guamoro* 'two sixteens', *odumoro* 'three sixteens', *gunaroamoro* 'four sixteens', *aipanimoro* 'five sixteens', *oloroamoro* 'six sixteens', *oloroamamoro* 'seven sixteens', *fainaroamoro* 'eight sixteens', *faimamamoro* 'nine sixteens', *hepi'i* 'ten sixteens'.

The prefix *awana-* is used in counting between 11 and 19 groups of 16 as (29).

(29)

awanamoro 'eleven sixteens', *awanaguamoro* 'twelve sixteens', *awana'odumoro* 'thirteen sixteens', *awanagunaroamoro* 'fourteen sixteens', *awana'aipanimoro* 'fifteen sixteens', *awana'oloroamoro* 'sixteen sixteens', *awana'olorompalomoro* 'seventeen sixteens', *awanafainaroamoro* 'eighteen sixteens', *awanafaimamoro* 'nineteen sixteens'.

Numbers for counting groups of 16 by 10 are given in (30).

(30)

hepi'i 'ten sixteens', *guapi'i* 'twenty sixteens', *odupi'i* 'thirty sixteens', *gunaropi'i* 'forty sixteens', *apanipi'i* 'fifty sixteens', *oloroapi'i* 'sixty sixteens', *oloromfuapi'i* 'seventy sixteens', *fainaroapi'i* 'eighty sixteens', *faimfuapi'i* 'ninety sixteens', *hefapu'upi'i* 'one hundred sixteens'.

There are several different classifiers used in counting: one for counting flat things, another for counting long things, another for counting round things into halves, and so forth.

These systems are summarized in table 12. The classifiers are word-final and are bold.

Table 12. Counting Classifiers

Class	one	two	three	four	five	six
flat	he-papa	gua-papa	odu-papa	guanroa-papa	aipan-papa	oloroa-papa
long	he-suwi	gua-suwi	odu-suwi	gunaroa-suwi	aipan-suwi	oloroa-suwi
cutting round things	he-wi'i	gua-wi'i	odu-wi'i	gunaroa-wi'i	aipan-wi'i	olaroa-wi'i
cutting long edibles	he-nono	gua-nono	odu-nono	gunaroa-nono	aipan-nono	oloroa-nono
cutting in half	he-wagu	gua-wagu	odu-wagu	gunaroa-wagu	aipan-wagu	olaroa-wagu
Class not known	he-wido	gua-wido	odu-wido	gunaroa-wido	aipan-wido	olaroa-wido

3.8 Chapter Summary

Nouns can be established on the bases of morphology and distribution. Wuvulu has semantically prototypical nouns, but nouns can also be derived from words which are semantically verbal or adjectival. Wuvulu has two possession strategies: juxtaposition of NPs and (for singular possessors) bound possessor agreement suffixes. The language also has categories of directly and indirectly possessed nouns.

The Wuvulu system of deixis is based upon a spacio-temporal system of reference which can mark animacy and number. Wuvulu has a small closed set of adjectives and has an unusually rich collection of counting systems.

CHAPTER 4

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

4.0 Introduction to Verbal Morphology

Oceanic languages tend to demonstrate their greatest complexity in the area of verbal morphology. The Wuvulu verb is highly agglutinative, and can convey information regarding subject, object, negation, causality, tense, aspect, mood, intensification, and direction.

A Wuvulu verb root can be reduplicated in one of two ways: syllable-initial reduplication, or reduplication of the entire root. Verbs can also be compounded with inflections coming on the initial or final verbs of the compound. These features are discussed in this section.

The general morphology of a Wuvulu verb can be represented as follows:

(Subject)-	(Pre-Stem)-	Verb Stem	-(Adverbial)	-(Object)	-(Direction)
------------	-------------	-----------	--------------	-----------	--------------

Figure 5. Wuvulu Verb Morphology.

The parentheses above indicate that the affixes that occur in these positions are optional. In cases where the subject and/or object markers are not bound to the verb stem, free-standing noun phrases are often present. Subject and object noun phrases are considered in the discussion of clauses in chapter 5.

This chapter systematically discusses the inflections which can fill each of the positions given in figure 5. Each of the boxes in the diagram (i.e., Subject, Pre-Stem, Verb Stem, etc.) has its own internal organization. Because there is a fair amount of detail related

to Wuvulu verbal affixes, it is helpful to keep in mind the general picture of the verb stem with its accompanying affixes on either side.

4.1 The Subject Marker Position

The subject position of the verb is filled by a subject marker which agrees in person and number with the subject of the predicate. The subject marker is the first possible affix on a verb stem as shown in figure 6.

(Subject)-	(Pre-Stem)-	Verb Stem	-(Adverbial)	-(Object)	-(Direction)
-------------------	--------------------	------------------	---------------------	------------------	---------------------

Figure 6. Verb Morphology: Subject.

Subject markers are cliticized pronominal forms. Table 13 lists the possible subject markers.

Table 13. Subject Markers

(Subject)-	
1s	u-
2s	o-
3s	i-
1dl	agu-
1dlx	haigu-
2dl	hamugu-
3dl	lagu-
1p	o'o-
1px	hai'o-
2p	hamu'o-
3p	ro-

In example (1), the third person singular subject marker, *i-*, is marked on the verbs ‘go’ and ‘overthrow’, and agrees in person and number with the proper noun, Baude.

(1)

Baude *i*-di *i*-pove-tara-fia
 Baude **3s**-go **3s**-dsr-overthrow-3s

a'a Wara ma Unafa ma *i*-pove-di na Haua.
 with Wara and Unafa and **3s**-dsr-go to Haua

‘Baude wanted to overthrow Wara and Unafa and he wanted to go to Haua.’

Although the subject marker is usually present, it is not required if the subject is specified in a noun phrase, or if the reader/listener understands who the subject is. In example (2), neither *asi'a* ‘arise’ nor *di* ‘go’ has a subject marker.

(2)

Ei badui bigi'au na-mafufuo na-'asi'a a'a
 when child-adjz work-1s real-morning real-arise with

ama-u ma ina-u na-di na piye
 father-1s and mother-1s real-go to beach

‘When I was a child my work was to get up in the morning with my father and mother and go to the beach.’

4.2 The Pre-Stem Position

The pre-stem “position” of the Wuvulu verb includes all morphemes which can occur between the subject marker and the verb stem as shown in figure 7.

(Subject)-	(Pre-Stem)-	Verb Stem	-(Adverbial)	-(Object)	-(Direction)
------------	--------------------	-----------	--------------	-----------	--------------

Figure 7. Verb Morphology: Pre-Stem.

Because there are many different morphemes which occur between the subject marker and the verb stem, the phrase “pre-stem position” is used for easier reference. Within this position there are sub-positions of morphemes which inflect for mood, negation, aspect, adverbial information, and direction. These sub-positions are shown in table 14.

Table 14. Pre-Stem Verb Inflections

(Pre-stem)-					
(Mood)	(Negation)	(Aspect)		(Adverbial)	(Direction)
na-	'a-	fi-	di-	po'o-	re-
'a-	ta-	fane-	do'o-	mina-	gi-
nei-		u-	powe-		mi-
		o-			wi-

Not every permutation of the various pre-stem morphemes makes semantic sense. Rather than map and point out all possible nonsensical combinations, this section presents the basic functions of the various morphemes within a given category such as mood. In section 4.2.6 a summary of the functions of the various pre-stem morphemes is presented in tabular format.

4.2.1 The Pre-Stem Mood Marker

Figure 8 shows the mood marker sub-position relative to the other possible categories of morphemes which can occur in the pre-stem position.

Pre-Stem				
(Mood)	(Negation)	(Aspect)	(Adverbial)	(Direction)

Figure 8. Pre-stem Mood Markers.

The mood marker position is filled by one of three inflectional forms: *na-* 'realis mood', '*a-* 'irrealis', or *nei-* 'deontic' modality. The absence of an affix in the mood position (indicated by \emptyset -) occurs with simple present statements such as *i- \emptyset -nomai* 'he is coming', or can be used in an imperative such as *\emptyset -nomai* 'come'.

The realis mood marker, *na-*, generally denotes a high degree of certainty on behalf of the speaker. One of the typical functions of the realis marker is to mark past tense events, since events which are known to have happened in the past are more certain in the mind of the speaker than, for example, a future event. An example of this is given in (3).

- (3)
 ro-**na**-to-na-mi ro'odu a'a Baude
 3p-**real**-get-trn-dir pron prep propn
 'They brought them to Baude.'

In addition to indicating past events, the realis mood marker is used in existential clauses. In example (4), *i-na-pa'i* 'it had' is a common way to express an existential predication.

- (4)
 i-**na**-pa'i lagu ei rama'a mina
 3s-**real**-have two art person past
 'There were two people [in the] past.'

The realis mood marker *na-* is frequently used in equative clauses. Example (5) is from a text in which the narrator is describing himself as a monitor lizard. The realis mood marker is used in two equative clauses in this example.

(5)

na-wala-wala-'ua fei adia-u ma taba-u na-tau-sio-sio
real-rd-hole-only the ear-1s and head-1s real-narrow-rd-taper

'My ear[s] are just holes and my head is narrow [and] tapers.'

The irrealis marker, *'a-*, is used for a range of attitudes which express uncertainty on the part of the speaker. It is also used to express immediate future tense, and it is commonly used in the protasis of conditional statements. Example (6) demonstrates how the irrealis *'a-* is used to refer to the immediate future.

(6)

Eni ba u-'a-'u'u-ga lagu eni fi-lofu-i
now cmpz 1s-irr-story-trn dl these rcpr-brother-adjz

'Now I am going to tell about these two brothers.'

The irrealis can also be used in a question in which the person asking is uncertain of what the response will be.

(7)

Ma mei agi-mu, agi-mu, o agu-'a-fo'a-fa-ma'e-a
And the oppsex.sib-2s oppsex.sib-2s or 1dl-irr-hit-cz-die-3s

'And is the your brother [really] your brother, or shall we kill him?'

The Wuvulu pre-stem affix *nei-* 'must' is very commonly used to express strong deontic modality. The prohibitive form *nei'a* 'must not' is discussed in the next section.

Palmer defines *deontic* modality as 'those types of modality characterized as containing an element of the will' (1986:96). The English word *must* is considered to be a form of strong deontic modality and is a good rough translation for the Wuvulu morpheme *nei-*.

(8)

si'ei i-di ro-'a-di i-na-ware ba nadi
therefore 3s-go 3p-irr-go 3s-real-talk cmpz okay

hamu'o-*nei*-di ma hamu'o-*nei*-po'o-ma'igu
2p-*must*-go and 2p-*must*-ints-sleep

'So then, when they went he said, "Okay, you must go and you must really sleep."'

Deontic modality is somewhat similar to imperative modality, except that the imperative is grammatically unmarked. On the semantic level it can be argued that the imperative is also unmarked in the sense that it is used by a person in full authority whereas deontic modality (*must*) is used by someone who is not in full authority. Chapter 7 discusses the function of some of the mood markers in narrative discourse.

4.2.2 The Negation Marker

As shown in figure 9, the position of negation markers is immediately after the position for mood markers.

Pre-Stem				
(Mood)	(Negation)	(Aspect)	(Adverbial)	(Direction)

Figure 9. Pre-stem Negation Markers.

The negation position can be filled by one of two forms: *'a-* or *ta-*. The negation marker, *'a-*, only comes after the deontic morpheme, *nei-*, resulting in the form *nei'a* 'must not'.

(9)

oma'oma'a fei tala ba ro-nei-'a-we-no-'ua-mai
rd-oma'a the road cmpz 3p-must-neg-ev-move-adv-come

'Watch the road so that they do not just come [and surprise us].'

The marker *ta-* is always used with the irrealis mood and marks situations which were expected to come to pass, but have not occurred. In (10) the *ta-* marker also occurs with the eventuality marker, *we-*. It is common to have these two markers co-occur. The meaning is slightly different between *ta-* 'has not happened' and *tawe* 'has not happened yet'.

(10)

i-mina-'apa'a manumanu i-'a-ta-we-no-mai hinene
3s-adv-know thing 3s-irr-neg-ev-move-come later

'He completely knows things that have not yet occurred (has the ability to predict or divine).'

4.2.3 The Aspect Marker

Comrie defines *aspect* as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1976:3).

The Wuvulu aspect marker is one of the positions of the pre-stem information. Aspectual affixes follow mood and negation affixes, but come before adverbial and direction affixes as shown in figure 10.

Pre-Stem				
(Mood)	(Negation)	(Aspect)	(Adverbial)	(Direction)

Figure 10. Pre-stem Aspect Markers.

The meanings of the Wuvulu verbal aspect morphemes are some of the most difficult to analyze because different combinations of the morphemes have different grammatical functions. Most of the verbal aspect markers can be understood as being ‘perfective’ or ‘imperfective’. For a clarification on these terms Comrie offers the following:

The term ‘perfective’ contrasts with ‘imperfective’, and denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency . . . (1976:12)

One of eight markers can fill the aspect position in the verb. The markers and their functions are as follows: (1) *fi-* indicates action in progress, action simultaneous to some other action, or reciprocity, (2) *fane-* indicates an event or process that occurs habitually or repeatedly, (3) *u-* indicates an event that occurs frequently, (4) *o-* indicates an event that occurs infrequently, (5) *di-* indicates a previously completed event, (6) *do'o-* indicates that the action of the verb comes before some other action, (7) *we-* indicates that the action eventually happened or eventually will happen, and (8) *powe-* is used to mark eventuality in a subordinate time clause and can be translated as ‘when it finally happened’.

The marker *fi-* has three functions and can show up in one of two different positions based upon which function it is serving. It either marks a situation that is in the process of

occurring, an action which occurs simultaneously with another action, or it marks a reciprocal action.

When *fi-* marks a reciprocal action it is always immediately to the left of the verb stem and the verb stem is bounded on the right by a harmonizing vowel, *i-*. For example, *fi* 'reciprocal' + *wareware* 'to talk' results in *fiwarewarei* 'to converse'; *fi* 'reciprocal' + *fo'a* 'to hit' results in *fifo'ai* 'to fight'. According to Ross, the Oceanic language Taiof also uses the verbal morpheme *fi-* to mark reciprocity (n.d.:7).

(11)

i-guta i-na-we-ware ba nadi hamu'o-di na gufu hamu'odu
3s-sit 3s-real-ev-talk cmpz okay 2p-go prep village 2p

ma narani o'o-we-fi-ware-ware-i
and tomorrow 1pi-ev-rcpr-rd-talk-hrm

'He stayed and finally said, "Okay, you go to your village and tomorrow we will converse."'

In contrast to example (11), in which *fi-* marks reciprocity, in example (12) *fi-* indicates simultaneous action.

(12)

i-di mei Haula na-panaro-pudu'i-na guapalo ei pani
3s-go the propn real-hold-bind-trn two the hand

meni Pudeafo ma i-fi-hunu ranu
this propn cj 3s-sim-drink water

'The Haula went and held together the two hands of Pudeafo while he drank water.'

The marker *fane-* is rare in the data corpus. In (13) *fane-* is an imperfective aspect which indicates habitual or repeated activity.

(13)

ma i-na-**fane**-nara-nara fei nara faninido ba, ale'ena ba
 And 3s-real-**hab**-rd-think the thought propn cmpz like cmpz

hini diai mei rama'a mei
 who else the person the

'And Faninido kept on thinking, "And who is this particular person?"'

The markers *u-* and *o-* seem to go together semantically. Frequently occurring events are marked with *u-*; infrequently occurring events are marked with *o-* as in (14) and (15).

(14)

ua ro-mina-'u-fo'a-'ua hai'ou
 because they-totally-fq-kill-just us

' . . . because they frequently slaughter us.'

(15)

Ma i-na-'o-fidu-lao fei hape lagua, ma i-na-'o-no-mai,
 And 3s-real-**nfq**-fly-dir the class 3dl and 3s-real-**nfq**-move-dir

ro-na-'ala-simi-nia fei alatai
 3s-real-untie-discard-3s the bracelet

'And when their bird occasionally flew away and occasionally came back, they untied and discarded the bracelet.'

According to a Wuvulu native speaker, it is possible for the morpheme *fane-* to combine with either *u-* or *o-* to give *fane'u-* or *fane'o-* for frequent and infrequent habitual actions. These combinations do not show up in the data. Further research is needed in order to verify these combinations.

The general notion of the "perfect" is given by Comrie as "a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, on the

other the time of that prior situation" (1976:32).

The marker *di-* is a perfect form. It is used to refer to the completion of an action prior to some other action. In example (16) the word *inadiwarefarawani* 'he had clearly told' the morphemes *na-* 'realis' and *di-* 'perfect' combine to give a past perfect sense.

(16)

Ma'ua, ama ro-'a-tatawei ei Onne te,
the propn since 3p-irr-squirm the Onne since

but i-na-di-ware-fa-rawani a'a ro'ou, Barafi ba
cj 3s-real-prf-talk-adv-well with them propn rel

'But, will the Onne [people] squirm since Barafi had clearly told them . . . '

The marker *do'o-* always indicates that the action of the verb is to be carried out before some other action (known to the listener). The idea in (17) is that the base of the prow must be worked on before doing some other step in the process.

(17)

Naba o-'a-bigi-'a fei wa, o-nei-do'o-to-na fei hudu-na
if 2s-irr-work-trn the canoe 2s-must-~~seq~~-get-trn the prow-3s

'If you work on a canoe, you must first get its prow-base.'

A relatively frequent occurrence in the data is *fido'o-*, the combination of *fi-* and *do'o-*. Example (18) shows how the markers combine to give the idea of waiting for a process to complete before some other action can occur.

(18)

hi'i o-na-sigigi, ma'ua do'o-fawiwi'a, fi-do'o-hunu yau
 yes 2s-real-thirst but seq-wait sim-seq-drink I

'Yes, you're thirsty, but first wait while I drink first.'

The eventuality marker, *we-*, is commonly used to mark future events.

(19)

Ma i-*we*-no-gio Difuroro'a
 and 3s-*ev*-move-come propn

'And Difuroro'a will come.'

Although the eventuality marker can indicate future events, it is not a future tense marker per se. A fairly common grammatical form which demonstrates this fact can be seen when the realis marker, *na-* is used with *we-*. In this case the predication refers to an event which eventually or finally happened in the past.

(20)

lagu-*na-we-fi*-fo'a-i
 3dl-real-*ev-rcpr*-adjz

'The two finally fought.'

The form *powe-* is possibly a fused form which was derived from the intensifier *po'o* + *we*. In (21) *powe-* is seen to combine with the irrealis marker '*a-* meaning 'when it finally happens'.

The two markers, *we-* and *fi-* can also combine with *powe-* to give the forms *wepowe* and *fipowe*, but not **powewe*, or **powefi*.

(21)

ma a-**powe**-ware-ware ba, i-na-pedu hi
 And irr-**ev**-rd-talk cmpz 3s-real-finish yes

hamo-nei-'u-to-nia, ena hio hamu'ou
 2p-must-stand-get-3s those spear 2p

'And when I finally say, "It's finished," yes, you must stand,
 [and] take your spears.'

There is a verbal morpheme *po'o-* (sometimes shortened to *po-*) which functions as an intensifier, and it is possible to get the form *wepo'o-*, as in (22).

(22)

I-di, Funu na-'ai-ware-ware-na-lo a'a mei tafi-na ba,
 3s-go propn real-cry-rd-talk-to-away with the friend-3s rel

Oo ma i-**wepo'o**-feta mei na'u tafi-mu
 Oh and 3s-**ev**-ints-how the child friend-2s

'Funu went crying to his friend, "Oh, and how will your friend's
 child be . . .?"'

The *wepo'o-* form in (22) looks somewhat like *powe-*, but is different semantically as well as structurally.

One of the stories in the data set has the interesting form *wepowe-* which refers to some event which will finally happen in the future. This is not a common form in the data, but a language helper confirmed that it is grammatical. One of the differences between the sentence of (21) and the sentence of (23) is that the *wepowe-* in example (23) occurs in the main clause. Whether *wepowe-* always shows up only in main clauses is unclear since there is only one occurrence of it in the entire dataset.

(23)

ma nene ia, o-**we-powe**-naba-hugu-fa
 And after him 2s-**ev-ev**-chew-swallow-trn

fei hape-na padu
 the possession-3s pigeon

'And after [you're done with] him, you can finally eat her pet,
 (the) pigeon.'

Another rare but grammatical form is the permutation of *fi* + *powe* which refers to an event which is finally in the process of happening.

(24)

Fi-powe-ware-ware Bau oo
sim-ev-rd-talk propn ij

'Bau was finally in the process of talking, [saying] "Oh! . . . "'

4.2.4 The Adverbial Marker

Adverbial markers occupy a position among the pre-stem affixes. The position of adverbial markers relative to other affixes is given in figure 11.

Pre-Stem				
(Mood)	(Negation)	(Aspect)	(Adverbial)	(Direction)

Figure 11. Pre-stem Adverbial Markers.

Two markers, *po'o-* and *mina-*, are grouped together under the adverbial heading. The affix *mina-* is best glossed in English as 'totally' or 'completely'. The free-standing word *mina* also shows up in the language as an adjective meaning 'all' or 'every'.

(25)

i-na-mina-bei-bei-'a rau marauwi
 3s-real-adv-rd-blow-3s leaf green

'It totally blew all the leaves of [the] green coconut tree[s].'

The other marker that can fill the adverbial position, *po'o-*, is an intensifier. It is somewhat analogous to the English *very*. Examples (26) and (27) demonstrate the usage of the adverbial intensification marker.

(26)

Ee hamu-nei-po'o-'oma'a-fa-rawani-na hamugua
 ij 2dl-must-ints-watch-cz-good-trn 2dl

'So, you two must really watch yourselves well.'

(27)

aa hamu-na-po'o-poapoa-i
 ij 2p-real-ints-crazy-adjz

You two are very crazy.

4.2.5 The Direction Marker

Pre-stem direction markers are the last of the pre-stem markers and come immediately before verb roots.

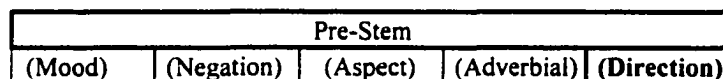


Figure 12. Pre-stem Direction Markers.

The pre-stem direction markers have to do with direction toward or away from the speaker. The pre-stem direction position can be filled by one of the four markers: *mi-*, *re-*, *wi-*, or *gi-*. The markers are given with their meanings in table 15.

Table 15. Pre-Stem Direction Markers

Marker	Meaning
<i>mi-</i>	toward speaker
<i>re-</i>	away from speaker, addressing a second or third person
<i>gi-</i>	toward speaker, includes coming down
<i>wi-</i>	away from speaker, addressing a second person

In example (28) the speaker, even though he is not in the story, is in a sense putting himself at the location of the hooks when he describes the situation. The marker *re-* is used in the same way, but it is used to describe motion away from the speaker.

(28)

Ma i-no-mai, na-mi-to-futo-nia ei hawi-na
 And 3s-move-dir real-dir-get-untie-3s the hook-3s

‘And when he came, [he]came, took [and] untied his hooks.’

Another direction marker can occur after the verb stem (cf. section 4.6) such that a predication can actually have a direction marker before the verb stem and a direction marker after the verb stem.

Two direction markers may show up when there is a compound verb, as in (29). In this example, the pre-stem marker *wi-* ‘direction away from speaker’ comes before the verb *poni* ‘run’ and the post stem marker *mai-* ‘direction toward speaker’ comes after the verb

ma'a- 'see'. The pre-stem direction marker has to do with the first action 'go to the elders' and the post-stem marker has to do with the second action 'bring the elders'. It is also possible for a single verb root to have two direction markers (cf. example (62), section 4.6).

(29)

hamu'o-nei-**wi**-poni-ma'a-**mai** ena haida
2p-must-**dir**-run-see-**dir** those elders

'You must quickly go and bring the elders.'

The direction markers can function like the English verbs *go* and *come*. In cases of pre-stem markers on single verb roots, motion associated with the direction comes before the action of the verb. For example, in (30), *mi-* 'direction toward speaker' comes before *to-* 'get'.

(30)

mi-to-nia, fei hana-mu
dir-get-3s the food-2s

'Come get your food.'

The reason direction markers are not considered to be verbs is that they never appear by themselves with verbal morphology; they are always with a verb root.

Examples (31) and (32) demonstrate the use of the direction marker *re-* 'direction away from the speaker' for second and third person subjects.

(31)

Re-to-nia, fei hana-mu
 dir-get-3s the food-2s

'Go get your food.'

(32)

Si'ei lagu-na-re-ma'a-dig-ia ba ua na-fane-di-na-lo yei
 So 3dl-real-dir-see-cplt-3s cmpz cj real-hab-go-trn-dir loc

'So the two went [and] saw it, that [it] repeatedly went there.'

The marker *wi-* can only be used when the speaker addresses someone in the second person and marks movement away from the speaker. It is not valid to use *wi-* with first or third person: **u-wi-tonia*, **i-wi-tonia*.

(33)

Nadi, wi-to-nia, mena ama-mu, ua o-na-mua
 okay dir-get-3s that father-2s because 2s-real-win

'Okay, go get him, your father, because you won.'

Why there is a specific form only for second person direction away from the speaker is not yet well understood. Further research is needed in order to understand the semantic/referential basis for the use of direction markers.

4.2.6 Summary of Pre-stem Markers

Table 16 summarizes the pre-stem inflectional forms which have been discussed in sections 4.2.1-4.2.5.

Table 16. Summary of Pre-Verb Markers

category	specification	form	description
mood	realis	na-	certainty, preterit, simple past, equative clauses
	irrealis	'a-	uncertainty, subjunctive, immediate future
	deontic	nei-	must
negation	negated deon.	'a-	used with <i>nei-</i> 'must not'
	contra-expect	ta-	expected, but has not occurred
temporal	eventual	we- powe-	eventuality when x finally happens . . .
	simultaneity	fi-	simultaneity, process, or reciprocal event
	sequence	do'o-	action of verb performed before some other action
aspect	infrequent	o-	infrequently repeated action
	frequent	u-	frequently repeated action
	habitual	fane-	habitual
	perfect	di-	completed action
adverbial	intensification	po'o-	analogous to English 'very'
	total	mina-	analogous to English 'totally', or 'completely'
direction	speaker-oriented direction	mi-	to speaker
		re-	away from speaker—told to second/third person
		gi-	to speaker—includes vertical direction down
		wi-	away from speaker—told to second person only

4.3 The Verb Stem Position

This section presents the morphology of verb stems. The Wuvulu verb stem is prefixed and suffixed by various affixes, some of which have already been discussed.

(Subject)-	(Pre-Stem)-	Verb Stem	-(Adverbial)	-(Object)	-(Direction)
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Figure 13. Verb Morphology: Stem.

The Wuvulu verb stem consists of at least one root word (represented by **Rt** in table 17). The stem may have more than one root, but the practical limit seems to be three roots (represented by **(Rt)_n** in table 17, where the value of **n** can be one or two). The verb root may be reduplicated; it is also possible to reduplicate only the initial syllable of the root

(Represented by **(Rd)** in table 17). In the available data reduplication only occurs with one root of stems with compound verb roots. A causative marker may inflect one of the roots. The available data does not have verb stems with more than one *fa-* marker, but it is possible that they exist.

Parentheses in table 17 mean that the value is optional. Only one verbal root is mandatory. A single root may be reduplicated or may have a causative marker. There are no single-root examples which have both reduplication and a causative marker.

Table 17. The Verb Stem

Verb Stem			
(Rd)	(Rt)_n	(Cz)	Rt
σ/Rt-	word-	fa-	word

4.3.1 Syllable & Root Reduplication

Reduplication of syllables and words is one of the more obvious features of the Wuvulu language. The function of verb reduplication is to express continuous or durative action (forms of imperfect aspect).

Verb Stem			
(Rd)	(Rt)_n	(Cz)	Rt

Figure 14. Syllable and Root Reduplication.

Example (34) exemplifies reduplication of the initial syllable *ra-* in the word *rawani* 'good'. The function of reduplication in this case is to indicate that the person was in the process of getting better.

(34)

u-na-mina-ra-rawani'ua rawani-'ua ma'ida ale-'ei
 1s-real-adv-rd-good-adv good-adv only like-that

'Baude said, "Aa...I'm not totally well, but getting better-like that."'

In example (35) the word *no* 'move' is reduplicated to indicate the imperfect nature of the action.

(35)

Ma na-mina-no-no-mai pea ranimai, i-fi-fane-to pea
 And real-adv-rd-move-dir bait always 3s-sim-hab-get bait

'And (Lai) was always coming (to get) bait, she is in the habit of getting bait.'

4.3.2 Compound Verb Roots

As mentioned previously, the Wuvulu verb stem can be composed of more than one verbal root word. This is represented by $(Rt)_n$ in figure 15, where the value of n can be one or two.

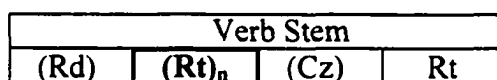


Figure 15. Compound Verb Roots.

When verb roots are compounded, the string of verbs is potentially bounded on the left by pre-stem affixes and bounded on the right by post-stem affixes. There are no examples of compound verb roots with affixes on each root. The only intervening inflection which is allowed is the causative marker.

Example (36) shows a sentence with a compound of three verb roots. Note that the subject and irrealis markers inflect the first verb of the compound, whereas the last verb has the transitive marker bound to it.

(36)
 lo'e ba o'o-'a-di-fo'a-fa-ma'e-a hemea rama'a
 neg cmpz 1pi-irr-go-hit-cz-die-3s a person
 'We won't go kill a person.'

Additional examples of compound verb roots are given in (37) and (38).

(37)
 ma i-ma'a-pa'i-a Barafi i-na-siba
 and 3s-see-have-3s propn 3s-real-angry
 'And Barafi saw it [and] was angry.'

(38)
 ma i-na-po'o-tadu-no-to-na-rai
 and 3s-real-ints-bite-move-get-trn-dir
 'And he, bit it went [and] brought it.'

4.3.3 The Causative Marker

Verbal causative markers are common in Oceanic languages; some even use the same morpheme that Wuvulu uses (cf. *fa-* 'causative' in Taiof, Ross (n.d.:7)).

Verb Stem			
(Rd)	(Rt) _n	(Cz)	Rt

Figure 16. The Causative Marker.

One very important property of *fa-* is that it can change the valency of an intransitive verb such that the verb can take a direct object.

In example (39) the *fa-* marker is prefixed to the intransitive verb *u* 'stand'. The word for 'stand' in the Wuvulu language is an intransitive verb which does not normally take an object, but because of the causative marker, the normally intransitive verb takes the object *ro'odu* 'them'.

(39)
 ma i-di na-fa-'u-na ro'odu
 and 3s-go real-cz-stand-trn them

'And he went and caused them to stand (stood them up) . . . '

This property of *fa-* whereby the valency of an intransitive verb is increased commonly occurs with verbs of motion. An example of this is given in (40) with the verb *talai* 'walk'. This verb is inherently intransitive, but in the example it is able to take the object *o'ou* 'us' because it is inflected with the causative prefix, *fa-*.

(40)
 Ma ro-'a-mina-fa-ta-talai-na o'ou
 and 3p-irr-adv-cz-rd-walk-trn us

'And they caused us to walk.'

Although the verbal marker *fa-* is mentioned under the rubric "causative," it often derives words which function adverbially. Example (41) is an example of *fa-* inflecting the word *rawani* 'good' to give the adverbial modification of *well* (glossed 'thoroughly').

(41)

Ma narani o-we-fi-ware-ware-i-fa-rawani
 and tomorrow lpi-ev-rcpr-rd-talk-hrm-cz-good

'And tomorrow we will talk thoroughly.'

Example (42) also illustrates the adverbial function of the word *fagigi* 'slowly'.

Adverbial formation with *fa-* is quite productive.

(42)

O-nei-mina-bigi-fa-gigi
 2s-must-adv-work-cz-slow

'You must really work slowly.'

4.3.4 The Verb Root

The verb root is the only morpheme that is required in the verb stem; in figure 17 all other verb stem affixes are optional, as indicated by parenthesis.

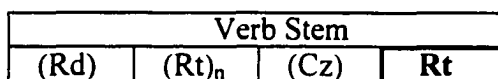


Figure 17. The Verb Root.

A simple example of a verb root *bigi* 'work' with very little inflection is given in example (43).

(43)

he-ai arewa Barafi i-na-bigi-'a ei hana -na
 class-one day propn 3s-real-work-trn art class-3s

'One day Barafi prepared his food . . . '

4.4 The Post-Stem Adverbial Position

The post-stem adverbial marker position can have one of three different adverbial markers: *-ua* 'only', *-diai* 'again', and *-di* 'completed'.

(Subject)-	(Pre-Stem)-	Verb Stem	-(Adverbial)	-(Object)	-(Direction)
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Figure 18. Verb Morphology: Adverbial.

Table 18. Adverbial Position

-(Adverbial)	
Affix	Meaning
-ua	only
-diai (n)	again
-di(g)	completed

The adverbial marker *-ua* is roughly equivalent to the English adverbs *simply*, *merely*, *only*, and *just*.

(44)

Wausisi-'ua-mai mei Foranai
slide-adv-dir the propn

'The Foranai person just came sliding.'

(45)

O-mina-hawi-fa-tata-'ua-ia mena na'u-mu
2s-adv-cut-cz-bad-adv-3s that child-2s

'You just cut him completely accidentally-your child.'

Two other markers which could occupy the adverbial position are *-diai* 'again' and

-di ‘completed’. These markers are interesting in that there are specific object markers and transitive markers associated with them. Sections 2.7.3 and 4.5 discuss verbal object markers and transitive markers in more detail.

Three examples are shown for each of the two adverbial markers, *-di* and *-diai*: an example in an intransitive predication, an example with an object marker, and an example with an overt noun phrase as the object.

Example (46) shows how the completive marker *-di* can be used in an intransitive predication.

(46)
 i-na-bigi-di
 3s-real-work-cplt
 ‘He worked to completion.’

Examples (47) and (48) show that when a transitive verb is inflected with the completive marker *-di*, it takes the object marker *-gia* for object agreement, and it takes the transitive marker *-ga* if there is an overt noun phrase object. For transitive predications the forms *-gia/-ga* are always used with the completive *-di* (as opposed to some alternative forms such as *-mia/-ma*, *-fia/-fa*, etc.)

(47)
 i-na-bigi-di-gia
 3s-real-work-cplt-3s
 ‘He worked it to completion.’

(48)
 i-na-bigi-di-ga fei wa-na
 3s-real-work-cplt-3s the canoe-3s
 ‘He worked his canoe to completion.’

The form *-diai* ‘again’ is shown in an intransitive predication in (49).

(49)
 i-na-bigi-**diai**
 3s-real-work-**again**
 ‘He worked again.’

For transitive predications, the adverbial marker *-diai* is shortened to *-di* and the markers *-nia/na* are used as in (50) and (51).

(50)
 i-na-bigi-**di-nia**
 3s-real-work-**again-3s**
 ‘He worked it again.’

(51)
 i-na-bigi-**di-na** fei humu-na
 3s-real-work-**again-3s** the house-3s
 ‘He worked his house again.’

Section 2.7.3 presented argumentation for a lexical analysis of object/transitive markers (i.e., the phonological analysis of word-final consonant deletion is no longer used). This seems to be supported by the fact that specific markers *-gia/ga* and *-nia/na* are used with *-di* and no other verb-final consonants come to the surface. On the other hand, this may not be that strong an argument since *-di* only tells that one of two adverbs is present, whereas *-gia/-ga* versus *-nia/-na* indicate whether it is a repeated action or a completed action.

4.5 The Post-Stem Object Position

The post-stem object position can be filled by either a transitive marker or an object marker. The agreement marker agrees with the object in person and number. If the position is filled by a transitive marker, the verb is followed by a free-standing nominal object.

(Subject)-	(Pre-Stem)-	Verb Stem	-(Adverbial)	-(Object)	-(Direction)
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Figure 19. Verb Morphology: Object.

The six transitive markers of table 19 (*-a*, *-fa*, *-ga/ra*, *-ma*, and *-na*) are allomorphs of one another (note that *-ga* and *-ra* are allophonic; cf. section 2.7.1). These allomorphs are determined by the verb. At some point in the history of the language, word-final consonants were dropped and consonants became associated with the transitive/object markers (cf. section 2.7.3).

Table 19. Object Position

(-Object)	
Trn: (', f, g/r, m, n)+	<i>-a</i>
3s object: (', f, g/r, m, n)+	<i>-ia</i>
1s	<i>-au</i>
2s	<i>-io</i>
3s	<i>C-ia</i>
1dl	<i>-agua</i>
1dlx	<i>-haigua</i>
2dl	<i>-hamugua</i>
3dl	<i>-lagua</i>
1p	<i>-o'ou</i>
1px	<i>-hai'ou</i>
2p	<i>-hamu'ou</i>
3p	<i>-ro'ou</i>

Examples (52)-(57) show some of the various allomorphic variations for transitive markers and their associated object markers. Notice, for example, that the consonant of the transitive marker *ma* in example (52) is the same as the consonant of the object marker *-mia* in example (53). As mentioned previously, these consonants are word-specific and only show up when the verb is used in a transitive form; however, the markers *-na/nia* appear to be the default forms for borrowed words as in *forgivenia* (*cutnia*, etc.) and may be in the process of replacing their allomorphs.

(52)

hunu-**ma** fei melon
 drink-**trn** art melon

'Drink the melon.'

(53)

hunu-**mia**
 drink-**3s**

'Drink it.'

(54)

I-na-tafi-'**a** fei haihai
 3s-real-carve-**trn** art wood

'He carved the wood.'

(55)

I-na-tafi-'**ia**
 3s-real-carve-**3s**

'He carved it.'

(56)

I-na-simi-na fei meme
 3s-real-dispose-trn art trash

'She disposed of the trash.'

(57)

I-na-simi-nia
 3s-real-dispose-3s

'She disposed of it.'

4.6 The Post-Stem Direction Marker

The post-stem direction marker position can have one of the following direction markers: *-gio*, *-mai*, *-rai*, *-lao*, and *-wau*.

(Subject)-	(Pre-Stem)-	Verb Stem	-(Adverbial)	-(Object)	-(Direction)
------------	-------------	-----------	--------------	-----------	---------------------

Figure 20. Verb Morphology: Direction.

The markers *-mai* and *-wau* are similar to the pre-stem direction markers *mi-* and *wi-* respectively. Table 20 shows meanings of the post-stem markers. Parenthesis in the suffixes *m(a)i* and *-l(a)o* indicate that the vowel, *a*, is optionally unspoken (in rapid speech).

Table 20. Post-Stem Direction Markers

Direction Marker	Meaning
-gio	Toward speaker with origin in focus, includes coming down vertically, and coming out of the jungle.
-m(a)i	Toward speaker with destination in focus
-rai	Toward speaker with origin in focus
-l(a)o	Away from speaker with destination in focus
-wau	Away from speaker with origin in focus

Examples (58)-(62) demonstrate the use of post-verbal direction markers. The marker *wau-* of example (61) seems to correspond with the pre-stem marker *wi-* in that it is used in second person addressee.

(58)

bo'i-pedu-ga ei humu ei Onne, ro-na-we-'u'uni-gio ei Onne
lock-finish-trn the house the propn 3s-real-ev-come-dir the propn

'When they finished tying the homes of the Onne (people), they came out of the jungle.'

(59)

na-ma'a-lao Ma i-na-ware ba, ya o-ma'a-mai
real-look-dir and 3s-real-talk cmpz hey 2s-look-dir

'[He] looked away. And he (his friend) said, "Hey, you look this way."'

(60)

Lau-'a-no-lao, lagu ei baubara, lagu-na-re-funi-funi-ia Mau'u'u
3dl-irr-move-dir 3dl art boys 3dl-real-dir-rd-waken-3s propn

'When the two went—the two boys—the two went and woke Mau'u'u.'

(61)

Ena hamugua-na-no-wau, apuna ware-fa-ta-tata
 When 2dl-real-move-dir do not talk-cz-rd-wrong

'When you two go, do not speak erroneously.'

The Wuvulu language can utilize both pre-stem and post-stem direction markers in a single predication as in (62) (see also example (29) in section 4.2.5).

(62)

na-di i-fi-re-duga-rai
 real-go 3s-sim-dir-bring-dir

'[She] went and she was bringing her.'

4.7 Tense

Wuvulu verbs do not have tense affixes per se, but rather tense is indicated by mood and aspect affixes. Table 21 gives the combinations of mood and aspectual affixes which indicate tense information.

Table 21. Tense and the Verb

	Pre-verbal		Verb Stem	Post-verbal
	mood	aspect	Verb	Adverbial
Simple Past	realis	-	-	-
Past habitual	realis	<i>fane-</i>	-	-
Past durative	realis	-	reduplic	-
Past progressive	-	<i>fi-</i>	-	-
Past perfect	realis	<i>di-</i>	-	-
Past eventual (finally)	realis	<i>we-</i>	-	-
Present	-	-	-	-
Present durative	-	-	reduplic	-
Present progressive	-	<i>fi</i>	-	-
Immediate future	irrealis	-	-	-
Future	-	<i>we-</i>	-	-
Future durative	-	<i>we-</i>	reduplic	-
Future perfect	-	<i>we-</i>	-	<i>-di</i>

The inflectional forms of table 21 work together with temporal oblique words, phrases and clauses. Some Wuvulu time words are given in examples (63)-(65).

(63)

hefarani 'before', *nefarani* 'later', *ei* 'time (past)', *eni* 'now', *ena* 'time (future)'

(64)

atona 'Monday', *faiguaia* 'Tuesday', *fa'oduaia* 'Wednesday', *fa'obaoa* 'Thursday', *faipania* 'Friday', *a'apo* 'Saturday', *mama'igua* 'Sunday'

(65)

haipoilao 'two days before yesterday', *haipoi* 'day before yesterday', *minoa* 'yesterday', *wagiēni* 'today', *narani* 'tomorrow', *na'augu* 'day after tomorrow', *na'augulao* 'two days after tomorrow'

Examples of how verbal marking and time obliques work together are given in (66)-(74). The realis mood marker, *na*, commonly serves to indicate simple past tense as in the clause of example (66).

(66)

I-**na**-no-mai
3s-**real**-move-dir

'She came.'

The eventuality marker, *we*, commonly serves to indicate future tense as in the clause of example (67).

(67)

I-**we**-no-mai narani
 3s-**ev**-move-dir tomorrow

'She will come tomorrow.'

Example (68) shows that the *we*-marker (which typically functions to indicate future tense) has a semantic clash with the time lexeme *minoa* 'yesterday'.

(68)

*I-**we**-no-mai minoa
 3s-**ev**-move-dir yesterday

(69)

I-**na**-no-mai minoa
 3s-**real**-move-dir yesterday

'She came yesterday.'

(70)

I-**na-we**-no-mai minoa
 3s-**real-ev**-move-dir yesterday

'She finally came yesterday.'

(71)

Minoa i-**na**-ware ba i-**we**-no-mai **nefarani**
Yesteday 3s-**real**-talk cmpz 3s-**ev**-move-dir later

'Yesterday he said that he would come later.'

(72)

I-**fi**-no-mai
 3s-**prc**-move-dir

'He is coming.'

(73)

I-**fi**-no-mai **eni**
 3s-**prc**-move-dir **now**

'He is coming now.'

(74)

Ro-**we**-bigi-di-gia
 3p-**ev**-work-cplt-3s

'They will finish it.'

4.8 Chapter Summary

Verbal morphology is perhaps the most complex feature of the language. Verbs are composed of a stem which can be both prefixed and suffixed. The verb stem can consist of up to three verb roots. Verb stem roots can be reduplicated and they can take a causative marker.

Verb stem inflections can encode subject and object agreement, aspect, mood, adverbial information, direction, and transitivity. Verb tense information is conveyed by combinations of aspect and mood markings and works together with sentence level obliques to convey location in time.

CHAPTER 5
CONSTITUENT ORDER TYPOLOGY

5.0 Greenberg's Typology Predictions

For the Wuvulu language the typical ordering of the core clausal constituents Subject (S), Verb (V) and Object (O) is **SVO**. The ordering of these constituents is not completely rigid. For example, it is possible for Wuvulu to have **OVS** ordering for purposes of focus/topicality.

Greenberg predicts that the characteristic constituent ordering of grammatical relations within a language has implications for the ordering of constituents (1963). Table 22 summarizes most of Greenberg's predictions for VO languages and also indicates whether Wuvulu conforms to the given predictions.

Table 22. Greenberg's Universals

Parameter	Greenberg's Prediction	Wuvulu
main clauses	(S)VO	yes
adpositions	prepositions	yes
possessor and head noun	N-mk possessor	yes
relative clauses and head noun	N-RelCl	yes
comparatives	quality-marker-standard	yes
question words	sentence-initial	yes
question particles	sentence-initial	yes
affixes	prefixes	mixed/yes

The Wuvulu ordering of constituents as shown in table 22 are all correctly predicted by Greenberg. The only possible exception is the prediction of prefixes for affixation; however, verbs are more heavily prefixed than they are suffixed, so even the parameter for affixation seems to correctly predict the Wuvulu preference for prefixing over suffixing.

Most of the balance of this chapter is devoted to exemplifying the ordering of constituents in the Wuvulu language as they are listed in table 22.

5.1 Clauses and Constituent Ordering

This section discusses the constituent ordering of clauses and then looks at various clause types in the Wuvulu language.

Payne (1997:71), in writing on morphosyntax, describes the centrality of clauses:

For many years linguists have noticed that discourse tends to be expressed in **clauses**. The notion of a clause seems so intuitive, so central to our conception of language that it is almost incomprehensible to imagine a theory of a language that did not include it.

The general syntax of a Wuvulu clause is XSVOY, where X represents a temporal or locative constituent, and Y represents potential constituents of manner, location, beneficiary, or instrument. The constituents that could fill the X and Y positions in the clause periphery could be words, phrases, or clauses. The examples which follow show simple transitive clauses with oblique temporal phrases in the X and Y positions.

(1)

Time Oblique	Subject	Verb	Direct Object
Heai arewa	Barafi	na-bigi-'a	ei hanana.
one day	propn	real-work-trn	art food-3s

'One day Barafi prepared his food.'

(2)

Subject	Verb	Direct Object	Time Oblique
Mei hafelo-a	na-fo'a	mei haro-na	minoa.
the bad-nzr	real-hit	the spouse-3s	yesterday.

'The bad person hit his spouse yesterday.'

In a similar fashion, oblique *locative* phrases can occur clause-initially or clause-finally, as in (3) and (4).

(3)
 Location Oblique S-Verb-O
 yei fawelei gufu yei, i-na-ware-fana-u.
 dem adjacent there dem 3s-real-talk-give-1s
 'At that particular village she told me.'

(4)
 S-Verb-O Location Oblique
 i-na-ware-fana-u yei fawelei gufu yei,
 3s-real-talk-give-1s dem adjacent there dem
 'She told me at that particular village.'

Instrument obliques can be encoded with a noun phrase or a preposition phrase:

(5)
 Subject Verb Object Instrument Oblique
 Manite na-lafigi-na mei fei poa
 Manite real-cut-trn art art ax
 'Manite cut him with the ax.'

(6)
 Subject Verb Object Instrument Oblique
 Manite na-lafigi-na fei ponoto, a'a fei poa
 Manite real-cut-trn art dog prep art ax
 'Manite cut the dog with the ax.'

The SVO patterning is also demonstrated in the verbal morphology in that the subject marker comes before the verb root, and the object marker comes after the verb root.

Example (7) is a simple transitive clause which demonstrates SVO ordering in the subject and object markers of the verb.

(7)
 s-V-o
 i-na-tadu-ia
 3s-real-bite-3s
 'He bit it.'

If both the subject and the direct object are present as noun phrases in a clause, the agreement markers can be left off as it is in (8).

(8)
S **V** **O**
 fei paiwa na-tadu-'a fei hadu
 the shark real-bite-trn the barracuda
 'The shark bit the barracuda.'

The general meaning of the clause and the ordering of constituents could also be retained by replacing the subject noun phrase from (8) with a subject marker and leaving the object noun phrase as it is.

(9)
s-V **O**
 i-na-tadu-a fei hadu
 3s-real-bite-trn the barracuda
 'It bit the barracuda.'

The difference between the sentences in (8) and (9) could have to do with focus (*The shark bit the barracuda*), or new versus given information (in *It bit the barracuda* the subject is known).

In a similar fashion, the meaning and ordering remains essentially the same if the subject noun phrase is retained, but the object is cross-referenced with an agreement marker:

(10)
S **V-o**
 fei paiwa na-tadu-1a
 the shark real-bite-3s
 'The shark bit it.'

5.1.1 Constituent Order Variation

By way of review, the transitive clauses which were given in section 5.1 involved combinations of subject noun phrases, object noun phrases, and verbal agreement markers. In all cases SVO order was retained. Templates for the noun phrases and agreement-marker combinations of the simple clauses in the previous examples are given in (11).

(11) Subject NP	Verb & Markers	Object NP
∅	s-V-O	∅
NP[Su]	∅-V-O	∅
∅	s-V-∅	NP[DO]
NP[Su]	∅-V-∅	NP[DO]

The templates of (11) represent only the subset of clauses for which there is not both a subject noun phrase and a subject marker, nor are there any combinations where both the object noun phrase and the object marker appear.

For four entities (a pre-verbal noun phrase, a subject marker, an object marker, and a post-verbal noun phrase), each of which has two possibilities (present or not present) there are 16 possible combinations as shown in table 23.

Table 23. Variation in Word Order

Variation in Typology	Pre-verbal NP	Subject Marker	Object Marker	Post-Verbal NP
no	∅	∅	∅	∅
no	∅	∅	∅	X
no	∅	∅	X	∅
yes	∅	∅	X	X
no	∅	X	∅	∅
no	∅	X	∅	X
no	∅	X	X	∅
yes	∅	X	X	X
no	X	∅	∅	∅
no	X	∅	∅	X
no	X	∅	X	∅
yes	X	∅	X	X
no	X	X	∅	∅
no	X	X	∅	X
no	X	X	X	∅
yes	X	X	X	X

Table 23 reveals that for Wuvulu transitive verbs, when *both* a verbal object marker *and* a post-verbal noun phrase are present, there is a variation in word order. Examples of these four combinations are given in examples (12)-(15).

(12)

V-o	Subject
na-tadu-ia	fei paiwa
3s-real-bite-3s	the shark

'The shark bit it.'

(13)

s-Verb-o	Subject
ro-na-nunumi-nia	ei ha'u
3p-real-bite-3s	the yellowfin tuna

'The tuna want it.'

(14)

Object	Verb-o	Subject
fei ponoto	na-fo'a-ia	ei badu
the dog	real-hit-3s	the children

'The children hit the dog.'

(15)

Object	s-Verb-o	Subject
fei paiwa	ro-na-tadu-ia	ei ra'o
the shark	3p-na-bite-3s	the killerwhales

'The killerwhales bit the shark.'

In (12)-(15) it should be noted that the order of the verb agreement markers has not changed, but only the positions of the noun phrases that they cross-reference.

Clauses in which there is not a pre-verbal noun phrase and the subject noun phrase follows the verb (e.g., (13)) often seem to be added as an afterthought of speaker.

5.1.2 Negation of Clauses/Constituents

Negation is included at this point because it seems appropriate to discuss negation in

the context of a discussion on clauses (two inflectional forms of negation are discussed in section 4.2.2). Payne's (1997:282) classification of negative strategies includes two broad categories:

The most common negative strategies in any language are those used to negate an entire proposition. These we will describe as **clausal negation**, e.g., *I didn't do it*. Other types of negation are associated with particular constituents of clauses, e.g., *I have no bananas*. This will be referred to as **constituent negation**.

The Wuvulu strategy for clausal negation is straightforward. For clausal negation the word *lomi* comes before the clause that is being negated as in (16).

(16)
Lomi lagu-na-bigi-bigi suta.
 neg 3dl-real-rd-work taro garden.

'The two were not working the taro garden.'

This same syntax is used in both clauses of a conditional expression as in (17) (cf. section 6.2.2.4).

(17)
 Ma naba **lomi** lagu-na-fi-siba-i lagu ei fi-tafi,
 and if neg 3dl-real-rcpr-anger-hrm 3dl art rcpr-sister

lomi i-ma-mara fei Haua
 neg 3s-rd-dry the Aua

And if the two hadn't been cross with each other, the two sisters, Aua wouldn't have been created.

The negative word *lomi* can also function as a constituent negator as in (18). In this case the NP *hemea rama'a* 'one person' is being negated.

(18)

lomi hemea rama'a i-tau tama wa-u
 neg one person 3s-tie outrigger canoe-1s

'Not one person will tie up to the outrigger of my canoe.'

The word *aba* is used to negate a verbless stative clause as in (19).

(19)

aba [nene-a hemea rama'a] ua [ana mena tafi-mu]
 neg scratch-nzr one person but actually that sister-2s

'It's not (the)scratch of someone else, but actually your sister.'

A clause with *aba* will frequently be followed by a verbless clause which positively contrasts with the *aba*-clause. In these cases, the conjunction *ua* comes before the positive verbless clause as in (19) and (20).

(20)

agu-a-di-poni aba tafi-u meni ua hani'u
 1dl-irr-adv-run neg sister-1s this but demon

'Let's leave. This isn't my sister, but (a) devil.'

Before leaving the topic of negation, it should be noted that that word *lo'e* appears to be in free variation with *lomi*. Wuvulu speakers vehemently feel this to be the case and the data doesn't reveal any reason to doubt them; however this warrants further research in order to verify whether it is true.

In examples (23) and (24) the attributes *harara* 'black' and *ida'ida* 'spotted' act as verbs which are inflected by the realis marker *na-* and which have *hudi unu* 'skin of my body' as subject.

5.1.5 Imperative Clauses

Imperative clauses lack reference to a subject and do not have any pre-stem verbal morphology. A prohibition is constructed by including the lexeme *apuna* 'do not' before an imperative clause.

(25)
 to-na-mai fei wa-u
 get-trn-dir art canoe-1s
 'Bring my canoe!'

(26)
 apuna ware-ware
 prohib rd-talk
 'Don't chatter!'

5.1.6 Intransitive Clauses

The primary morphological characteristic of a Wuvulu intransitive clause is that the verb does not take a transitive marker *and* it is not marked with an object marker. The verb *guta* 'sit' in example (27) meets both of these conditions.

(27)
 na-guta-falolo'a'i yau
 real-sit-sorry I
 'I remained sorry.'

5.1.7 Transitive Clauses

The syntax of the transitive clause of (28) follows the typical SVO typology. The verb has a transitive marker, and the direct object is present in the sentence. Alternatively, there could have been an object agreement marker and an optional NP. These are the hallmarks of a standard Wuvulu transitive clause.

(28)

heai arewa Barafi i-na-bigi-'a ei hana-na
 one day propn 3s-real-work-trn art food-3s

'One day Barafi prepared his food.'

5.1.8 Ditransitive Clauses

The examples of this section show that with the ditransitive verb *fani* 'give' the indirect object can be "promoted" such that the object marker position (which typically agrees in person and number with the *direct* object of a transitive verb) actually agrees with the indirect object of the verb. The common cases are reviewed before getting to this.

One of the Wuvulu strategies for indicating an indirect object (IO) is to put it in a prepositional phrase using the preposition *a'a* 'to/with'. The syntax of (29) has the verb *fani* 'give' first, followed by the direct object *hupu* 'coconut' encoded with a noun phrase, which is then followed by a prepositional phrase *a'a na'una* 'to her child'. This is a common way of encoding the objects of ditransitive verbs such as *give* and *send*.

(29)

I-na-fani hupu a'a na'u-na
 3s-real-give coconut to child-3s

She gave the coconut to her child.

As previously mentioned, the object marker usually agrees with the direct object of the clause. Example (30) shows a typical transitive verb whose object marker *-nia* in *inatosimi-nia* 'he threw it' agrees (in number and person) with *fei mugo* 'the stone'.

(30)

si'ei Pudeafo i-na-poro-'a fei mugo
therefore propn 3s-real-carry-3s the stone

ma i-na-to-simi-nia pafo pe'i fei agi'agi ei suta
and 3s-real-throw-dispose-3s on bank the ditch the swamp

'Therefore, Pudeafo carried the stone and threw it onto the bank of the taro swamps.'

An example of a variation in grammatical form is (31). In this case the object marker agrees with the indirect object. The direct object is known and does not need to be specified in the clause.

(31)

S V-io
Ia do'o-fana-mi-au, ua yau do'o-hunuma
he seq-give-dir-1s, because I seq-drink

'He should first give me [the drink], because I drink first . . . '

5.1.9 Questions

Questions are constructed like statements, but have intonation patterns which are different than intonation patterns of statements. A statement usually has a flat intonation pattern, but the intonation pattern of a question tends to rise as the phrase is spoken, and then drop on the (penultimate) stress of the final word.

5.1.9.1 Content Questions

A content question usually begin with an interrogative word. Examples of content questions are presented in (33)-(35). In each of the examples, the question word comes at the beginning of the sentence (cf. section 5.6).

(32)

i-no-lao mei alo-alo, na-i'igi-ia ba ma **amaia** Bara
3s-go-dir the messenger real-ask-3s cmpz and **where** Barafi

'When the messenger went [he] asked him, "Where is Bara?" . . . '

(33)

i-no-lao mei alo-alo, na-i'igi-ia ba ma **amaia** Bara
3s-go-dir the messenger real-ask-3s cmpz and **where** Barafi

'When the messenger went [he] asked him, "Where is Bara?" . . . '

(34)

amatani Barafi i-na-pa'i faufau-na ma
why propn 3s-real-have power-3s cj

i-po'o-dugi-di-na ei rama'a
3s-ints-gather-go-trn art person

'Why [is it] Barafi has power and yet goes to gather the people?'

(35)

ma **figa** ei ware-a-u ba hamu'o-nei-po'o-no-guta
cj **how many** art word-nzr-1s cmpz 2p-must-ints-go-stay

'And how many of my speeches [have I given saying] that you must really go and stay?'

An inventory of Wuvulu interrogative words is given in table 24.

Table 24. Interrogatives

Wuvulu pronoun	English equivalent
<i>batanai</i>	How?
<i>figa</i>	How many?
<i>tamanu</i>	What?
<i>haiga</i>	When? (past)
<i>nahaiga</i>	(future)
<i>amaia</i>	Where? (animate)
<i>itani</i>	(inanimate)
<i>hini</i>	Who?
<i>(ama)tani</i>	Why?

5.1.9.2 Tag Questions

The Wuvulu language has a tag question which consists of a phrase which looks like a statement followed by a tag particle, *na* 'okay'. The intonation of a tag question is like the intonation of a statement (flat), with the exception that the tag particle *na* is spoken with rising intonation. The tag question is rhetorical and always has a positive orientation. It is equivalent to the English: *I'm going to the store, okay?* Examples of tag questions with the particle *na* are given in (36) and (37).

(36)

te o-na-guta **na**
 cj 2s-real-sit **tag**

'So you stay, okay?'

(37)

ma o-nei-mina-'u-tau-fa-we'i na
 and 2s-must-really-stand-hold-cz-strong tag

'And you must hang on tightly, okay?'

5.1.9.3 Yes/no Questions

One of the ways in which yes/no questions are asked is with a statement-like predication followed by *o lo'e* 'or not' as in example (38). The word *lomi* can be substituted for *lo'e* in (38) with no variation in meaning. The answer to a yes/no question is either *hi'i* 'yes' or *lo'e* 'no'. The word *lomi* 'no' can be spoken in free variation with *lo'e* 'no' as an answer to a yes/no question.

(38)

Hamu-na-rawani o lo'e
 2dl-real-good or neg

'Are you two alright, or not?.'

The answer to the question of (38) can either be 'yes (we are alright)' or 'no (we are not alright)'.

Another way that a yes/no question can be asked in Wuvulu is with a statement-like predication which is spoken with the appropriate intonation (cf. section 5.1.9) as in example (39).

(39)

i-na-pa'i wao
 3s-real-have fishing line

'[Does] he have fishing line?'

If the sentence of example (39) were spoken with a flat intonation pattern, it would mean 'he has fishing line'.

5.1.9.4 Confirmation Questions

The words *ana* 'Really?' and *fa'ua* 'Truly?' are stand-alone question particles which are used as confirmation questions. An example using *ana* is given in the dialogue of (40). The word *fa'ua* 'truly' could be used in place of *ana*.

(40)

I-nei-fo'a Hone
3s-must-kill propn

'He must kill Hone.'

ana
really

'Really?'

5.2 Prepositional Phrase Ordering

The generalized phrase structure rule for prepositional phrases is given in (41). A prepositional phrase can have an optional location marker (loc mk), *i-*, a preposition, and either a noun phrase or third person singular agreement marker. This conforms to the prediction that an SVO language has prepositions followed by noun phrase objects.

(41)

$$PP \rightarrow (\text{loc mk}) P \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NP} \\ -na \end{Bmatrix}$$

The sentence in (42) shows the location marker *i*, the preposition, *a'a* 'with', and the noun phrase *meni Ninitapudi* 'this person Ninitapudi' which serves as the object of the preposition.

(42)

I-di na-to-na mei badu i a'a meni Ninitapudi
3s-go real-get-trn the child loc with dem propn

ma i-na-moro-'a fei wawa puge-na
and 3s-real-sever-trn the cord navel-3s

'She went and got the child (who was) there with Ninitapudi and she cut it's umbilical cord.

In (43) the preposition has as its object the third person singular marker, *a'a-na* 'with her'.

(43)

ma idi mei pifine namo na-ware a'a-na ba fufu-'ia
and 3s-go the woman reef real-talk with-3s cmpz lift-3s

ei lepo-mu
art-net-2s

'And the woman of the reef went (and) said to her, "Lift it-your nets."' '

Table 25 presents the Wuvulu prepositions and their meanings.

Table 25. Wuvulu Prepositions

Preposition	Meaning
<i>a'a</i>	with, for, to
<i>aho</i>	under
<i>ano</i>	outside of
<i>dupua</i>	around (perimeter)
<i>lalo</i>	inside
<i>ma'a</i>	in front of
<i>memewa</i>	among
<i>mugi</i>	behind
<i>pafo</i>	on
<i>papa</i>	beside
<i>peto</i>	beyond, behind
<i>taba</i>	on
<i>watola</i>	between

Several additional examples of Wuvulu prepositions are given in (44)-(47). The prepositional phrases are virtually all serving as location obliques in the clauses of the examples.

(44)

hamo-nei-mina-guta **pafo** feni wa
 2p-must-adv-sit **on** this canoe

'You [people] must sit on this canoe.'

(45)

si'ei ro-po'o-we-roa-roa-diai tala i **peto** fei humu
 therefore su-ints-ev-rd-cut-again road loc **behind** the house

'Therefore they will again get in the habit of cutting doors in the back of the house.'

(46)

te fei gigei fei humu
so the door the house

ro-na-po'o-gi-lawagi-na ei tawa i ano
3p-real-ints-dir-block-trn the table loc outside

'So they really blocked door of the house with the wooden tables outside.'

(47)

Ma o-nei-'au-gia pafu fei tawa lepo-mu ei lepo-mu
And 2s-must-put-3s on the table net-2s the net-2s

'And you must put your nets on the net floater of yours.'

5.3 Head Noun/Possessor Ordering

The topic of possession is covered in section on possession; however, examples are given in the current section in order to demonstrate the constituent ordering of head nouns and their possessors.

In (48) the head noun *hapara* 'fishing pole' is followed by the possessor, *Manite*. In (49) the head noun *usu* 'joint' is suffixed by the third person singular possessor agreement marker *-na*. Although (48) is an example of an NP possessor, and (49) is an example of an agreement marker possessor, the ordering of constituents in both examples conforms to the prediction that Wuvulu should have head nouns followed by their possessors.

(48)

hapara Manite
fishing pole propn

'Manite's fishing pole'

(49)
 usu-na
 joint-3s
 'his joint'

5.4 Noun and Relative Clause Ordering

Relative clauses are discussed more fully in section 6.2.4. Example (50) shows that the head noun *fena pono* 'that dog' is followed by the relative clause *fena itadu'a mei na'u* 'that one that bit my child'. This conforms to Greenberg's prediction for relative clause ordering.

(50)
 Fena pono fena i-tadu-'a mei na'u-u, yau na-fo'a-ia
 that dog that 3s-bite-trn the child-1s I real-hit-3s
 'That dog that bit my child—I hit it.'

5.5 Comparative Ordering

According to Payne (1997:89), the crucial elements of a comparative construction are:

- (1) the known **standard** against which the subject of the clause is compared;
- (2) the **marker** that signals that the clause is a comparative construction; and
- (3) the **quality** by which the subject is compared with the standard.

For the comparative structure in (51), the **standard** of comparison is the proper noun *MV Tawi*, the **marker** is the preposition *a'a*, and the **quality** is the adjectival constituent *pusu'oroi* 'small'.

(51)

	Quality	Marker	Standard
fei wa	i-pusu'oro-i	a'a	MV Tawi
the boat	3s-small-adjz	prep	propn

'The boat which is smaller than the MV Tawi . . . '

The Greenberg prediction for the ordering of comparative constituents of an SVO calls for quality, marker, and standard. The prediction is accurate for Wuvulu comparatives.

5.6 Question Word Ordering

Question words come clause initial as is predicted by Greenberg; however, tag words in tag questions come phrase-final (cf. section 5.1.9).

(1)

Nahaiga a-hadiwe'ai na Fufudu?
when irr-return to Wuvulu

'When will I return to Wuvulu?'

(2)

Tani o-mina-'ai?
why 2s-adv-cry

'Why are you crying?'

5.7 Affix Ordering

Although there are both prefixes and suffixes in the language, the heavy prefixing of verbs indicates that the language favors prefixes overall. Affix order also conforms to Greenberg's prediction for affixes of an SVO language.

5.8 Chapter Summary

Wuvulu is an SVO language for which most of Greenberg's constituent order predictions hold. Oblique time/location/manner information is either sentence-initial or sentence-final and can be encoded with words, phrases, or clauses.

Although the typical ordering of core constituents is SVO, Wuvulu clauses can also be (O)VS for focus/topicalization reasons.

CHAPTER 6

CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the following types of Wuvulu clause combinations: coordination, subordination, and serialized verbs.

6.1 Coordination

There is a small closed set of coordinating conjunctions which are used to join clauses. The functional scope of some of the conjunctions varies depending upon the context in which they are used. Table 26 lists the coordinating conjunctions and indicates the scope of their functions.

Table 26. Coordinating Conjunctions

Conjunction	Function	Scope	Meaning
<i>ma</i>	addition	NP, clause, S, ¶	'and'
<i>o</i>	alternative, paraphrase	NP, clause, S	'or'
<i>ma'ua</i>	contrast	clause, S	'nevertheless', 'but'
<i>te</i>	apodosis,	clause	satisfies condition 'then', 'so'

Although the main focus of this section is the conjunction of clauses, examples of noun phrase conjunction are given for *ma* 'and' and *o* 'or' since NP conjunction is not discussed in previous sections.

6.1.1 Addition

The conjunction *ma* 'and' can be used in an additive sense to conjoin noun phrases. Example (3) shows the conjunction of two proper nouns.

(3)

Hara lagua Awa'awa **ma** Roiyo
 name 3dl propn and propn

'The names of the two [are] Awa'awa ma Roiyo.'

In addition to its function as an NP conjunction, *ma* 'and' is regularly used to join two or more clauses. In example (4) *ma* is used both as an NP conjunction, and as a clausal conjunction.

(4)

Ro-'a-ma-ma'a-mai ei Auna **ma** ro-'a-fanunu
 3p-irr-rd-see-dir the propn and 3p-irr-examine

na-worosi ei tawa ro'ou **ma** ei lea ro'ou
 real-destroy the table 3p and the shed 3p

'When the Auna looked and examined, [they saw that] the tables and sheds were destroyed.'

6.1.2 Alternation

The Wuvulu conjunction *o* 'or' can be used to coordinate alternatives. It can be used with either noun phrases or clauses. In (5) the noun phrases *tawai* 'betelnut', *niu* 'coconut', and *tamanu ena manumanu* 'whatever things' are conjoined with *o* 'or'. The coordinated NPs are all objects of the verb *fane* 'climb'.

(5)

Yoi na'a pa'i-o o-na-fane-a ena tawai o niu
 you if have-2s 2s-real-climb-trn those betelneut or coconut

o tamanu ena manu-manu na'a pa'i-o yoi mena badu mena
 or whatever those rd-thing if have-2s you that child that

a-mina-fani-ma'a-io
 irr-adv-give-see-2s

'You, if I catch you climbing those betelnut trees, or coconut trees, or whatever, if (I) catch you, child, I'll really punish you.'

Example (6) demonstrates how *o* 'or' functions to coordinate two equal (non-subordinate) clauses. The second clause is a paraphrase of the first.

(6)

Lagu-na-mina-'ude-fipui o na-'ude-'u'ugai fei?
 3dl-real-adv-stay-together or real-stay-separate the

'Are the two the same, or is the [one] different?'

6.1.3 Contrast

Example (7) uses the conjunction *ma'ua* 'but' to coordinate the two contrastive clauses *nafunu* 'I'm sick' and *yau hufamu* 'I'm your umbrella'. The word 'umbrella' is being used metaphorically as "bodyguard."

(7)

Na-funu ma'ua yau hufa-mu
 real-sick but I umbrella-2s

'I'm sick, but I'm your umbrella [of protection].'

Additional examples of the contrastive function of *ma'ua* are given in (8) and (9).

(8)

ro-na-we-bagua ma'ua hamu'ou-na-fau-fau o-a-re-bigi
 3p-real-ev-go.to.village but 2p-real-rd-power 2p-irr-dir-work

' . . . they will finally return to the village, but you who are strong will go work.'

(9)

hai'o-na-ma'igu ma'ua yau lomi na-ma'igu
 1px-real-sleep but pron neg real-sleep

'We went to sleep, but I did not sleep.'

6.2 Subordination

A common form of subordination in the Wuvulu language involves the juxtaposition of clauses. In this type of subordination, the first clause is the dependent clause and is usually marked with the irrealis mood marker *'a*; the second clause is the independent clause and is marked with the realis mood marker *na-*. This type of construction is often used with temporal subordination as in example (10).

(10)

Ro-'a-no-rai ro-na-re-to-nia
 3p-irr-move-dir 3p-real-dir-get-3s

'When they came, they went and got him.'

The structure in (11) is legal; however, it is incomplete. In order to complete it, a clause with a verb marked for realis mood would have to follow both clauses.

(11)

Ro-'a-no-rai ro-'a-mi-to-nia
 3p-irr-move-dir 3p-irr-dir-get-3s

'When they came, when they came to get him . . . '

The clauses in (12) are two independent clauses.

(12)
 Ro-na-no-rai ro-na-re-to-nia
 3p-real-move-dir 3p-real-dir-get-3s
 'They came. They went and got him.'

In (13) the first clause is understood to be independent and is considered a sentence. The second clause would be subordinate to some other following clause.

(13)
 Ro-na-no-rai ro-'a-re-to-nia
 3p-real-move-dir 3p-irr-dir-get-3s
 'They came. When they went and got him . . . '

One topic which definitely deserves additional study is the syntax of sentences with various combinations of mood and aspect markers. The most prevalent form is the one in example (10); however there are a number of other possible forms which may occur.

Sentence (14) has an initial dependent clause which is unmarked with respect to mood *inogio* 'she came' followed by clauses which are marked with *fi-* for simultaneity. The first occurrence of *fi-* is in a dependent clause. The second occurrence is in an independent clause. The free translation follows the example.

(14)

ma i-no-gio ana i-fi-no-gio ma ana hawa upu-na-re
 and 3s-move-dir also 3s-sim-move-dir and also time descend-trn-dir

Ha'o fi-'upu-na-re piye ba i-gufi agi
 propn sim-descend-trn-dir beach to 3s-fetch water

'And when she came, while she was coming, at that moment Ha'o was going down to the beach in order to fetch water.'

6.2.1 Adverbial Subordination

For adverbial subordination the Wuvulu language also has the subordinating conjunctions *ua* 'because', and *amate* 'since', and can use the particle *ba* to introduce a manner clause. Examples are given in sections 6.2.1.1-6.2.1.3.

6.2.1.1 Reason Clauses

The conjunction *ua* 'because' comes between two clauses and indicates that the second clause is the reason for the situation presented in the first clauses.

(15)

Lo'e ofanunupa'ia ua i-na-hugua
 neg 1pi-look-have-3s because 3s-real-grass

'We can't see it because it's overgrown.'

(16)

Talai-lao taba fei wadi ua ei maroa-na
 walk-dir top the driftwood because the partner-3s

ro-na-no-to-na fei wa ro'ou
 3p-real-move-get-trn the canoe their

'[He]walked about on the driftwood because his crew members took their canoe.'

The conjunction *amate* ‘since/because’ is not well understood, but it seems to frequently show up after an interjection or when a person who is speaking gives the reason for something which is not stated in the immediate context of the discourse, but is understood by the speaker and listener. In (17) the interjection *Ooa* is supposed to convey the sense that Baude is not to worry (according to a language helper). *Ooa* is immediately followed by the conjunction *amate* and the reason that Baude does not need to worry.

(17)

Ooa Baude **amate** yau hufa-mu
cj propn **since** 1s umbrella-2s

‘Ooa (don't worry), Baude, since I'm your umbrella (of protection).’

6.2.1.2 Purpose Clauses

The particle *ba* can be used to conjoin a purpose clause to a main clause as in example (18):

(18)

i-di na fe-feroi **ba** i-to apa'a-na.
3s-go to rd-teach **cmpz** 3s-get knowledge-3s

‘She goes to school to gain knowledge.’

6.2.1.3 Manner Clauses

An adverbial clause functions as an adverbial element within another clause. This section presents some of the ways in which the Wuvulu language encodes adverbial information in clauses and looks at the syntactic distribution of adverbial/subordinate clauses.

In example (19) the complementizer *ba* comes before an adverbial manner clause. The clause which follows *ba* is not being classified as a complement clause because it is not a core grammatical argument (i.e., a subject or an object).

(19)

Apuna panaro-fa fei hapara ale'ei ba i-panaro-fa fei fasu-na
Do not hold-trn the pole deic-dem **cmpz** 3s-hold-trn the base-3s

ma memewa fei hapara lo'e i-rafu-pa'i-a
and middle the pole neg 3s-yank-have-3s

'Don't hold the pole like this—so that he holds the end of it and the middle of the pole—he can't pull it.'

6.2.2 Conditions

Conditions are introduced with either the *na'a* or *naba*; both are glossed as 'if'. Sections 6.2.2.1-6.2.2.4 discuss four different types of conditions: simple, potential, contrafactual, and negative.

6.2.2.1 Simple Conditions

The conjunctions *na'a* and *naba* are both glossed as 'if' and seem to be interchangeable. Language helpers say that the forms can be interchanged with no change in meaning. Further research is required to determine whether there is any semantic difference in the two forms.

(20)

Ma na'a o-a-tafi-'a fei pafo-na ma i-wa-wadi
 and if 1pi-irr-carve-trn the top-3s and 3s-rd-crooked

ana i-wawadi fei puguna
 also 3s-rd-crooked the keel-3s

'And if we carve its top and its crooked, its keel will also be crooked.'

The conjunction *te* 'then' works together with *na'a/naba* 'if' like the "then" in an English if/then construction.

(21)

ma na'a hamu'o-no-hadiwe'i-mai te a-po'o-fani-na pani
 and if 2p-move-return-dir then irr-ints-give-trn hand

ro'odu ba ro-nei-po'o-fo'a-ia hamu'odu
 3p cmpz 3p-must-ints-hit-3s 2p

'And if you return, then I will definitely authorize them so that they must definitely kill you.'

The conjunction *te* often comes between a dependent condition clause and an independent clause and can be glossed as 'all right' or 'then', or it can conjoin two clauses when the second clause seems to chronologically follow as in example (22).

(22)

O-'a-fa-guta-na fei hudu-na te ro-na-we-fanunu-'a ei
 1pi-irr-cz-sit-trn the prow-3s then 3p-real-ev-look-trn these

papa fei wa
 side the canoe

'When we place its prow-base, then they will finally look at the sides of the canoe.'

6.2.2.2 Conditions of Potential

Examples (23) and (24) illustrate that *na'a* 'if' can be used in combination with modal clauses to express conditions of potential. Data are not available to show what other possibilities there are for shades of meaning as the mood and aspect markers of the "if" clause are varied. This is an area that could benefit from further research.

(23)

Na'a o-na-bigi-fa-we'i, o-to pono'a-mu.
if 2s-real-work-cz-strong 2s-get pay-2s

'If you work hard you will get your pay.'

(24)

Na'a o-'a-bigi-fa-we'i, o-to pono'a-mu.
if 2s-irr-work-cz-strong 2s-get pay-2s

'If you want to work hard you'll get your pay.'

6.2.2.3 Conditions of Contrafactuality

In order to encode contrafactual relations, the conditional conjunction *naba* 'if' (or *na'a*) is used in the dependent protasis clause (i.e., the "if" clause) and the verb of the "if" clause is marked with the realis mood marker *na-*.

(25)

Naba o-na-bigi-fa-we'i, ale-'ei o-na-to pono'a-mu
if 2s-real-work-cz-strong deic-dem 2s-real-get pay-2s

'If you had worked hard, you would have gotten your pay.'

Note that in (25) the verb of the "if" clause (*bigi* 'work') is marked with the realis marker *na-*, even though it is a conditional clause. This seems to make sense: "If you had

(certainly) done X, then” Also, note that the consequence clause *onato* ‘you would have gotten’ in (25) is marked with the realis marker.

Additional research on contrafactual conditions should include testing different combinations of mood markers in the dependent and independent clauses.

6.2.2.4 Negative Conditions

Three common ways of using negative conditions Wuvulu are: (1) negation of the protasis (e.g., If condition X is not met, Y occurs), (2) negation of the apodosis (e.g., If condition X is met, Y does not occur), or (3) negation of both (e.g., If condition X is not met, Y does not occur). Examples of each of these three forms are presented in order in examples (26)–(28).

(26)

na'a lomi o-fani-ma'a-io ena bigi'a-mu, o tamanu manu-manu
if neg 2s-give-see-2s those work-2s or whatever rd-thing

o-na-pa'i, ro-panaro-fio
2s-real-have 3p-hold-2s

‘If you don’t watch yourself, your work, or whatever you do, they are going to catch you.’

(27)

Ma na'a o-mina-nenegi-ma'a-ia eni wara-u
and if 2s-really-follow'see-3s these word-1s

aa lo'e i-to-nio o panaro-fio
ij neg 3s-get-2s or hold-2s

‘And if you really follow these words of mine, uh, it won’t get you or catch you.’

(28)

Ma naba lomi lagu-na-fi-siba-i lagu ei fi-tafi
 and if neg 3dl-real-rcpr-anger-hrm two the rcpr-sister-hrm

lomi i-ma-mara fei Haua
 neg 3s-rd-dry the propn

'And if the two hadn't been cross-the two sisters, Haua wouldn't have been created.'

6.2.3 Complement Clauses

In this section "complement clause" refers to a clause which serves as an argument or major constituent of another clause (Crystal 1997:75).

The complementizer particle in Wuvulu is *ba*. It is used to conjoin an embedded object clause to another predication. Wuvulu object complements are used with verbs of ability, cognition, direct/indirect speech, and emotional states.

Sections 6.2.3.1-6.2.3.4 simply consist of examples which show that the complementizer word *ba* is used before a phrase which serves as the object of the verb.

6.2.3.1 Complement of Ability

(29)

yau a-hawia ba a-guta ni'e-ni'e naba i-no-gio
 I irr-able cmpz irr-sit rd-happy if 3s-move-dir

'I'll be able to be happy if he returns.'

6.2.3.2 Complement of Cognition

(30)

i-na-aida ba Lagu na-di na humu alo'alo
 3s-real-know cmpz propn real-go to house rd-send

'He knows that Lagu went to [the] store.'

6.2.3.3 Complement of Fear

(31)

Na-ma'au yau ba hemea rama'a hafelo i-panaro-fa mei haro-u
 real-fear I cmpz a person bad 3s-hold-trn the spouse-1s

'I'm afraid that an evil person will abduct my wife.'

6.2.3.4 Complement of Speech

(32)

i-na-ware ba Lagu na-di na humu alo'alo
 3s-real-said cmpz propn real-go to house rd-send

'He said that Lagu went to [the] store.'

(33)

I-no-gio Piapidu i-na-ware ba haa amate hanunu-u fei
 3s-go-dir propn 3s-real-talk cmpz ij since reflection-1s the

ma fei hanunu hini
 and the reflection who

'When Piapidu came, he said, "Ha! Since that's my reflection,
 whose reflection is that?!"'

6.2.4 Relative Clauses

According to Keenan and Comrie (1977:67), a language's strategy for forming a relative clause must apply to a continuous segment of the universal NP accessibility hierarchy. The hierarchy is given in (34) and implies that if a language relativizes NPs for indirect object, then it would also relativize on direct object and subject. In other words, it relativizes on everything to the left in the hierarchy.

(34)

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison.

Lynch, Ross and Crowley state that Oceanic languages typically allow relativization on NPs far to the right in this universal accessibility hierarchy (1996:48).

Wuvulu allows relativization across the entire hierarchy as demonstrated in examples (35)-(40). The Wuvulu relativization strategy is to restate the article in place of the NP which is being relativized.

It should be noted that the hierarchy is properly analyzed by focusing on the subject (direct object, etc.) *within the relative clause* and not the main clause.

Relativization on Subject:

(35)

mei pifine [mei i-na-mare-mare] na-pasi
the woman [the 3s-real-rd-cough] real-fall

'The woman who was coughing fell.'

Relativization on Direct Object

(36)

fei ponoto [fei i-fo'a-ia mei badu] yau na-nafa-ia
the dog [the 3s-hit-3s the child] I real-shot-3s

'I shot the dog that the child hit.'

Relativization on Indirect Object

(37)

Mei rama'a [mei John na-fani nia a'a-na] na-pasi
the person [the john real-give fish to-3s] real-fall

'The person to whom John gave the fish fell.'

Relativization on Oblique

(38)

i-na-ma-mara fei tawa [fei i-di na John]
 3s-real-rd-dry the table [the 3s-go to John]

'The table that John went to is dry.'

Relativization on Genitive

(39)

mei rama'a [mei humu-na na-gu'a] na-lalai
 the person [the house-3s real-burn] real-marry

'The person whose house burned got married.'

Relativization on Object of Comparison

(40)

fei wa [fei i-pusu'oro-i a'a MV Tawi] na-pa'i si'ara pafo-na
 the canoe [the 3s-small-adjz prep propn] real-have rice on-3s

'The ship which is smaller than the MV Tawi has rice on it.'

6.3 Serial Verbs

Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (n.d.:49) characterize verb serialization among Oceanic languages in the following fashion:

These are more easily recognizable in languages that have inflectional suffixes and prefixes, as the initial verb in a serial verb construction is the one which typically carries the prefixed markers, while the final verb is the one which typically carries the suffixed markers.

Wuvulu verb serializations are common in spoken discourse and are used to mark a progressive action over a span of time. Serialization frequently occurs with verbs of motion which are repeated several times as in example (41).

(41)

Ma i-no-mai no-mai no-mai mina ale'ei fi-mina-fo'a-ia
 and 3s-move-dir move-dir move-dir all deic-dem sim-adv-kill-3s

'And he came, came, came, all like this, killing them.'

Although the final verb of a series usually carries the suffixes in Oceanic languages, non-final serial verbs in Wuvulu can be suffixed as is the case with the direction marker *-mai* 'come' on the verbs of (41). The initial verb of a series always seems to be the one to carry the prefixes

The final verb of a series can consist of a compound verb as in (42).

(42)

Fi-no-lao no-lao no-lao na-no-pa'a-lo fei male hafi
 sim-move-dir move-dir move-dir real-move-touch-dir the sign fire

'[He] was going, going, going, going up to [where] the sign of the fire [was].

The sentence of (43) is constructed of a serialized transitive verb. The initial verb is carrying the prefixes and each verb in the series has an object suffix.

(43)

Ma lagua-mina-fagu-ia fagu-ia fagu-ia fagu-ia
 and 3dl-adv-feed-3s feed-3s feed-3s feed-3s

And the two fed it, fed it, fed it, fed it.

6.4 Chapter Summary

The Wuvulu language can combine clauses in a variety of ways to construct complex sentences. Clause juxtaposition works together with verbal mood inflection as one of the

primary strategies used to encode subordination. Conjunctions are used to join clauses for a variety of functions including addition, alternation, cause/reason, and condition.

A complementizer can be used to mark the object complement of a matrix sentence. It is not yet clear whether subject complements are possible.

Serial verb constructions are used in discourse to describe a continuous or repeated action which spans a relatively long period of time. The first verb of the serialization usually is inflected with prefix information and the final predication of the series may be a verb compound.

The Wuvulu language is able to relativize on every position of Comrie and Keenan's universal hierarchy of accessibility for relative clauses.

CHAPTER 7

WUVULU DISCOURSE

7.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter has two main sections: (1) a discourse analysis of a Wuvulu narrative text, and (2) an analysis of topic continuity in Wuvulu hortatory and narrative texts.

The section on discourse analysis is based upon a traditional Wuvulu story about two brothers, *Barafi and Pudeafo* (appendix A). The text was chosen for its compactness and because it shows some of the common grammatical devices used at the discourse level in all Wuvulu narrative material.

The section on topic continuity is statistically oriented and analyzes two hortatory texts and two narrative texts. One of the two narrative texts of the study is the *Barafi and Pudeafo* story (appendix A); one of the hortatory texts of the study is in appendix B.

7.1 Analysis of a Wuvulu Text

Sections 7.1.1-7.1.7 will focus upon some of the salient features of a Wuvulu narrative text entitled *Barafi and Pudeafo*.

7.1.1 Barafi and Pudeafo as Narrative Story

The story of Barafi and Pudeafo was told to me by a man named Nunu who is approximately 65 years old. The story was recorded onto an audio cassette, and was then transcribed, interlinearized, and glossed by myself with the assistance of a mother-tongue speaker, Lucy Aile.

On the notional level the text is classified as narrative story according to Longacre's methodology for classifying text types (1983:3-6). The text has a temporal succession of events which are contingent upon previous events, there is agent orientation, and the events are realized (as opposed to being projected). Furthermore, as both notional and grammatical cues reveal, there is a tension in the story which is eventually resolved. These features are characteristic of narrative texts, hence the classification of *Barafi and Pudeafo* as a narrative story.

7.1.2 The Gist of the Story

The story is about two legendary brothers who have superhuman physical strength, and who probably also have spiritual power (Barafi does, at least). The wise brother, Barafi, hides his power. The foolish brother, Pudeafo, shows his power, even though he knows there could be consequences; a sorcerer could easily put a hex on them for a public display of power.

The tension of the story revolves around a very large boulder in the taro swamp belonging to the brothers. The wise brother calls the village together to help move it. The foolish brother is angry because either of them could remove the boulder single-handedly for free, but it would cost them food to have other villagers remove it. The foolish one becomes angry and throws the boulder up on the bank. The wise brother sees this, becomes angry, and throws it back down into the swamp. The foolish one sees this and the two wrestle.

While the two are wrestling, the (polyandrous) wife of the two men comes walking toward them. The wise one, Barafi, had repeatedly been pinning Pudeafo to the ground. When Barafi notices their wife approaching, he feigns weakness, deceptively falls, and allows Pudeafo to pin him.

At this point all chronological movement ceases as the narrator leaves the storyline and gives a relatively lengthy discourse about the nature of leadership, humility, and wisdom. The discourse concludes with the narrator's characterization of Barafi as wise and humble person.

7.1.3 The Episodic Structure of the Story

The stage and closure of the story are not referred to as "episodes" in this section because they are not involved in the temporal events. In both the stage and the closure there is no movement, just description and explanation with equative and stative clauses.

The beginning of each episode is clearly marked grammatically. Episode one opens with a *Heai arewa* 'One day'. Episodes two and three begin with *si'ei* 'therefore' which is commonly used for paragraph transitions in Wuvulu narrative discourse (cf. examples (13) and (14), p.31). Episode four begins with *Lagunawefifo'ai* 'The two finally fought'. The eventline of the story ends with episode four. The closure of the story is didactic. It begins with *Ua ale'ei* 'the reason is' and goes on to present the moral of the story.

An interesting device is used by the author to build tension in the story. In the first three episodes there are repeated linguistic forms which alternatively refer to the brothers. The structure involves the actions of one brother (initially Barafi), followed by observation, anger and reaction by the other brother. This cycle alternates from Pudeafo to Barafi, and then back to Pudeafo. The repeated forms are *ima'apa'ia* 'he saw it', *nasiba* 'was angry', lines of introspection/discussion with self, and *si'ei* 'therefore'. These forms are highlighted in examples (1)-(5).

(1) Episode 1, Line 7

ma i-ma'a-pa'ia mei lofu-na na-siba
 cj 3s-see-have-3s the brother-3s real-anger

'And when his brother [Pudeafo] saw it he was angry.'

(2) Episode 2, line 12

si'ei Pudeafo i-na-poro-'a fei mugo ma i-na-to-simi-nia
 adv propn su-real-carry-trn the stone and 3s-real-get-throw-3s

'Therefore Pudeafo carried the stone and threw it . . . '

(3) Episode 2, Line 13

ma i-ma'a-pa'ia Barafi i-na-siba
 cj 3s-see-have-3s propn 3s-real-anger

'And when Barafi saw it he was angry.'

(4) Episode 3, Line 16

si'ei Barafi na-to-poro-hadiwe'i-na fei mugo
 adv propn real-get-carry-return-trn the stone

'Therefore Barafi got the stone and returned it.'

(5) Episode 3, Line 17

ma i-ma'a-pa'ia Pude na-siba
 cj 3s-see-have-3s propn real-anger

'And when Pude saw it he was angry.'

The overall episodic structure of *Barafi and Pudeafo* is given in table 27.

Table 27. Episodic Structure of Barafi and Pudeafo

Episode	Lines	Summary of Episode	Grammatical Features
Stage	1-4	Intro. of brothers, description	Equatives/statives, no movement
Episode 1	5-11	Inciting incident with stone, tension between brothers.	Distinct opening of episode, realis mood on eventline, irrealis backgrounding.
Episode 2	12-15	Tension builds as Pudeafo throws the stone onto the bank and Barafi sees it.	Distinct opening of episode, realis mood on eventline, irrealis backgrounding.
Episode 3	16-17	Tension builds as Barafi throws the stone back into the swamp and Pudeafo sees it.	Distinct opening of episode, realis mood on eventline, irrealis dependent clause
Episode 4	18-25	Maximum tension, brothers wrestle, Barafi wins, their wife approaches, tension lost as Barafi fakes weakness before their wife and intentionally loses.	Distinct opening of episode, rhetorical underlining, unusual verbal morphology, change to dual subject marking, crowded stage.
Closure	26-37	Moral of the story, Barafi was like the chiefs—did not exalt himself, but was humble and hid his power.	<i>Ua</i> 'reason', equatives/statives, negation, rhetorical underlining

7.1.4 Narrative Salience Spectrum

In order to properly analyze narrative discourse material it is essential to understand how grammatical forms are used to encode dynamism. Longacre borrows the spectrum metaphor from optics to discuss dynamism as it relates to movement in a discourse:

The analysis of a narrative text reveals a cline of information which ranges from the most dynamic elements of the story to the most static (depictive) elements; successive positions along the cline correlate well (as a whole) with distinctions among the verb forms of a language. (1981:340)

The salience features given in the spectrum in figure 21 are valid for all Wuvulu narrative texts, although analysis of additional texts could possibly reveal additional grammatical features which could be added to the spectrum. For example, conditional statements have a grammatical form for the protasis clause *na'a* 'if'. This form would perhaps fit into the spectrum with dependent clauses.

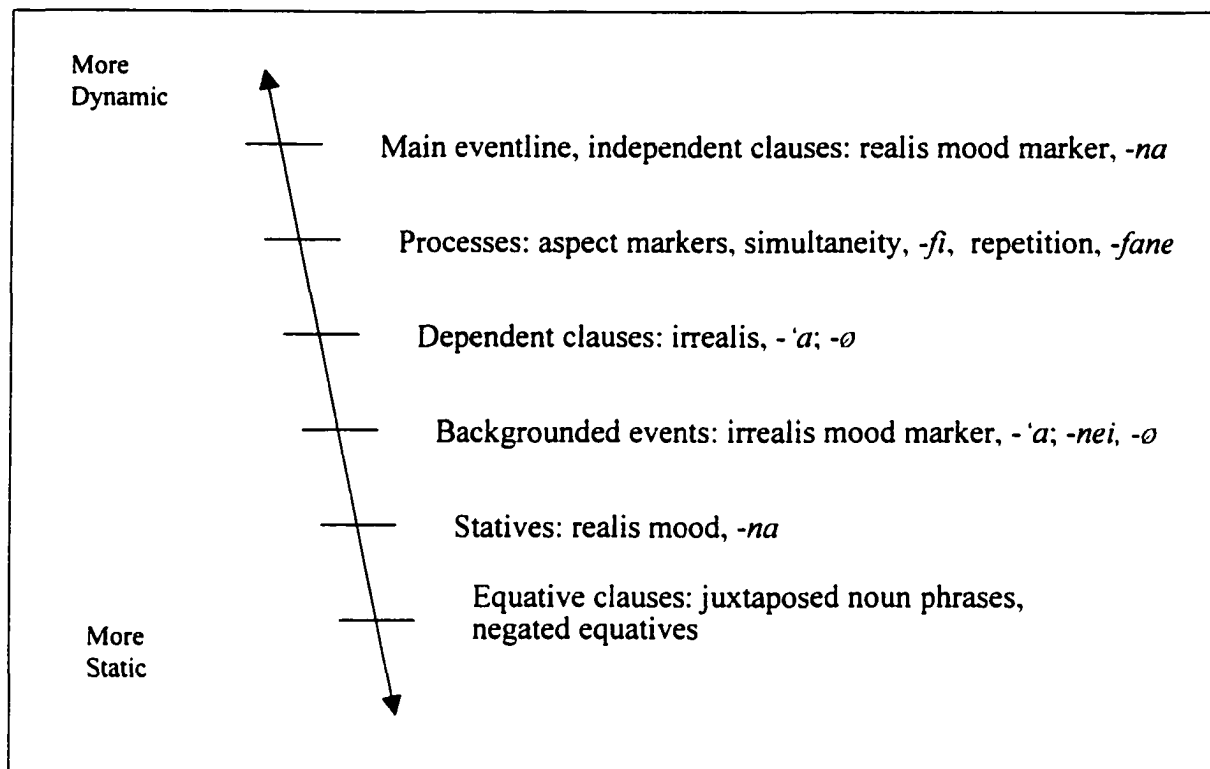


Figure 21. Wuvulu Narrative Saliency Spectrum.

At the top of the spectrum in figure 21 is the basic modal form used to encode events on the storyline, *-na* 'realis mood'. The realis marker is ranked more highly than the aspectual forms *-fi* 'simultaneity' and *-fane* 'repeated/habitual action' because it is more dynamic; it moves the story along with greater velocity than the aspectual forms do.

Moving down the spectrum, predications marked as simultaneous/repeated are ranked more highly than dependent clauses are because they are on the storyline.

Irrealis and zero forms in dependent clauses are ranked more highly than similar forms which are backgrounded because the dependent clauses usually go with independent clauses of the eventline. Stative clauses and equative clauses are about the same in

dynamism, but stative forms are ranked more highly because states seem to have a greater potential for change.

Undoubtably the salience spectrum posited figure 21 will require some fine-tuning; nevertheless, it does rank some of the most common grammatical forms in terms of their dynamism in narrative discourse.

7.1.5 Profile and Peak

In Longacre's words:

a conspiracy of features is found in and around the peak. . . . In general all of them show a level of excitation peculiar to peak as contrasted with the rest of the discourse. In some cases, it will be possible to classify the marking of peak according to the following distinctions: (1) packing the event line and (2) slowing the camera down.." (1985:86)

There are actually two peaks in *Barafi and Pudeafo*: an action peak in episode 4, and a didactic peak in the closure. Both peaks are marked grammatically. The notional structure and surface structure of the story correlate fairly consistently with one another.

Section 7.1.3 discussed the episodic structure of the story, the fact that the stage of the story is static, and that stative and equative clauses are used to encode introductory material. This is represented by the relatively horizontal line in the profile of figure 22. After the stage, the author utilizes repeated linguistic structures in episodes 1-3 as buildups to episode 4. These structures are represented by the rising slope in the profile of figure 22.

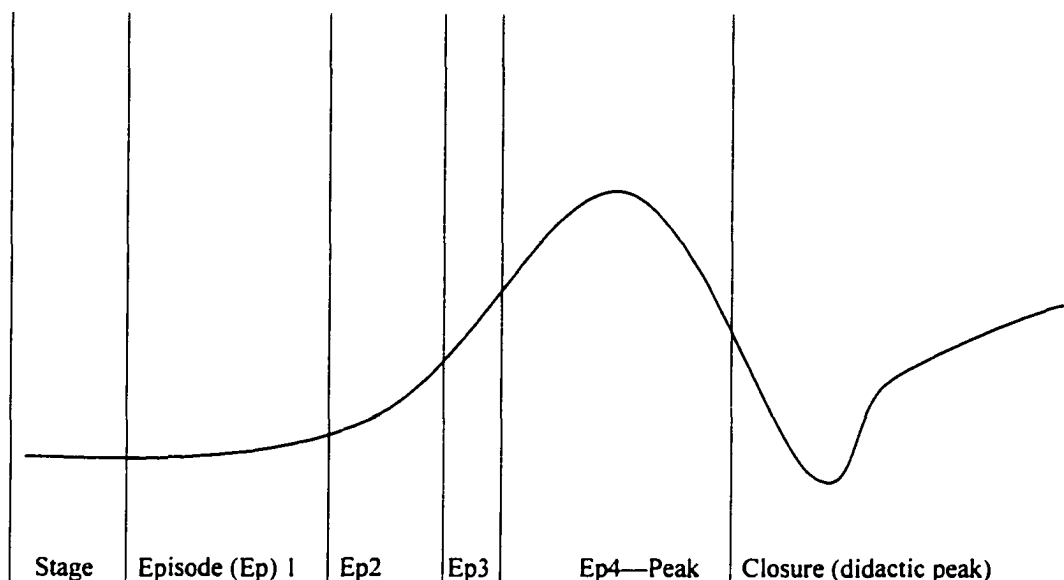


Figure 22. Profile of *Barafi and Pudeafo*.

7.1.6 The Action Peak

In order to evaluate the grammatical features that characterize episode 4 as an action peak it is helpful to momentarily set aside the stage and closure of the story and focus on the eventline which is found in episodes 1-4. Various grammatical devices are used to mark episode 4 as an action peak: (1) in episode 4 the author switches from third person singular to third person dual for subject reference, (2) rhetorical underlining by means of paraphrase, restatement, (3) there is a “crowded stage” effect as the brothers’ (polyandrous) wife comes onto the scene while the brothers are wrestling with one another, and (4) the verbal morphology of the first three episodes conforms to the normal patterning for narrative discourse (cf. figure 21), whereas episode 4 has unusual verbal morphology. Each of these devices is discussed in turn in sections 7.1.6.1-7.1.6.4.

7.1.6.1 Switch of Subject Reference

At the beginning of episode 4 there is a switch from third person singular subject *i-*

to third person dual subject *lagu-*. This is the only episode of the story that has anything other than third person singular as the subject on the eventline. The dual subject is used three times in the peak episode.

(6)

Ee **lagu**-na-we-fi-fo'ai
So 3dl-real-ev-rcpr-fight

'So the two finally fought.'

7.1.6.2 Rhetorical Underlining

Longacre writes of rhetorical underlining:

The narrator does not want you to miss the important point of the story so he employs extra words at that point. He may employ parallelism, paraphrase, and tautologies of various sorts to be sure that you don't miss it. . . . It's as if you took a pencil and underlined certain lines of what you are writing (1983:26).

The clause in example (6) *lagunawefifo'ai* 'the two finally fought' is immediately followed by the clause in (7).

(7)

Lagu-na-**pide** i podu
3dl-real-**wrestle** loc jungle

'The two wrestled in the jungle.'

The two fought. The two wrestled in the jungle. The narrator heightens vividness and slows the eventline by using more words to talk about the same thing. By paraphrasing as he does in these lines, the camera not only slows, but also seems to zoom in on the wrestling event.

This slowing effect continues. In the very next line the author introduces the wife of the brothers by referring to her four times in succession—subject reference, followed by

three noun phrases (one simply a proper noun).

(8)

Ma i-no-pa'a-re lagua mei haro lagua
cj 3s-move-arrive-dir pron the spouse pron

mei haro Pudeafo Guaumu
the spouse propn propn

'And the spouse of the two came—the spouse of Pudeafo, Guaumu.'

7.1.6.3 Crowded Stage

Another common marker of a peak episode according to Longacre (1981:349) is the “crowded stage” effect. In episode four there are three named people on the scene: Barafi, Pudeafo, and Guaumu. Up until the action peak, there had only been one or two actors on the eventline. Guaumu’s entry onto the scene also maximizes notional tension since she is married to both brothers and is in the process of moving toward them while they are wrestling with one another.

7.1.6.4 Verbal morphology

The narrative salience spectrum in figure 21 indicates that the typical verbal morphology for the eventline and independent clauses calls for the realis mood marker, *na-*, and that background material is marked by the irrealis mood marker, *'a-*, or zero. Realis and irrealis forms show up in the buildups of episodes 1-3. For example, after Barafi’s discussion with the villagers, Pudeafo sees his brother and becomes angry. The verb is marked with the realis mood marker *na-* in the predication *inasiba* ‘he was angry’ in example (9).

(9)

ma i-ma'a-pa'ia mei lofu-na na-siba
 cj 3s-see-have-3s the brother-3s real-angry

'And when his brother saw it [Pudeafo] was angry.'

Realis and irrealis mood markers, the typical grammatical forms, also show up in episode 4, but at the highest point of notional tension in the story, there are two verbal aspect markers that do not show up anywhere else in the story. The narrator uses the form *fane-* 'habitual/repeated action'. Semantically speaking, the mental picture of Barafi repeatedly pinning Pudeafo adds vividness and slow down the tempo.

(10)

i-na-fane-fugoi-nia
 3s-real-hab-pin-3s

'He repeatedly pinned him.'

As discussed earlier in section 4.2.3 the marker *fi-* indicates action in progress, action simultaneous to some other action, or reciprocity. The sentence of example (11) occurs at the point of maximum notional tension in the story.

(11)

Ma i-ma-pa'a Guaumu i-fi-no-rai i-na-fa-pasi-sifi
 cj 3s-see-have propn 3s-sim-move-dir 3s-real-cz-fall-deceive

'And when he saw Guamu coming, he caused [himself] to fall deceptively.'

In example (11) the marker *fi-* is very cleverly used to slow things down even further by having simultaneous events occurring (i.e., Guaumu is walking up *while* the two are wrestling). It is precisely at this moment that the "knot is untied" and the tension is lost, for

the very next clause is *inafapisifi* 'he deceptively caused himself to fall'. The wrestling is now over.

With the tension completely released, the narrator drops the eventline altogether and moves into a (secondary) didactic peak.

7.1.7 The Didactic Peak

The following grammatical features mark the closure as a didactic peak: (1) abrupt switch from the eventline with extensive use of equative and stative clauses, (2) rhetorical underlining by means repeated lexical forms and paraphrase, and (3) concentrated use of negation. These three features are discussed in sections 7.1.7.1-7.1.7.3.

7.1.7.1 Ceased Chronological Movement

Longacre (1981:349) notes that "chronological movement ceases at the didactic peak and someone *talks*."

As mentioned in section 7.1.6.4, the chronological movement of the story comes to a screeching halt in this section of the story and the narrator talks about leadership, humility, and wisdom.

The typical verbal morphology of the preceding episodes virtually disappears from the closure. The closure is the longest segment of the story, consisting of twelve lines. In these lines there are six stative clauses and five equative clauses—the highest concentration of clauses of this type since episode 1.

7.1.7.2 Rhetorical Underlining

According to Longacre, "One of the commonest ways of marking a peak is *rhetorical underlining*" (1981:349). Just as rhetorical underlining was a part of the action peak, it is also a prominent feature in the closure and is another indication that the closure should be marked as a secondary peak.

There is a high degree of repetition in the closure. Table 28 shows that the themes of knowledge/wisdom, leadership, and pride/humility are all marked with rhetorical underlining.

Table 28. Rhetorical Underlining in the Didactic Peak

Theme	Line #	Grammatical Form	English Gloss
knowledge or wisdom	26	<i>apa'a ro'ou</i>	their knowledge
	30	<i>apa'ana</i>	his knowledge
	30	<i>apa'a ei puela</i>	knowledge of chiefs
	31	<i>imina'apa'a manumanu</i>	he totally knew things
	33	<i>naranarana</i>	his thinking
	33	<i>apa'ana</i>	his knowledge
leadership	27	<i>ei fasu</i>	leaders
	28	<i>fasu</i>	leader
	38	<i>puala</i>	sorcerer
	30	<i>puala</i>	leader
	31	<i>ano'ano</i>	skilled person
	34	<i>fasu</i>	leader
humility	25	<i>pasi na pu</i>	fall down
	34	<i>i'udefarawani ei faufauna</i>	his power was held
	35	<i>lo'e imina'ana pafea</i>	he did not exalt himself
	36	<i>lo'e inapوروناia pafea</i>	he did not carry himself above
	36	<i>nafadinaia pu</i>	caused himself to go down
	36	<i>inafafaunaia pu</i>	he caused himself to stoop down

7.1.7.3 Negation

At the end of the closure segment there is a concentration of negation. Although there is some negation in earlier segments of the story, the concentrated use of negation is definitely a marked feature.

(12) line 35
 Lo'e i-na-mina ana pafea
 Neg 3s-real-adv also above

'He did not put himself above.'

(13) line 36
 lo'e i-na-poro-na-ia pafea
 neg 3dl-real-carry-trn-3s above

'He did not carry himself above.'

(14) line 36
 ba ia hemea rama'a i-na-faufau lomi
 cmpz he a person 3s-real-power neg

' . . . that he was a strong person-no.'

The story ends with the negative statement:

(15) (line 37)
 lo'e fau-fau-na
 neg rd-power-3s

'He did not have power.'

7.2 Topic Continuity in Wuvulu Texts

Topic continuity is an important area of study in the field of textlinguistics. As recently as the late 1970s the notion of 'topic' was considered to be a discrete entity which essentially functioned at the clause level. Givón (1983), in his seminal work on topic continuity in discourse, demonstrates that topics are, in fact, continuous rather than discrete from the discourse perspective, and that topicality within a discourse can be measured empirically. He further made the claim that grammatical subjects tend to be more topical than grammatical objects, and that grammatical objects tend to be more topical than obliques. These valuable contributions can serve as a basis to further our understanding of other aspects of the grammar of discourse. For example, does topic continuity analysis of different genres of a given language reveal anything about the nature of those genres? The

analyses presented by Givón deal almost exclusively with narrative texts; does the topicality hierarchy of subject > object > oblique hold for non-narrative material as well? Is it possible to posit a topic continuity hierarchy at the genre level, such as narrative > hortatory?

In this paper Givón's methods (1983:5-38) are used to contrast topic continuity in hortatory and narrative genres of the Wuvulu language. More specifically, the text data of this study show that: (1) for both hortatory and narrative texts, topicality is higher for grammatical subject than it is for grammatical object, and grammatical object is higher in topicality than it is for oblique information, (2) phonetically longer linguistic forms tend to be less continuous than shorter linguistic forms, regardless of genre, (3) main clauses are generally more continuous than subordinate clauses, and (4) narrative texts are higher in topic continuity than are hortatory texts.

The results of this research confirm some of the basic claims of Givón's model of topic continuity analysis, but they also have broader implications for textlinguistics. If topicality measurements can be used as an index to, or marker of, genre, they could prove to be a useful tool to the discourse grammarian.

7.2.1 Introduction to Topic Continuity

Givón's work on topic continuity (1983, 1984, 1990) is presented in the context of his functional-typological approach to syntax and grammatical analysis. As such, there is a sense in which the discussion of topicality within these works is presented as an evidence of the validity of a functional approach to grammatical analysis (as opposed to a structural approach). Aside from the cogent theoretical framework presented by Givón, one of his more practical contributions is a methodology for empirically measuring topic continuity, or topicality. In addition to providing an algorithm for calculating topicality, Givón claims that topicality within a discourse is hierarchical with respect to grammatical role:

Subject > Object > Oblique. He also points out that *specific discourse* referents are used to encode referentiality (cf. section 7.2.2). These referents have varying degrees of cognitive accessibility (in the mind of the listener). Phonetically long referents are typically used by the narrator of a discourse to encode reference to a concept to which the hearer is assumed to have little or no cognitive accessibility. Shorter linguistic forms such as zero reference are used to refer to cognitively salient concepts and tend to be more continuous.

This paper concerns itself with contrasting topic continuity in hortatory and narrative texts of a specific language. One of the goals of the paper is to confirm that some of the basic claims regarding topic continuity hold for hortatory text, as well as narrative. Givón makes quite a few helpful characterizations about topicality as it relates to animacy, left and right dislocation, Y-movement, and so forth. With regard to his claims, the scope of this analysis is limited to verifying the following for both narrative and hortatory text: (1) there is a topic continuity hierarchy for grammatical roles, (2) there is a mapping between linguistic forms and continuity, and (3) main clauses are more continuous than subordinate clauses as conventional wisdom suggests (1983:23). Another goal of this paper is to present evidence that narrative discourse is more continuous than is hortatory discourse—this became apparent while analyzing the data in order to verify the aforementioned claims.

7.2.2 Background

As alluded to earlier, Givón presents a functional-typological perspective of syntax and grammatical analysis. He demonstrates the inadequacy of the logic-based traditional approach to referentiality, in that it does not take into account the facts of natural language. For example, systems of logic algebra are concerned with the truth values of specific linguistic expressions. The nature of these systems is such that they do not readily allow for modal possibilities which occur in natural discourse. There are many other examples of the

failure of structural (or phrasal) approaches to adequately explain natural language. A case in point is referentiality and topic continuity. Topics are not clausal entities, but rather span entire discourses.

With regard to the encoding/decoding of discourse, Givón uses the metaphor of file storage to describe the human cognitive process as it relates to the activation and retention of information within a discourse. This is summarized in figure 23 from Givón (1984:405).

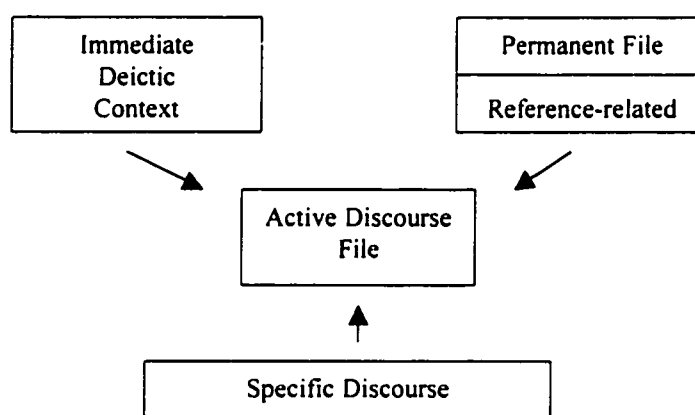


Figure 23. Flow of Referential Accessibility.

The **permanent file** refers to shared concepts (e.g., within a culture)—concepts which can be introduced or referred to without an explanation. When new information is introduced into the discourse, the speaker will encode the definiteness of that information based upon his or her assumption of the hearer's ability to interpret the reference. In general, if the hearer is assumed to be able to identify the referent, it is encoded as definite. Otherwise, it is encoded as indefinite. There are, of course, degrees of definiteness, and there exist linguistic devices within languages which approximate points along the scale of definiteness (e.g., definite noun phrases, pronouns, zero anaphora). These devices refer to

the linguistic forms which are used to compose a **specific discourse** (see section 7.2.3 for the specific forms used in this study). The **active file** has to do with propositional and referential information which must be maintained by the speakers/hearers of the discourse. The **immediate deictic context** refers to information which is assumed to be accessible within the discourse register (active file).

7.2.3 Data and Methodology

The analysis in this study is based on four Wuvulu texts—two hortatory and two narrative. The four texts used in this study have clear notional and grammatical indications that they are in fact classified properly as narrative or hortatory.

There is a total of approximately 350 clauses, and approximately 600 referents in the four texts. There are 900 actual referents, but 300 are considered to be non-referential (cf. section 7.2.3). The high number of referents is, to a large extent, due to the agglutinative nature of the verbal system, and the way in which referents are counted.

The method used in this study is as follows. First, the referents of the four texts are entered into four separate database matrices (spreadsheets). Each of the 900 referents is then coded for grammatical role, linguistic form, clause type, referentiality, clause number, referential distance (RD), potential interference (PI), and topic persistence (TP).

The range of values the parameters can take is: grammatical role {1=subject, 2=object, 3=oblique}; linguistic form {1=modified noun phrase, 2=definite/indefinite noun phrase, 3=pronoun/deictic, 4=proper noun, 5=agreement, 6=zero}, the lower numbers corresponding with higher continuity/accessible topics; clause type {1=main, 2=subordinate}; referentiality {0=non-referential, 1=referential}; clause number {=clause number within the text}; RD {New mention=15 (rather than Givón's suggestion of 20), number of clauses between the referent and the next previous coreferent}; PI {0 if there is

no ambiguous potential coreferent in the 3 previous clauses, otherwise 1 if there are two previous referents either of which could be coreferential with the current referent (but it is unclear which it should be), 2 if there are three, etc.}; TP {counting (forward), the number of continuous (referential) clauses is zero if the very next (countable) clause does not contain a coreferent}.

After the 900 referents are coded for all parameters, they are sorted to eliminate non-referential forms. The records of the two hortatory files are then combined into a single file. The records of the two narrative files are also placed in a single file. The files are then sorted in a variety of ways in order to organize the data in meaningful ways. The total number of referential records with RD values of 15 are then divided by the number of referential records. This is done for each genre in order to find the percentage unique entities per genre.

There are a few language-specific issues related to the coding of referents. Verbs may have both subject and object markers, even when the nominals with which they agree are present in the clause. For example, the third person subject marker *ro-* on the verb in example (16) agrees in person and number with the noun phrase *ei pidaua* 'the foreigners'. In the analysis, both the noun phrase and the subject marker are counted as referents. All agreement markers are consistently counted in all texts.

(16)

aa ei pidaua ro-na-ware ale-ei ba woning
ij art foreigner 3p-real-talk deic-art cmpz warning

'Aa, the foreigners, they say, for example, "warning."'

Another language-specific consideration in this study has to do with possessives. There are two possession strategies which are frequently employed throughout these texts: person-agreement inflection of nominals, and juxtaposed noun phrases. For nominals that

are inflected for agreement in person, only the nominal is considered to be referential; the agreement marker is non-referential, but it is considered when counting from a referential nominal.

In example (17) the noun phrase *fei naranaramu* ‘your thinking’ is considered to be referential, and is counted for distance and persistence. The second-person agreement marker *-mu* is not considered to be referential, but does count as an offset for distance and persistence (as opposed to being skipped over) when calculating values for referential noun phrases.

(17)

fei nara-nara-mu a'a mei badu
fei rd-think-2s with the child

‘Your thinking regarding the child . . . ’

In example (18) *adia o'odu* ‘our ears’ shows the juxtaposed noun phrase strategy for possession, i.e., *adia* ‘ear’ is next to the first person inclusive pronoun *o'odu*. In all such cases, the second noun phrase is the possessor.

For this type of genitive structure, the head is considered to be the first nominal and is counted as referential. The second nominal (or noun phrase) is not referential; however, as is the case with the agreement marker in example (17), it is counted as a continuous referent when calculating the distance and persistence values of referential constituents which come before and after it.

Example (18) is an idiomatic expression and was therefore not classified as referential.

(18)

a-fa-wala'a-ia adia o'odu
 irr-cz-hole-3s ear our

'And for us, [I will] cause us to understand it (lit. bore our ears).'

Example (19) shows a case of non-typical word ordering. The direct object, *fei rawania ma fei hafelo'a* 'the good and the bad', would normally come after the verb. The unusual word-order likely has something to do with focus or topicality. As mentioned earlier, this type of construction was not treated in a special way. Because of the scarcity of these forms, it is unlikely that ignoring them will skew the results significantly.

(19)

Fei rawani-a ma fei hafelo-a mei badu i-bigi-'ua-ia-lao
 the good-nzr and the bad-nzr the child 3s-work-adv-3s-dir

'The good and the bad—the child will just go ahead (with) it.'

7.2.4 Results

The results of this research are presented in tables 29-34. Tables 29-32 are organized vertically according to the linguistic form of the referent. Phonetically longer forms are physically higher in the table. Modified noun phrases are longest and are at the top; zero reference is the shortest, so it appears at the bottom.

It should be noted that the row averages in the tables reflect the number of tokens per linguistic form so that, in some cases, the row average may appear to be lower than expected. An example is the potential interference of "Pron/Deictic" for narrative main clauses in table 29. The row average is lower than the "Oblique" average (.08 vs. 0.3) because it includes the total number of tokens for the subject and object categories, even though there was zero interference. Also, the values in the cells are averages, obtained by

adding the total distance for all records of the cell type, divided by the total number of records of that type.

Before moving on to present results, something should be said about potential interference. The potential interference data of this analysis does not appear to be instructive. The results are all low, and seem to be arbitrary. The low values may, in part, have to do with the fact that the Wuvulu has a tight system of agreement between free-standing grammatical arguments in a clause, and their corresponding verbal agreement markers.

Tables 29 and 30 present average topicality values for main clauses in narrative and hortatory text. Cells with zero values mean that values exist for the cells, but their averages are zero. Cells with the null value (\emptyset) mean that there were no data of this type.

Table 29. Topicality in Narrative Main Clauses

Ling Form	Referential Distance				Potential Interference				Topic Persistence			
	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave
Modified NP	5.3	10.3	11.5	9.2	0	0	0	0	0.3	0.3	0	0.27
Def/Indef NP	3.7	8.1	11.6	8.2	0	0	0	0	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.32
Pron/Deictic	1.5	1.0	1	1.3	0	0	0.3	0.08	3.8	3.5	0.7	3.0
Proper N	3	4.5	3	2.5	0	0	0	0	3.2	1.5	4	2.6
Agreement	1.5	2.9	0	1.9	0.17	0.29	0	0.09	3.2	1.3	0	2.6
Zero	1.1	\emptyset	\emptyset	1.1	0	\emptyset	\emptyset	0	5.2	\emptyset	\emptyset	5.1
Averages	1.8	6.06	8.52	3.73	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.07	3.6	0.86	0.41	2.4

Table 30. Topicality in Hortatory Main Clauses

Ling Form	Referential Distance				Potential Interference				Topic Persistence			
	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave
Modified NP	9.67	11.3	15	11.38	0	0	0	0	0.67	0.25	0.17	0.38
Def/Indef NP	4.13	9.14	5.6	6.4	0.07	0	0	0.07	1.2	0.21	0.33	0.66
Pron/Deictic	7.21	0.86	10.3	5.75	0	0	0	0	2.2	1.4	0.33	1.8
Proper N	0	0	1	1	∅	∅	0	0	∅	∅	0	0
Agreement	2.49	2.05	0.5	2.3	0.11	0.45	0	0.23	1.8	2.4	3	2.0
Zero	5.41	15	0	5.9	0.12	0	0	0.12	2.1	1	∅	1.3
Average	4.2	5.28	8.72	4.96	0.09	0.45	0	0.14	1.7	1.4	0.56	1.5

In tables 29 and 30 there is an increase in topicality moving vertically down through the linguistic forms (from modified NPs to zero). This is reflected by the *general tendencies* of: (1) a decrease in referential distance (RD) values, and a corresponding increase in topic persistence (TP) values, (2) a decrease in topicality moving horizontally from subject to object to oblique (reflected by the *general tendencies* of increased RD and decreased TP values), and (3) the main clauses of narrative material tend to be higher in topicality than those of hortatory material. This is attested by the lower average RD (and higher TP) values of the narrative material.

Tables 31 and 32 give topicality values of subordinate clauses for both text types:

Table 31. Topicality in Narrative Subordinate Clauses

Ling Form	Referential Distance				Potential Interference				Topic Persistence			
	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave
Modified NP	∅	3	∅	3	0	0	∅	0	∅	0	∅	0
Def/Indef NP	3.8	3.6	10.3	5.2	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.38
Pron/Deictic	1.7	1	1	1.4	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1.6
Proper N	1.5	0	∅	0.75	0	0	∅	0	1	1	∅	1.0
Agreement	4	6.3	∅	4.6	0	2.1	∅	1.7	2.1	0.7	∅	1.7
Zero	8	∅	∅	8	0	∅	∅	0	3.5	∅	∅	3.5
Average	3.75	3.7	8.0	4.7	0	0.13	0	1.2	1.65	0.54	0.75	1.2

Table 32. Topicality in Hortatory Subordinate Clauses

Ling Form	Referential Distance				Potential Interference				Topic Persistence			
	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Avg	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave
Modified NP	13.3	12.1	7.5	11.5	0	0	0	0	0.75	0.82	0	0.65
Def/Indef NP	1.8	7.2	18.6	9.5	0	0	0	0	2	1.1	0.67	1.1
Pron/Deictic	10.3	1.9	11.3	8.2	0	0.29	0	0.08	2.0	1.1	0.67	1.72
Proper N	∅	∅	15	15	∅	∅	0	0	∅	∅	0	0
Agreement	3.12	3.3	0.67	3.1	0.12	0.17	0.67	0.09	1.98	1.3	1.3	1.1
Zero	1	∅	∅	1	0	∅	∅	0	1.33	∅	∅	1.3
Average	4.68	6.32	11.9	6.2	0.08	0.09	0.01	0.10	1.8	1.13	0.56	1.44

In tables 31 and 32 note that: (1) as is the case with main clauses, the distance and persistence values suggest a topicality hierarchy for subject, object and oblique, (2) the data *generally* show an increase in topicality values for linguistically simpler forms, however there are exceptions, and (3) distance values indicate higher topicality in narrative, but this appears to be contradicted by topic persistence values which indicate a nominally higher topicality in hortatory material.

The differential in the Average lines of the tables suggests narrative is higher in topicality. Although the persistence values for hortatory are higher, the difference between the genres is nominal (i.e., 1.2 vs. 1.44 in narrative and hortatory, respectively). The difference of the distance values, on the other hand, is greater (4.7 and 6.2 for narrative and hortatory). Since there is a relationship of inverse proportionality between distance and persistence, a result like this is not expected. The RD values seem to be a stronger indication of continuity than TP values for this data, and they indicate that narrative material is more continuous. This is supported by the data for combined main and subordinate clauses as shown in table 34.

For the sake of easy comparison, the average lines of tables 29-32 are reproduced in table 33. This chart highlights a tendency for greater topicality in main clauses. Note that the

tendency for main clauses to be more topical than subordinate clauses holds for both genres:

Table 33. Topicality in Main and Subordinate Clauses

		Referential Distance				Potential Interference				Topic Persistence			
		Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Avg	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row Ave
Narrative	Main	1.8	6.06	8.52	3.73	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.07	3.6	0.86	0.41	2.4
	Subord.	3.75	3.7	8.0	4.7	0	0.13	0	1.2	1.65	0.54	0.75	1.2
Hortatory	Main	4.2	5.28	8.72	4.96	0.09	0.45	0	0.14	1.7	1.4	0.56	1.5
	Subord.	4.68	6.32	11.9	6.2	0.08	0.09	0.01	0.10	1.8	1.13	0.56	1.44

Table 34 highlights the comparison of topicality values for narrative and hortatory texts. Although the TP values for the subordinate clauses of the hortatory text in table 32 were slightly higher than those of narrative, the overall averages displayed show that the topic persistence data is consistent (inversely proportional) with the referential distance data for each of the genres. This table clearly shows that narrative text is higher in topic continuity than is hortatory text. This is attested by lower referential distance and higher persistence for narratives. The inconsistent values between narrative and hortatory for objects and obliques (0.80 vs. 1.3, and 0.48 vs. 0.56) are insignificant relative to rest of the data presented in the chart.

Table 34. Topicality in Narrative and Hortatory

	Referential Distance				Potential Interference				Topic Persistence			
	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row	Subj	Obj	Obl	Row
Narrative												
Total	233	302	177	712	6	8	1	15	350	43	10	403
# of refs	108	54	21	183	108	54	21	183	108	54	21	183
Average	2.2	5.6	8.4	3.89	0.06	0.15	0.05	0.08	3.24	0.80	0.48	2.2
Hortatory												
Total	993	886	454	2233	19	25	2	46	401	197	24	622
# of refs	224	153	43	420	224	153	43	420	224	153	43	420
Average	4.4	5.8	10.6	5.6	0.08	0.16	1.47	0.11	1.79	1.3	0.56	1.48

The notion that narrative discourse is higher in topic continuity than hortatory discourse is supported by additional data. For narrative texts, 12.2% of the referential records had values for newly introduced entities. For the hortatory texts, 15.5% of the referential records indicated newly introduced entities. The greater percentage of newly introduced entities in the hortatory material corresponds to lower continuity. This result cross-validates the data presented in table 34.

The results show that for the Wuvulu texts of the study: (1) a topicality hierarchy of Subject > Object > Oblique is valid for hortatory texts, as well as narrative, (2) although the results are a bit mixed, both genres show a tendency for linguistically longer forms to be less continuous, (3) main clauses are higher in topicality than are subordinates, and (4) narrative text is higher in topic continuity than hortatory text.

These results are important in that they confirm that Givón's (1983) methodology for measuring topic continuity is valid for hortatory material, as well as for narrative material, and imply that it is possible to successfully measure continuity in various genres of discourse.

The fact that narrative material is demonstrably higher in topic continuity than hortatory also has implications for textlinguistics. It suggests that there may exist a topic continuity

hierarchy for genre. From the results presented in this study, narrative > hortatory in the Wuvulu language. The next step would be to determine whether other genres could be distinguished according to their topic continuity values. A cross-linguistic examination of genre-specific continuity within given languages may reveal some generalizations about the characteristics of genres. This could be useful to the field of textlinguistics.

7.3 Chapter Summary

At the discourse level Wuvulu grammatical and lexical forms can be ranked on a spectrum of salience according to their dynamism. For narrative text, eventline verbs are inflected for realis mood and are considered to be the most dynamic forms. Equative clauses are encoded by juxtaposed NPs and are the most static forms.

Wuvulu narrative genre texts can utilize a variety of surface structure devices such as rhetorical underlining, a “crowded stage,” and an increased density of negative forms to indicate the peak episode(s) of a story.

Results of statistical analyses of Wuvulu narrative and hortatory texts show (among other things) that a topicality hierarchy of Subject > Object > Oblique is valid for both narrative and hortatory texts, and that narrative text is measurably more continuous in topicality than hortatory text is.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The Wuvulu language is an agglutinative Austronesian language spoken by the Wuvulu people of Papua New Guinea. There are three highly cognate dialects of the Wuvulu language—two spoken on Wuvulu Island and one spoken on Aua Island. Vernacular language use is quite strong among the Wuvulu people.

The Wuvulu language, like most Oceanic languages, has a relatively simple phonology with V and CV syllable templates and penultimate stress. Three Wuvulu phonemes /l/, /x/, and /t/ have allophones which are environmentally conditioned. The phoneme /s/ also has an additional allophone in free variation with one of its phones.

The process of reduplication involves copying either the entire stem or the initial CV portion of the stem and prefixing that copy to the original stem. The phonological process of word-final consonant deletion appears to no longer be active in the language; rather, consonants which had once been final in verb roots are now associated with a set of suffixes, and a specific consonant, *n*, now serves as the default suffix-initial consonant for word formations.

Nouns can be established on the bases of morphology and distribution. Wuvulu has semantically prototypical nouns, but nouns can also be derived from words which are semantically verbal or adjectival. Wuvulu has two possession strategies: juxtaposition of

NPs and bound possessor agreement suffixes. The language also has categories of directly and indirectly possessed nouns.

The Wuvulu system of deixis is based upon a spacio-temporal system of reference which can also mark animacy. Wuvulu has an unusually rich collection of counting systems. The language has small closed set of adjectives, but also uses stative predications to express adjectival ideas.

Verbal morphology is perhaps the most complex feature of the language. Verbs are composed of a stem which can be both prefixed and suffixed. The verb stem can consist of up to three verb roots. Verb stem roots can be reduplicated and they can take a causative marker. Verb stem inflections can encode subject and object agreement, aspect, mood, adverbial information, direction, and transitivity. Verb tense information is conveyed by combinations of aspect and mood markings and works together with sentence level obliques to convey location in time.

Wuvulu is an SVO language for which most of Greenberg's constituent order predictions hold. Oblique time/location/manner information is either sentence-initial or sentence-final and can be encoded with words, phrases, or clauses. Although the typical ordering of core constituents is SVO, Wuvulu clauses can also be (O)VS for focus/topicalization reasons.

The Wuvulu language can combine clauses in a variety of ways to construct complex sentences. Clause juxtaposition is one of the primary strategies used to encode subordination. Conjunctions are used to join clauses for a variety of functions including addition, alternation, cause/reason, and condition. A complementizer can be used to mark the object complement of a matrix sentence. It is not yet clear whether subject complements are possible.

Serial verb constructions are used in discourse to describe a continuous or repeated action which spans a relatively long period of time. The first verb of the serialization usually is inflected with prefix information and the final predication of the series may be a verb compound.

The Wuvulu language is able to relativize on every position of Comrie and Keenan's NP hierarchy of accessibility for relative clauses.

At the discourse level Wuvulu grammatical and lexical forms can be ranked on a spectrum of salience according to their dynamism. For narrative text, eventline verbs are inflected for realis mood and are considered to be the most dynamic forms. Equative clauses are encoded by juxtaposed NPs and are the most static forms.

Wuvulu narrative genre texts can utilize a variety of surface structure devices such as rhetorical underlining, a "crowded stage," and an increased density of negative forms to indicate the peak episode(s) of a story.

Results of statistical analyses of Wuvulu narrative and hortatory texts show (among other things) that a topicality hierarchy of Subject > Object > Oblique is valid for both narrative and hortatory texts, and that narrative text is measurably more continuous than hortatory text is.

There are a number of areas which could be studied further. The phonemes /x/, /l/, and /t/ all have similar environments in which they manifest allophones (namely adjacency to high vowels). Although these environmental variations seem to be motivated by sonority issues, this could perhaps be confirmed by additional testing and study. Recording and analyzing phrasal intonation contours is another area which could potentially reveal more about the intersection of the phonology and grammar.

Semantic categories for direct and indirect possession classifiers are clearly in the language. The categories of edible and drinkable things are easy to identify. More research

is required to determine the semantic basis for the category of general indirect possession, *hape*.

Further research could be done to determine more precisely the functions of some the verbal aspect and mood morphemes. The verbal inflections *powe-*, *u-*, and *o-* are good candidates. One of the reasons that some of the forms are difficult to understand is that they are used infrequently and are perhaps only used by older people.

Verbal direction markers are also not well understood. Further research will likely reveal the semantic basis for the various forms.

There is evidence in the data that indirect objects can be referenced by the object marker of a ditransitive verb. This is perhaps not unusual since verbal agreement markers only mark two NPs, one of which is the subject.

There is evidence that the consonants of the allomorphic object/transitive suffixes (i.e., *-fia/fa*, *-gia/-ga/-ra*, *-mia/-ma*, *-nia/-na*, *-'ia/'a*) are actually associated with these markers even though they were once verb stem-final consonants. There is also evidence from borrowed words that the default suffixes for object/transitive markers are *-nia/-na*. A more careful observation of the younger speakers of the language will perhaps show whether this is true, since they are more likely to substitute default forms on verb stems if they were to forget what the original suffixes are.

A thorough list could be made showing the association of case roles and grammatical/syntactic forms. Discourse analyses of various genres of texts would undoubtedly reveal many additional features of the grammar.

APPENDIX A

BARAFI AND PUDEAFO

In the lines of the appendices "tx" is the transcribed text, "uf" is the underlying form, "ps" is the part of speech, "gl" is the gloss, and "ft" is the free translation.

```
\rf 001
\tx Inapa'i helagui rama'a mina.
\uf i- na- pa'i he lagu-ei rama'a mina
\ps su- mo- v class num -art n adv
\gl 3s- irr-have group two -pl person past
```

\ft There were two people in the past.

```
\rf 002
\tx Laguna filofui.
\uf lagua fi lofu-i
\ps pron asp n-adjz
\gl 3dk rcpr brother
```

\ft [The] two were brothers.

```
\rf 003
\tx Hara lagu ei rama'a, Barafi ma Pudeafo.
\uf hara lagu art rama'a Barafi ma Pudeafo
\ps n num pl n propn cj propn
\gl name two the person Barafi and Pudeafo
```

\ft The names of the two people were Barafi and Pudeafo.

```
\rf 004
\tx Lagu ei rama'a lagu ei napa'i faufau lagua.
\uf lagu art rama'a lagu ei na-pa'i faufau lagua
\ps num pl n num art mo-v n pron
\gl two the person two the real-have power two
```

\ft [These]particular two people had power.

```
\tx heai arewa Barafi inabigi'a ei hanana
\uf he -ai arewa Barafi i- na-bigi -'a ei hana -na
\ps class -num n propn su-mo-v -ob art class-ag
\gl group -one day Barafi 3s-real-work-trn pl edible-3s
```

\ft One day Barafi prepared his food.

\rf 006
 \tx Ma inaware a'a Baude ba inei'apainamai ei rama'a,
 \uf ma i-na-ware a'a Baude ba i-nei-'apai-na-mai ei rama'a
 \ps cj su-mo-v prep propn cmpz su-mo-v-trn-dir art n
 \gl and 3s-real-talk with Baude that 3s-must-find-3s-come pl person

\tx ma ro'apigu-fana fei mugo i lalo fei hapena
 \uf ma ro-'a-pigu-fana fei mugo i lalo fei hape-na
 \ps cj su-mo-v-v art n mk prep art class-3s
 \gl and 3p-irr-roll-give Sg stone loc inside Sg indir 3s

\tx inasuda ei apa fuda.
 \uf i- na-suda ei apa fuda
 \ps su-mo-v art n n
 \gl 3s-real-block stick taro

\ft And he told Baude that he must bring the people and they would roll the stone in his garden (for him) that was blocking the taro [support] sticks.

\nt suda=to obstruct, to be physically close to another person,
 apai=to summon, pigufana (to roll it for him)

\rf 007
 \tx Ma imapa'ia mei lofuna, nasiba.
 \uf ma i- ma'a-pa'i-ia mei lofu-na na-siba
 \ps cj su-v-v-ob art n-ag mo-v
 \gl and 3s-see-have-3s the brother-3s real-anger

\ft And when his brother saw it [he] was angry.

\rf 008
 \tx "Haa!
 \uf Haa
 \ps ij
 \gl Haa!

\rf 009
 \tx Amatani Barafi inapa'i faufauna ma ipo'odugidina
 \uf amatani Barafi i-na-pa'i faufau-na ma i-po'o-dugi-di-na
 \ps q propn su-mo-v n-ag cj su-ints-v-adv-ob
 \gl why Barafi 3s-real-have strength-3s and 3s-real-get-again-trn

\tx ei rama'a?
 \uf ei rama'a
 \ps art n
 \gl the people

\ft Why does Barafi have strength of his own and [yet] he gathers the people [to help him]?

\rf 010
 \tx Iminafapedu'uia eni fuda,hape haigua,ei mau
 \uf i-mina-fa-pedu-ua-ia eni fuda hape haigua ei mau
 \ps su-adv-mk-v-adv-ob dem n class pron art n
 \gl 3s-totally-cz-finish-just-3s PlPrx taro indir idlx pl character

\tx bigi'ana ale'ei.
 \uf bigi-'a-na ale-'ei
 \ps v-nzr-ag deic-art
 \gl work-mk-3s in this way

\ft He [will] cause the taro belonging to the two of us to be finished off. The way he does things is like that.

\rf 011
 \tx Ma tani i'aporo'ia anaia?"
 \uf ma tani i-'a-poro-ia ana-ia
 \ps cj q su-mo-v-ob adv-ob
 \gl and why 3s-irr-carry-3s also-3s

\ft And why did he not carry it himself?

\nt this is negative

\rf 012
 \tx Si'ei, Pudei inaporo'a fei mugo, ma inatosiminia
 \uf si-'ei Pudeafo i-na-poro-'a fei mugo ma i-na-to-simi-ia
 \ps deic-art propn su-mo-v-trn art n cj su-mo-v-v-ob
 \gl so Pudeafo 3s-real-carry-mk Sg stone and 3s-real-discard-3s

\tx pafo pe'i fei agi'agi ei suta.
 \uf pafo pe'i fei agi'agi ei suta
 \ps prep n art n art n
 \gl on bank Sg ditch p taro swamp

\ft So, Pudei carried the stone and threw it onto [the] bank of the taro swamp.

\rf 013
 \tx Ma imapa'ia Barafi,inasiba ba ya po'o meni
 \uf ma i-ma'a-pa'i-a Barafi i-na-siba ba i-a-po'o meni
 \ps cj su-v-v-ob propn su-mo-v cmpz su-mo dem
 \gl and 3s-see-have-3s Barafi 3s-real-anger that 3s-irr ansprx

\tx Pudei.
 \uf Pudeafo
 \ps propn
 \gl Pudeafo

\ft And Barafi saw it. He was angry (and thought), "Ah!, this Pudei (is disgusting)."

\nt ya=interj. disgust

\rf 014

\tx "Ipo'o lo'e i'aupa'ainia ei faufauna, ba ifama'aia
 \uf i-po'o lo'e i-'au-pa'ai-ia ei faufau-na ba i-fa-ma'a-ia
 \ps su-mo adv su-v-v-ob art n-ag cmpz su-mk-v-ob
 \gl 3s-real no 3s-put-hide-3s p strength-3s that 3s-caus-see-3s
 leader

\tx ei fasu
 \uf ei fasu
 \ps art chief
 \gl p chief

\ft "He certainly does not hide his strength(s), causing the chiefs to see it."

\rf 015

\tx Ma ina'apa'aia eni fasu, ba ua
 \uf ma i-na-'apa'a-ia eni fasu ba ua
 \ps cj su-mo-n-ob dem n cmpz cj
 \gl and 3s-real-knowledge-3s PPrx leader that only

\tx ro'afanehunuga gui unu o'ou rama'a?
 \uf ro-'a-fane-hunu-ga gui unu o'ou rama'a
 \ps su-mo-as-v-mk n n pron n
 \gl 3p-irr-hab-extract-trn bone body lpi person

\ft "Does he know these leaders, that they're in the habit of weakening us people?"

\nt fane=habitual, expression=to weaken (by magic power)

\rf 016

\tx Si'ei, Barafi napohadiwe'ina fei mugo ma
 \uf si-'ei Barafi na-to-poro-hadiwe'i-na fei mugo ma
 \ps deic-art prop n-mo-v-v-v-trn art n cj
 \gl so Barafi real-get-carry-return-trn Sg stone and

\tx na'auhadiwe'idinia i lalo fei suta.
 \uf na-'au-hadiwe'i-di-nia i lalo fei suta
 \ps mo-v-v-adv-ob mk prep art n
 \gl real-put-return-again-3s loc in Sg taro swamp

\ft Therefore, Barafi took the stone, carried it back and returned it again inside the taro swamp.

\rf 017
 \tx Ma imapa'ia Pudei, nasiba.
 \uf ma i-ma'a-pa'i-ia Pudeafo na-siba
 \ps cj su-v-v-ob propn mo-v
 \gl and 3s-see have-3s Pudeafo real-anger

\ft And when Pudei saw it [he] was angry.

\rf 018
 \tx Ee, Lagunawefifo'ai.
 \uf ee lagu-na-we-fi-fo'a-i
 \ps cj su-real-ev-as-v-hrm
 \gl so 3dl-finally-rcpr-fight

\ft So, the two finally fought.

\rf 019
 \tx Lagunapide i podu.
 \uf lagu-na-pide i podu
 \ps su-mo-v mk n
 \gl 3dl-real-wrestle loc jungle

\ft The two wrestled in the bush.

\rf 020
 \tx Ma inopa'a-re lagua,mei haro lagua, mei haro Pudeafo,Guaumu
 \uf ma i-no-pa'a-re lagua mei haro lagua mei haro Pudeafo Guaumu
 \ps cj su-v-v-dir pron art n pron art n propn propn
 \gl and 3s-move-to 3dl ans spouse 3dl the spouse Pudeafo Guaumu

\ft And she was about to discover the two, the wife of the two, the wife of Pudeafo, Guaumu.

\rf 021
 \tx Ale'ei maumau Barafi lo'e ba iminafadina
 \uf ale-'ei maumau Barafi lo'e ba i-mina-fa-di-na
 \ps deic-art n propn neg cmpz su-adv-cz-v-ob
 \gl like that character Barafi no that 3s-totally-cz-go-trn

\tx pafea ba ia, inaufafau.
 \uf pafea ba ia i-na-faufau
 \ps adv cmpz pron su-mo-v
 \gl above that he 3s-real-strong

\ft Barafi's character was like that—he did not in the least exalt himself, that he was powerful.

\nt re=gi in this context.

\rf 022
 \tx Inafafefena ei haida o, ei fasu, ba ua ia,
 \uf i-na-fa-fefe-na ei haida o ei fasu ba ua ia
 \ps su-mo-mk-v-ob art n cj art n cmpz adv pron
 \gl 3s-real-cz-stoop-trn p sage or p leader that 3s he

\tx ale'ei hemea rama'a inapududu,
 \uf ale-'ei hemea rama'a i-na-pududu
 \ps deic-art num n su-mo-v
 \gl like this one person 3s-real-stupid

\ft He caused [himself] to go down (humbled himself before) the leaders so that he appeared to be a stupid person.

\rf 023
 \tx ma do'o-farawarawa, lagu'ei pide farawarawa, lo'e
 \uf ma do'o-fa-rawarawa lagu ei pide-fa-rawarawa lo'e
 \ps cj adv-mk-v pron art v-cz-v neg
 \gl and first-cz-first 3dl pl wrestle-cz-first not

\tx inahawia mei lofuna.
 \uf i-na-hawia mei lofu-na
 \ps su-mo-v art n-ag
 \gl 3s-real-able the brother-3s

\ft and at first, when the two wrestled at first, his brother was not able [to beat him].

\rf 024
 \tx Inafanefugoinia.
 \uf i-na-fane-fugoi-nia
 \ps su-mo-as-v-ob
 \gl 3s-real-hab-pin-3s

\ft He repeatedly pinned him.

\nt fugoi=to hold something/someone down.

\rf 025
 \tx Ma imapa'a Guaumu, ifinorai,
 \uf ma i-ma'a-pa'a Guaumu i-fi-no-rai
 \ps cj su-v-v propn su-as-v-dir
 \gl and 3s-see-reach Guaumu 3s-sim-move-come

\tx inafapasi-sifi na pu.
 \uf i-na-fa-pasi-sifi na pu
 \ps su-mo-mk-v-v prep adv
 \gl 3s-real-cz-fall-deceive_to below

\ft And [when] he saw Guaumu coming, he deceptively caused himself to fall down.

\rf 026

\tx Ua, ale'ei maumau ei rama'a ronapa'i apa'a ro'ou.
 \uf ua ale-'ei maumau ei rama'a ro-na-pa'i apa'a ro'odu
 \ps adv deic-art n art n su-mo-v n pron
 \gl cuz like this character p person 3p-real-have knowledge 3p

\ft Because, [it was] this was how people who have knowledge do things.

\rf 027

\tx ba'ua, ei rama'a, ei fasu, ro'ahawia ba
 \uf ba ua ei rama'a ei fasu ro-'a-hawia ba
 \ps cmpz cj art n art n su-mo-v cmpz
 \gl that cuz the person the leader 3p-irr-able that

\tx ro'afuftosiminia, ei gui unu o'ou.
 \uf ro-'a-fufu-to-simi-nia ei gui unu o'odu
 \ps su-mo-v-v-v-ob art n n pron
 \gl 3p-irr-extract-get-discard-3s p bone body lpi

\ft The people, the leaders, they are able to weaken us. (Idiom: extract and discard the bones from our bodies).

\rf 028

\tx Ua, ei fasu, puala.
 \uf ua ei fasu puala
 \ps adv art n n
 \gl cuz p leader sorcerer

\ft Because the chiefs, [they are] sorcerers.

\rf 029

\tx Ma ia, rama'a ua.
 \uf ma ia rama'a ua
 \ps cj pron n adv
 \gl and 3s person only

\ft But he is only [a] person.

\rf 030

\tx Ma'ua, fei apa'ana, ana ale'ei apa'a ei puala.
 \uf Ma'ua fei apa'a-na ana ale'ei apa'a ei puala
 \ps cj art n-ag adv deic-art n art n
 \gl but the knowledge-3s also like-it knowledge the sorcerer

\ft But his knowledge also was like the knowledge of the sorcerers.

\rf 031

\tx Ua, inapo'omua fei, ale'ena ano'ano, o imina'apa'a
 \uf ua i-na-po'o-mua fei ale'ena ano'ano o i-mina-'apa'a
 \ps adv su-mo-ints-v art deic-dem n cj su-adv-v
 \gl cuz 3s-real-very-win the like-those expert or 3s-really-know

\tx manumanu i'atawenominene.
 \uf manumanu i-'a-ta-we-no-mai nene
 \ps n su-mo-neg-ev-v-dir adv
 \gl something 3s-irr-neg-yet-move-come later

\ft Because he excelled like skilled (men), or like someone who knows something that has not yet come up in the future.

\rf 033

\tx Barafi, hemea rama'a, inapa'i naranarana, ma inapa'i
 \uf Barafi hemea rama'a i-na-pa'i rd-nara-a-na ma i-na-pa'i
 \ps propn num n su-mo-v rd-think-nzr-ag cj su-mo-v
 \gl Barafi one person 3s-real-have thinking and 3s-real-have

\tx apa'ana.
 \uf apa'a-na
 \ps n-ag
 \gl knowledge-3s

\ft Barafi was a man who had understanding and he had knowledge.

\rf 034

\tx Ei iudefarawani ei faufauna, sifei ba
 \uf ei i-ude-fa-rawani ei faufau-na si-fei ba
 \ps adv su-v-mk-adj art n-ag deic-art cmpz
 \gl when 3s-remain-cz-well the strength-3s it's this that

\tx inaminanenegifarawani ei maumau ei fasu.
 \uf i-na-mina-nenegi-fa-rawani ei maumau ei fasu
 \ps su-mo-adv-v-cz-adv art n art n
 \gl 3s-real-totally-follow-well the character the leader

\ft The reason he held his strength well, it's this—that he really imitated the character of the chiefs well.

\rf 035

\tx Lo'e inamina'ana pafea.

\uf lo'e i-na-mina ana pafea

\ps neg su-mo-adv n adv

\gl neg 3s-real-totally self above

\ft He did not at all exalt himself.

\nt 'a=asi'a

\rf 036

\tx Lo'e inapronaia pafea,ba ia hemea rama'a inaufau, lomi.

\uf lo'e i-na-poro-na ia pafea ba ia hemea rama'a i-na-faufau lomi

\ps neg su-mo-v-trn pron adv cmpz pron num n su-mo-v neg

\gl neg 3s-real-lift-trn-3s above that 3s one person 3s-real-strong no

\ft He did not exalt himself, that he [was] a person who is strong;
nope.

\rf 037

\tx Barafi nafadina ia pu, ma inafafafauna

\uf Barafi na-fa-di-na ia pu ma i-na-fa-fafau-na

\ps propn mo-mk-v-mk pron adv cj su-mo-mk-v-mk

\gl Barafi real-cz-go-trn-3s 3s below and 3s-real-cz-stoop-trn-3s

\tx ia pu ale'ena ba ia, rama'a ua, lo'e faufauna

\uf ia pu ale'ena ba ia rama'a ua lo'e faufau-na

\ps pron adv deic-dem cmpz pron n adv neg n-ag

\gl 3s below like-that that 3s person only not strength-3s

\ft Barafi made himself to go down and made himself to stoop low, like
he was just an ordinary person without power.

\nt fafau=to put something down (e.g., a post)

APPENDIX B

EDUCATION TEXT

\ref 001
 \tx Mafufuo wagiēni ba awarewarefana hamu'odu hepalo
 \uf mafufuo wagiēni ba 'a- rd- ware -fana hamu'odu hepalo
 \ps n adv cmpz mo- as- v -v pron num
 \gl morning today that irr- ipf- speak -give 2p one

\tx manumanu.
 \uf manu
 \ps n
 \gl thing

\ft This morning I'm going to tell you something.

\ref 002
 \tx Aa, ei pidaau, ronaware ale'ei ba warning
 \uf aa ei pidaau ro- na- ware ale- 'ei ba warning
 \ps ij art n su- mo- v deic- art cmpz n
 \gl aa P foreigner 3p- real- speak like-p that warning

\ft Aa, the foreigners, they say, for example, "warning."

\ref 003
 \tx Ma o'ou, yau ba afawala'aia adia o'odu.
 \uf ma o'odu yau ba 'a- fa- wala'a -ia adia o'odu
 \ps cj pron pron cmpz mo- mk- n -ob n pron
 \gl and lpi ls that irr- cz- hole -3s ear lpi

\ft And us, I'll cause us to understand it.

\nt 1) wala=hole

\ref 004
 \tx Yau ba awareware a feni education
 \uf yau ba 'a- rd- ware a'a feni education
 \ps pron cmpz mo- as- v prep dem n
 \gl ls that irr- ipf- speak with insprx education

\ft I'm going to talk about this (topic) "education."

\ref 005
 \tx Ronaware, ei pidaau ba education ma o'odu,
 \uf ro- na- ware 'ei pidaau ba education ma o'odu
 \ps su- mo- v art n cmpz n cj pron
 \gl 3p- real- speak p foreigner that education and lpi

\tx oware ba apa'a o'odu
 \uf o'o- ware ba 'apa'a o'odu
 \ps su- v cmpz n pron
 \gl lpi- speak that knowledge lp

\ft The foreigners say, "education" and we, we say "our knowlege."

\ref 006a, 006b, 006c

\tx Aa, fafanunu'au a o'ou wagieni, feni apa'a o'odu,
 \uf aaa rd- fanunu -'au a'a o'odu wagieni feni 'apa'a o'odu
 \ps ij as- v -su prep pron adv dem n pron
 \gl aa ipf- look -1s with lp today insprx knowledge lpi

\tx o ei badu ronadina fei humu feferoi, roferoi, ba
 \uf o 'ei badu fei humu rd- feroid ro- feroid ba
 \ps cj art n art n as- v su- v cmpz
 \gl or p child ins house ipf- teach 3p- teach that

\tx ro'ato apa'a ro'ou. Ma ro'abigifagipea ei
 \uf ro- 'a- to 'apa'a ro'odu ma ro- 'a- bigi fa- gipe -a 'ei
 \ps su- mo- v n pron cj su- mo- v mk- adj -mk art
 \gl 3p- irr- get knowledge 3p and 3p- irr- work cz- large -trn p

\tx naranara ro'odu, irebauanai ma
 \uf rd- nara ro'odu i- re ba -ai ma
 \ps as- n pron su- dir cmpz -num cj
 \gl ipf- thought 3p 3s- to that -one and

\tx ro'afanunua ei manumanu, ro'abigi'ia, ma
 \uf ro- 'a- fanunu -a 'ei manu ro- 'a- bigi -ia ma
 \ps su- mo- v -mk art n su- mo- v -ob cj
 \gl 3p- irr- look -trn p thing 3p- irr- work -3s and

\tx rofa'ita'ana fei gufu o'odu. I a o'ou wagieni,
 \uf ro- fa- ita'a -na fei gufu o'odu i a'a o'odu wagieni
 \ps su- mk- v -ob art n pron loc prep pron adv
 \gl 3p- cz- arise -trn ins village lp at with lp today

\tx onafapasipa'ainia.

\uf o'o- na- fa- pasi -pa'ai -nia
 \ps su- mo- mk- v -v -ag
 \gl lp- real- cz- fall_down -hide -3s

\ft They way I see us today--this knowlege of ours--or, the children who go to school, they learn in order to get their knowlege. They work at expanding their thinking, it will grow, and they will perceive things, they'll do them and they'll cause our village to develop. want do it and they'll want to develop our village. Among us today we have caused it to die off.

\nt 1) meaning perhaps that we didn't encourage it.

\ref 007

\tx Ma onafanunuia ale'ena fena feferoi, maumau
 \uf ma o'o- na- fanunu -ia ale- ena fena rd- feroi maumau
 \ps cj su- mo- v -ob prep- dem dem as- v n
 \gl and 1p- real- look -3s like- pdst insdst ipf- teach character

\tx feferoi, ale'ena mauanamai a ei
 \uf rd- feroi ale- ena mau -ana -mai a'a 'ei
 \ps as- v prep- dem n -rflx -dir prep art
 \gl ipf- teach like- pdst character -self -come with Pl

\tx pidaua ba hepalo fifigai ro'odu, ma
 \uf pidaua ba hepalo fifigai ro'odu ma
 \ps n cmpz num n pron cj
 \gl foreigner that one play 3p and

\tx ronabigifa'ania.

\uf ro- na- bigi -fa -'asi'a -nia
 \ps su- mo- v -mk -v -ob
 \gl 3p- real- work -trn -arise -3s

\ft And you observe education, the way of education, that it originated from the foreigners, like a game of theirs and they caused it to grow.

\nt 1) ronabigifa'ania=ronabigifa'asi'ania

\ref 008

\tx Ma, hefia, ronananara ale'ei ba, aa, hepalo club
 \uf ma hefia ro- na- rd- nara ale- 'ei ba aaa hepalo ***
 \ps cj quant su- mo- as- v prep- art cmpz ij num ***
 \gl and some 3p- real- ipf- think like- p that aa one ***

\tx ba ro'eitoto'ua ba'arere ro'ou, ei pidaua.
 \uf ba ro-'ei-rd-to-ua ba'arere ro'odu 'ei pidaua
 \ps cmpz su-mk-ipf-v-adv n pron art n
 \gl that 3p-prc-get-just money 3p p foreigner

\ft And some—they think that (it's) a club for them to just get their money—the foreigners.

\ref 009

\tx Ma agia; aba ale'ei.
 \uf ma agia aba ale- 'ei
 \ps cj neg neg prep- art
 \gl and no neg like- Pl

\ft But no—it's not like that.

\ref 010
 \tx Ei pidaua, ronafanunu'apa'ia ba inapa'i
 \uf 'ei pidaua ro- na- fanunu- apa'a -ia ba i- na- pa'i
 \ps art n su- mo- v- v -ob cmpz su- mo- v
 \gl p foreigner 3p- real- look- to know -3s that 3s- real- have

\tx hefia tala ba o'odu, oneiferoina ei badu ba
 \uf hefia tala ba o'odu o'o- nei- feroi -na 'ei badu ba
 \ps quant n cmpz pron su- mo- v -ob art n cmpz
 \gl some road that 1p 1p- must-teach -trn p child that

\tx roneibigifarawani, ma roneifa'ata'ana ei manumanu.
 \uf ro- nei- bigi fa- rawani ma ro- nei- fa- ita'a -na 'ei manu
 \ps su- mo- v mk- adj cj su- mo- mk- v -ob art n
 \gl 3p- must-work cz- good and 3p- must-cz- arise -trn p thing

\ft The foreigners, they understand that there are some ways that we must educate the children so that they must work well and they must develop things.

\ref 011a, 011b
 \tx Yoi, ama ma ina, hamuneihadumia, o ale'ena
 \uf yoi ama ma ina hamu'o- nei- hadu -ia o ale- ena
 \ps pron n cj n su- mo- v -ob cj prep- dem
 \gl 1s father and mother 2pl- must-help -3s or like- pdst

\tx hamuguaneiporo'ia, ale'ei naba
 \uf hamu'o- gu 'a- nei- poro -ia ale- 'ei naba
 \ps su- v mo- mo- v -ob prep- art cj
 \gl 2pl- smash irr- must-carry -3s like- p if

\tx o'apono'a fei feferoiana,
 \uf 'o- 'a- pono -'a fei rd- feroi -ana
 \ps su- mo- v -mk art as- v -rflx
 \gl 2s- irr- to buy -trn ins ipf- teach -self

\tx fatalaifarawaninia, ma irepeduga fei
 \uf fa- talai fa- rawani -nia ma i- re pedu -ra fei
 \ps mk- v mk- adj -ag cj su- dir adv -mk art
 \gl cz- walk cz- good -3s and 3s- to finish -trn ins

\tx feferoina, nahadiwe'imai. Imibigi'a
 \uf rd- feroi -na na- hadiwe'i -mai i- -mi bigi -'a
 \ps as- v -ob mo- v -dir su- -dir v -mk
 \gl ipf- teach -trn real- return -come 3s- -come work -trn

\tx tamanu ei manumanu ei hamagunafanunupa'ia hamugua ba
 \uf tamanu 'ei manu 'ei hamagu- na- fanunu -pa'i -ia hamagua ba
 \ps pron art n art pron- mo- v -v -ob pron cmpz
 \gl what p thing p 2dl- real- look -have -3s 2dl that

\tx hamugua bigi'ia ma lomi hamunahawia ba hamugua
 \uf hamagua bigi -ia ma lomi hamu'o- na- hawia ba hamagua
 \ps pron v -ob cj neg su- mo- v cmpz pron
 \gl 2dl work -3s and neg 2pl- real- able to that 2dl

\tx bigipa'ia.
 \uf bigi -pa'i -ia
 \ps v -v -ob
 \gl work -have -3s

\ft You—dad and mom—you must help him, or, it's like you must carry him.
 If you pay his tuition, provide well for him and he completes his
 education, (he'll) return. He'll come do whatever things you two want to
 do and (that) you two aren't able to do.

\ref 012
 \tx Nadi, e'eni yau ba adifawala'aia adia o'odu.
 \uf nadi e- 'eni yau ba 'a- di fa- wala -'asi'a -ia adia o'odu
 \ps ij mk- adv pron cmpz mo- v mk- n -v -ob n pron
 \gl okay top- now is that irr- go cz- hole -arise -3s ear lp

\ft Okay, now I will inform us.

\ref 013
 \tx Ma oneipa'afafanunufarawaninia feni, ua
 \uf ma 'o- nei- pa'a rd- fanunu fa- rawani -nia feni ua
 \ps cj su- mo- adv as- v mk- adj -ag dem cj
 \gl and 2s- must-ints ipf- look cz- good -3s insprx because

\tx hefa manumanu.
 \uf hefa manu
 \ps adj n
 \gl another thing

\ft And you must consider well, because it's a fact.

\nt 1) hefa manumanu=understood as "it's a fact"

\ref 014
 \tx Naba lo'e o'a'oma'ama'afarawani lalo feni gufu
 \uf naba lo'e o'o- 'a- 'oma'a ma'a fa- rawani lalo feni gufu
 \ps cj neg su- mo- v v mk- adj prep dem n
 \gl if neg lp- irr- care for see cz- good in insprx village

\tx o'odu, o'odu lo'e o'a'apa'a hepalo manumanu.
 \uf o'odu o'odu lo'e 'o- 'a- 'apa'a hepalo manu
 \ps pron pron neg su- mo- v num n
 \gl lp lp neg lpi- irr- know one thing

\ft If we don't consider this carefully in this village of ours, we won't understand anything.

\ref 015

\tx Education, o feni feferoi, naba agua, ma lo'e
 \uf education o feni rd- feroid naba agua ma lo'e
 \ps n cj dem as- v cj pron cj neg
 \gl education or insprx ipf- teach if 1dl and neg

\tx agu'aferoifarawanina mei badu, ma
 \uf agua 'a- feroid fa- rawani -na mei badu ma
 \ps pron mo- v mk- adj -ob art n cj
 \gl 1dl irr- teach cz- good -trn ans child and

\tx porofarawaninia, fagutafarawaninia a'a fei maumau
 \uf poro fa- rawani -nia fa- guta fa- rawani -nia a'a fei maumau
 \ps v mk- adj -ag mk- v mk- adj -ag art n
 \gl carry cz- good -3s cz- sit cz- good -3s ins character

\tx fei ba agua feroinia, lo'e ipa'i apa'ana a'a fei
 \uf fei ba agua feroid -nia lo'e i- -pa'i 'apa'a -na a'a fei
 \ps art cmpz pron v -ag neg su- -v n -ob prep art
 \gl ins that 1dl teach -3s neg 3s- -have knowledge -trn with ins

\tx warawara mei Fasu lalo fei Bu'u Apuna.
 \uf rd- wara mei fasu lalo fei bu'u apuna
 \ps as- v art n prep art n adj
 \gl ipf- talk ans God in ins book holy

\ft Education, or this instruction—if we two don't educate the child well and carry him well, provide well for him such that we two educate him, he won't have his knowlege about the message of God in the Holy Bible.

\ref 016

\tx Hepalo, fei.
 \uf hepalo fei
 \ps num art
 \gl one ins

\ft That's one.

\ref 017

\tx Ma hepalo.

\uf ma hepalo

\ps cj num

\gl and one

\ft And another..

\ref 018

\tx Lo'e ipa'i apa'ana ba ibigi'a tamanu ei

\uf lo'e i- -pa'i 'apa'a -na ba i- bigi -'a tamanu 'ei

\ps neg su- -v n -mk cmpz su- v -mk pron art

\gl neg 3s- -have knowledge -3s that 3s- work -trn what Pl

\tx manumanu ba agu'afanunuia, ale'ei to mugo po'i agua

\uf manu ba agua 'a- fanunu -ia ale- 'ei to mugo po'i agua

\ps n cmpz pron mo- v -ob prep- art v n adj pron

\gl thing that ldl irr- look -3s like- p get stone white ldl

\tx wagina, ma agu'abigifabauana fei bisinisi

\uf wagi -na ma agu- 'a- bigi fa- bauan -na fei bisinisi

\ps n -mk cj su- mo- v mk- adj -ob art n

\gl association -3s and ldi- irr- work cz- large -trn ins business

\tx agua.

\uf agua

\ps pron

\gl ldi

\ft He won't have knowledge to do whatever the two of us see fit—for example, [things] related to money of ours and (if) we want to prosper our business.

\ref 019

\tx Hepalo.

\uf hepalo

\ps num

\gl one

\ft One.

\ref 020

\tx Lo'e ipa'i apa'a mei badu, ba ifanunu'apa'ia ba

\uf lo'e i- -pa'i 'apa'a mei badu ba i- fanunu apa'a -ia ba

\ps neg su- -v v art n cmpz su- v v -ob cmpz

\gl neg 3s- -have to know ans child that 3s- look to know -3s that

\tx fei rawania o fei hafelo'a.
 \uf fei rawani o fei hafelo'a
 \ps art adj cj art adj
 \gl ins good or ins bad

\ft The child won't have knowlege to discern whether something is good or something is bad.

\ref 021
 \tx Fei rawania ma fei hafelo'a, mei badu ibigi'uaialao.
 \uf fei rawani ma fei hafelo'a mei badu i- bigi -ua -ia -lao
 \ps art adj cj art adj art n su- v -adv -ob -dir
 \gl ins good and ins bad ans child 3s- work -just -3s -to

\ft The good and the bad--the child will just go ahead (with) it.

\ref 022
 \tx Sifeni, fena fafasui feni manumanu isufudai
 \uf si- feni fena rd- fasu -i feni manu i- sufu
 \ps mk- dem dem as- n -adzj dem n su- v
 \gl deic- insprx insdst ipf- source -adj insprx thing 3s- sprout

\tx ma fahafelo a'a o'odu PNG wagieni.
 \uf ma fa- hafelo a'a o'odu PNG wagieni
 \ps cj mk- n prep pron proprn adv
 \gl and cz- bad with lp Papua.NG today

\ft This is it--the cause of this thing that has come up and corrupted us PNG (people) today.

\ref 023
 \tx Ei badu, ronafahafeloa feni country o'odu.
 \uf 'ei badu ro- na- fa- hafelo -'a feni country o'odu
 \ps art n su- mo- mk- n -mk dem n pron
 \gl p child 3p- real- cz- bad -trn insprx country lpi

\ft The children destroy this country of ours.

\ref 024
 \tx Ua tani, o'ou ama ma ina, lo'e onabigifarawani
 \uf ua tani o'odu ama ma ina lo'e o'o- na- bigi fa- rawani
 \ps cj q pron n cj n neg su- mo- v mk- adj
 \gl but why? lpi father and mother neg lp- real- work cz- good

\tx a'a ei badu.
 \uf a'a 'ei badu
 \ps prep art n
 \gl with p child

\ft And why? We fathers and mothers—we don't work well with the children.

\ref 025

\tx Ua ei o'afatGro'ita'anomi ro'ou lalo
 \uf ua 'ei o'o- 'a- fa- toro ita'a -no -mi ro'odu lalo
 \ps adv art su- mo- mk- v v -v -dir pron prep
 \gl because p lp- irr- cz- conceive arise -move -come 3p in

\tx ia o'ou, onatosimi'uaiawi ro'ou ma
 \uf ia o'odu o'o- na- to- simi- 'ua -ia -wi ro'odu ma
 \ps n pron su- mo- v- v- adv -ob -dir pron cj
 \gl inside lp lp- real- get- discard- just -3s -away 3p and

\tx ana roitatalai'uanawi talaia ro'ou
 \uf ana ro-i-ta-talai -'ua -ana -wi talaia ro'odu
 \ps adv su-mk-rd-walk -adv -adv -dir n pron
 \gl also 3p- -only -also-to deportment 3p

\tx ale'ena ena ponoto ma ena a'aro.
 \uf ale- ena ena ponoto ma ena a'aro
 \ps prep- dem dem n cj dem n
 \gl like- pdst pdst dog and pdst chicken

\ft Because when we cause them to be conceived and rise from our wombs we just throw them away and they themselves choose their own ways like dogs and chickens.

\ref 026

\tx Ma lo'e onafani apa'a ro'odu.
 \uf ma lo'e o'o- na- fani apa'a ro'odu
 \ps cj neg su- mo- v n pron
 \gl and neg lp- real- give knowledge 3p

\ft And we don't give them knowlege.

\nt nanawifani hapena., nanawi=discipline

\ref 027

\tx Ma naba oafani apa'a ro'ou, ro'agipefarawani
 \uf ma naba o'o- 'a- fani apa'a ro'odu ro- 'a- gipe fa- rawani
 \ps cj cj su- mo- v n pron su- mo- adj mk- adj
 \gl and if lp- irr- give knowledge 3p 3p- irr- large cz- good

\tx ale'ei rawani'a badu.
 \uf ale- 'ei rawani -'a badu
 \ps prep- art adj -mk n
 \gl like- p good -nzs child

\ft And if we give them knowlege, they will become mature like a good child.

\ref 028

\tx Ma ro'agutafarawani, ma ro'abigi'a tamanu ei
 \uf ma ro- 'a- guta fa- rawani ma ro- 'a- bigi -'a tamanu 'ei
 \ps cj su- mo- v mk- adj cj su- mo- v -mk pron art
 \gl and 3p- irr- sit cz- good and 3p- irr- work -trn what Pl

\tx manumanu yoi onanunuminia.
 \uf manu yoi o'o- na- nunumi -nia
 \ps n pron su- mo- v -ag
 \gl thing 1s 1p- real- desire -3s

\ft And they will be fine and they will do whatever [things] you want.

\ref 029

\tx Hefei fafasui fei naranara onapa'i
 \uf he fei rd- fasu -i fei rd- nara 'o- na- pa'i
 \ps mk art as- n -adj art as- n su- mo- v
 \gl top ins ipf- base -adj ins ipf- thought 2s- real- have

\tx fei, naba oadisimi'uaia mena badu, ba aba
 \uf fei naba 'o- 'a- di simi- 'ua -ia mena badu ba aba
 \ps art cj su- mo- v v- adv -ob dem n cmpz neg
 \gl ins if 2s- irr- go discard- just -3s AnSDst child that neg

\tx ale'ena maumau rama'a ma lomi inapana fei
 \uf ale- ena maumau rama'a ma lomi i- na- pana fei
 \ps prep- dem n n cj neg su- mo- v art
 \gl like- pdst character person and neg 3s- real- hold ins

\tx naranaramu a'a mei badu ba ibigi'a
 \uf rd- nara -mu a'a mei badu ba i- bigi -'a
 \ps as- n -ag prep art n cmpz su- v -mk
 \gl ipf- thought -2s with ans child that 3s- work -trn

\tx bigi'amu, aa, mei badu, hinene ana
 \uf bigi -'a -mu aaa mei badu hinene ana
 \ps v -mk -ag ij art n adj adv
 \gl work -nZR -2s aa ans child later also

\tx italaifadugidi'ininio.
 \uf i- talai- fa- dugi di'ini -io
 \ps su- v- mk- v v -ob
 \gl 3s- walk- cz- get separate -2s

\ft The basis of the thinking we have [is] if we just neglect that child, like he's not a person and your thoughts lack trust with the child—that he do your work—the child will also walk away from you.

\nt fadugi=i.to give backside, ignore, 2) di'ini=i.to separate from

\ref 030

\tx Owarefania ba fei, hafelo'a.
 \uf 'o- ware fani- -a ba fei hafelo'a
 \ps su- v v- -ob cmpz art adj
 \gl 2s- speak give- -3s that ins bad

\ft You'll tell him, "That's bad."

\ref 031

\tx Owarefania ba fei manumanu fei neiferoinia ma
 \uf 'o- ware fani - -a ba fei manu fei nei- feroi -nia ma
 \ps su- v v- -ob cmpz art n art mo- v -ag cj
 \gl 2s- speak give- -3s that ins thing ins must-teach -3s and

\tx ineitonia.

\uf i- nei- to- -nia
 \ps su- mo- v- -ag
 \gl 3s- must-get- -3s

\ft You'll tell him that this thing (he) must learn it and must get it.

\ref 032

\tx Ma'ua lomi ba ibigi'ia, uatani?
 \uf Ma'ua lomi ba i- bigi -ia uatani
 \ps prep neg cmpz su- v -ob prep
 \gl but neg that 3s- work -3s why?

\ft But he won't do it—why?

\ref 033

\tx Onaditosimi'ua mei badu.
 \uf 'o- na- di to- simi- -'ua -ia mei badu
 \ps su- mo- as v- v- -adv -ob art n
 \gl 2s- real- prf get- discard- -just -3s ans child

\ft You had already just discarded the child.

\ref 034

\tx Aa, ei ofatoro'ita'anamai, lomi
 \uf aaa 'ei 'o- fa- toro ita'a -na -mai lomi
 \ps ij adv su- mk- v v -mk -dir neg
 \gl aa when 2s- cz- conceive arise -trn-come neg

\tx onanarapa'ia ba mei, na'umu.
 \uf 'o- na- nara -pa'i -ia ba mei na'u -mu
 \ps su- mo- v -v -ob cmpz art n -ag
 \gl 2s- real- think -have -3s that ans child -2s

\ft When you caused conception and birth, you didn't acknowledge that this person is your child.

\ref 035

\tx Na'a mei na'umu, yoi onanunumia ba
 \uf na'a mei na'u -mu yoi 'o- na- nunumi -nia ba
 \ps cj art n -ag pron su- mo- v -ag cmpz
 \gl if ans child -2s 1s 2s- real- desire -3s that

\tx ineitona ei maumaumu, neifi ale'ei yoi.
 \uf i- nei- to- -na 'ei maumau -mu nei- fi- ale- 'ei yoi
 \ps su- mo- v- -ob art n -ag mo- mk- prep- art pron
 \gl 3s- must-get- -trn p character -2s must-prc-like- p 1s

\ft If he's your child, you desire that he must get your character, (he) must be like you.

\ref 036

\tx Ma ineifi ale'ei mei Fasu ma ineifi ale'ei
 \uf ma i- nei- fi- ale- 'ei mei fasu ma i- nei- fi- ale- 'ei
 \ps cj su- mo- mk- prep- art art n cj su- mo- mk- prep- art
 \gl and 3s- must-rcpr- like- p ans God and 3s- must-rcpr- like- Pl

\tx ei nunumia gavman.
 \uf 'ei nunu -ia gavman
 \ps art v -ob n
 \gl p bathe -3s government

\ft And he must be like God and he must be be like the government wants him (to be).

\ref 037

\tx Ee, wagieni awarefanio ba
 \uf Eee wagieni 'a- ware -fa -io ba
 \ps ij adv mo- v -mk -ob cmpz
 \gl * today irr- speak -trn -2s that

\tx oneiminapa'afafanunufarawani gutana meni
 \uf 'o- nei- mina- pa'a fa- fanunu fa- rawani guta -na meni
 \ps su- mo- adv- adv mk- v mk- adj v -mk dem
 \gl 2s- must-totally- ints cz- look cz- good sit -3s ansprx

\tx badu.
 \uf badu
 \ps n
 \gl child

\ft So, today I tell you that you must really take a good hard look at this child's situation.

\ref 038

\tx Ua meni badu, hepalo baula manumanu i a'amu, yoi, mena
 \uf ua meni badu hepalo baula manu i a'a -mu yoi mena
 \ps adv dem n num adj n loc prep -ag pron dem
 \gl because ansprx child one large thing at with -2s 1s AnSDst

\tx ama ma ina.
 \uf ama ma ina
 \ps n cj n
 \gl father and mother

\ft Because, this child is a big responsibility with you—you the father and mother.

\ref 039

\tx Hamugua, hamu'ani'eni'e a'a mena badu hinene.
 \uf hamagua hamu'o- 'a- rd- ni'e a'a mena badu hinene
 \ps pron su- mo- as- v prep dem n adj
 \gl 2dl 2pl- irr- ipf- happy with AnSDst child later

\ft You two, you will be happy with that child later.

\ref 040

\tx Ee, e'eni idifawala'aia adia o'ou.
 \uf Eee e- 'eni i- di fa- wala'a -ia adia o'odu
 \ps ij mk- adv su- as mk- n -ob n pron
 \gl * top- now 3s- prf cz- hole -3s ear 1p

\ft So, now it is giving notice to us.

\ref 041

\tx Ma naba oapa'abigifarawani a'a mei badu, fei
 \uf ma naba 'o- 'a- pa'a bigi fa- rawani a'a mei badu fei
 \ps cj cj su- mo- adv v mk- adv prep art n art
 \gl and if 2s- irr- ints work cz- thank you with ans child ins

\tx fafasui fei naranara napa'i yau, fei,
 \uf rd- fasu -i fei rd- nara na- pa'i yau fei
 \ps as- n -adzj art as- n mo- v pron art
 \gl ipf- source -adj ins ipf- thought real- have 1s ins

\tx ba mei badu iporo'io hinene.
 \uf ba mei badu i- poro -io hinene
 \ps cmpz art n su- v -ob adj
 \gl that ans child 3s- carry -2s later

\ft And if you really do well with the child, the main point of this idea that I have is this—that the child will carry you later.

\ref 042

\tx Itonami ei manumanu yoi onanunumi
 \uf i- to- -na -mi 'ei manu yoi 'o- na- nunu -mi
 \ps su- v- -ob -dir art n pron su- mo- v -dir
 \gl 3s- get- -trn -come p thing 1s 2s- real- bathe -come

\tx wagieni ba o'abigi'ia ma lomi onabigipa'ia,
 \uf wagieni ba 'o- 'a- bigi -ia ma lomi 'o- na- bigi -pa'i -ia
 \ps adv cmpz su- mo- v -ob cj neg su- mo- v -v -ob
 \gl today that 2s- irr- work -3s and neg 2s- real- work -have -3s

\tx ibigifanio.
 \uf i- bigi -fa -io
 \ps su- v -mk -ob
 \gl 3s- work -trn -2s

\ft He will get the things you want today—that you want to do and you can't do—he'll do for you.

\ref 043

\tx Na'a onanaranara ba oto hepalo wa tale
 \uf na'a 'o- na- rd- nara ba 'o- to hepalo wa ta- le
 \ps cj su- mo- as- v cmpz su- v num n neg- adv
 \gl if 2s- real- ipf- think that 2s- get one canoe neg- there

\tx ma lomi otopa'ia, eni ifawalaia adiamu ba
 \uf ma lomi 'o- to- -pa'i -ia eni i- fa- wala -ia adia -mu ba
 \ps cj neg su- v- -v -ob dem su- mk- n -ob n -ag cmpz
 \gl and neg 2s- get- -have -3s PPrx 3s- cz- hole -3s ear -2s that

\tx hepalo tala ua onei'oma'afarawanina meni badu
 \uf hepalo tala ua 'o- nei- 'oma'a fa- rawani -na meni badu
 \ps num n adv su- mo- v mk- adj -ob dem n
 \gl one road just 2s- must-care for cz- good -trn ansprx child

\tx ma fagutafarawaninia ma oneiferoifarawaninia.
 \uf ma fa- guta fa- rawani -nia ma 'o- nei- feroid fa- rawani -nia
 \ps cj mk- v mk- adj -ag cj su- mo- v mk- adj -ag
 \gl and cz- sit cz- good -3s and 2s- must-teach cz- good -3s

\ft If you thinking that you'll get a speedboat and you aren't able to get it, now it is revealed to you that there's only one way—you must care well for this child and cause him to have a good environment and you must instruct him well.

\ref 045

\tx Otonia fena wa tale fena ude
 \uf 'o- to- -nia fena wa ta- le fena ude
 \ps su- v- -ag dem n neg- adv dem v
 \gl 2s- get- -3s insdst canoe neg- there insdst to remain

\tx nunumiamu.

\uf nunumi -a -mu
 \ps v -nzs -ag
 \gl desire -n -2s

\ft You'll get that speedboat which is your desire.

\ref 046

\tx Na'a yoi onanunumina mei badu, na'a yoi hemea rama'a
 \uf na'a yoi 'o- na- nunumi -na mei badu na'a yoi hemea rama'a
 \ps cj pron su- mo- v -ob art n cj pron AnNum n
 \gl if 1s 2s- real- desire -trn ans child if 1s one person

\tx onahagua mei Fasu pafea ma naba
 \uf 'o- na- hagu -a mei fasu pafea ma naba
 \ps su- mo- v -mk art n adv cj cj
 \gl 2s- real- to love -trn ans God above and if

\tx onanunuminia ba ineidi na gufu pafea, hepalo
 \uf 'o- na- nunumi -nia ba i- nei- -di na gufu pafea hepalo
 \ps su- mo- v -ag cmpz su- mo- -v prep n adv num
 \gl 2s- real- desire -3s that 3s- must-go to village above one

\tx ua tala feni.

\uf ua tala feni
 \ps adv n dem
 \gl only road insprx

\ft If you love the child—if you are a person who loves God in heaven and if you desire that he must go to heaven—this is the only way.

\ref 047

\tx Meni badu meni, onapa'i yoi, oneiferoinia fei
 \uf meni badu meni 'o- na- pa'i yoi 'o- nei- feroid -nia fei
 \ps dem n dem su- mo- v pron su- mo- v -ag art
 \gl ansprx child ansprx 2s- real- have 1s 2s- must-teach -3s ins

\tx tala idina gufu pafea ma ihawia ba ito fawewenina.
 \uf tala i-di na gufu pafea ma i- hawia ba i- to faweweni-na
 \ps n su-v prep n adv cj su- v cmpz su- v n mk
 \gl road 3s-go to village above and 3s- able to that 3s- get life 3s

\ft This child that you have—you must instruct him (concerning) the way to go to heaven and he'll be able to receive his life.

\ref 048

\tx Ma yoi ana oto fawewenimu.
 \uf ma yoi ana 'o- to faweweni -mu
 \ps cj pron adv su- v n -ag
 \gl and 1s also 2s- get life -2s

\ft And you also will receive your life.

\ref 049

\tx Ma naba aguadibibiyei'ua mei badu,
 \uf ma naba aqua- di rd- biyei- -'ua mei badu
 \ps cj cj su- as as- v- -adv art n
 \gl and if 1Di- prf ipf- exasperate- -just ans child

\tx nawaredi fei Bu'u Apuna ba mei badu, na
 \uf na- ware -di fei bu'u apuna ba mei badu na
 \ps mo- v -as art n adj cmpz art n cj
 \gl real- speak -cplt ins book holy that ans child if

\tx aguafifigai'uaia ma aguatosimipa'ainia,
 \uf aqua- fifigai -'ua -ia ma aqua- to- simi- -pa'ai -nia
 \ps su- v -adv -ob cj su- v- v- -v -ag
 \gl ldi- play -just -3s and ldi- get- discard- -hide -3s

\tx nanorai mei na'u mei Fasu, imi'i'igaina
 \uf na- no -rai mei na'u mei fasu i- -mi i'igai -na
 \ps mo- v -dir art n art n su- -dir v -ob
 \gl real- move -from ans child ans God 3s- -come ask -trn

\tx aqua ma aquatona dududua aqua i a'ana.
 \uf aqua ma aqua- to- -na rd- dudu -a aqua- i a'a -na
 \ps pron cj su- v- -ob as- adj -nZR pron- loc prep -mk
 \gl ldl and ldl- get- -trn ipf- dull -n ldl- at with -3s

\ft And if we two, we just exasperate the child, the Holy Bible has said that the child, if we just play around with him and we just throw him out [neglecting him], when the Son of God comes, He'll come ask us and we'll receive our judgement from Him.

\nt 1) maybe the >a'ana< refers to the child

\ref 050
 \tx Mina ena manumanu a'a feni ano wagieni, napa'i hanunu
 \uf mina ena manu a'a feni ano wagieni na- pa'i hanunu
 \ps adj dem n prep dem n adv mo- v n
 \gl all pdst thing with insprx world today real- have picture

\tx mei badu nadi'augia mei Fasu a'a o'odu.
 \uf mei badu nadi -'au -ia mei fasu a'a o'odu
 \ps art n ij -su -ob art n prep pron
 \gl ans child okay -1s -3s ans God with lp

\ft Everything in the world today has an illustration that God has put with us.

\ref 052
 \tx Naba aguafanunu na logi fipepei a'a fei feferoi,
 \uf naba aqua- fanunu na logi fi- pepei a'a fei rd- feroi
 \ps cj su- v prep loc loc- prep prep art as- v
 \gl if 1dl look to there at- yonder with ins ipf- teach

\tx mei badu, ana napa'i bigi'a aqua a'ana.
 \uf mei badu ana na- pa'i bigi -'a aqua a'a -na
 \ps art n adv mo- v v -mk pron prep -ag
 \gl ans child also real- have work -nzs 1dl with -3s

\ft If we look to the side concerning education, the child, we also have responsibility with him.

\ref 053
 \tx Naba aguafanununalogi fipepei a'a fei,
 \uf naba aqua-(1dl) fanunu fi- pepei a'a fei
 \ps cj su- v loc- prep prep art
 \gl if at- yonder with ins

\tx ba o'oulosui, mei badu, ana napa'i
 \uf ba o'odu- losui mei badu ana na- pa'i
 \ps cmpz su-v art n adv mo- v
 \gl that we-worship ans child also real- have

\tx bigi'a aqua a'ana.
 \uf bigi -'a aqua- a'a -na
 \ps v -mk pron- prep -ag
 \gl work -nzs 1dl- with -3s

\ft If we look on the side related to our worship, [the child] we also have responsibility with him.

\ref 054

\tx Ma naba aguafanununa fipepei,
 \uf ma naba agua-(ldl) fanunu fi- pepei
 \ps cj cj su- mk- loc- prep
 \gl and if ldl look at- yonder

\tx ale'ei ba, aguabigi'a ei bigi'a agua, mei
 \uf ale- 'ei ba agua- bigi -'a 'ei bigi -'a agua mei
 \ps prep- art cmpz su- v -mk art v -mk pron art
 \gl like- p that ldl- work -nZR p work -nZR ldl ans

\tx badu, ana napa'i bigi'a agua a'ana.
 \uf badu ana na- pa'i bigi -'a agua a'a -na
 \ps n adv mo- v v -mk pron prep -ag
 \gl child also real- have work -nZR ldl with -3s

\ft And if we look on the side, for example, that we do our work,
 (regarding) the child, we also have responsibility with him.

\ref 056

\tx Apuna weditodisimi'ua mei badu ba, "Aa! Aba
 \uf apuna we- di to- di simi- -'ua -ia mei badu ba aaa aba
 \ps v mk- v v- v v- -adv -ob art n cmpz ij neg
 \gl prohibit ev- go get- go discard- -only -3s ans child that aa neg

\tx na'u, mena.
 \uf na'u -u mena
 \ps n -mk dem
 \gl child -1s ansdst

\ft Do not just neglect the child (saying), "Ha! That's not my child.

\ref 057

\tx Aa!
 \uf aaa
 \ps ij
 \gl aa

\ft Aa!

\ref 058

\tx Aa, i'enawau fitatalaiwau fibigina
 \uf aaa i- ena -wau fi- tatalai -wau fi- bigi -na
 \ps ij su- dem -dir as- v -dir as- v -ob
 \gl aa 3s- pdst -away ipf- walk -away ipf- work -trn

\tx bigi'ana, fatamefoi'uamiau bigi'a
 \uf bigi -'a -na fa- tamefoi -'ua -mi -au bigi -'a
 \ps v -mk -mk mk- v -adv -dir -ag v -mk
 \gl work -nZR -3s cz- lazy -just -come -1s work -nZR

\tx mena. lo'e.
 \uf mena lo'e
 \ps dem neg
 \gl ansdst neg

\ft Aa, let him go wander off, doing what he desires, taking care of him is causing me to be fed-up." No.

\ref 059

\tx Na'a o'abigi'ia ale'ena, ana lo'e o'atopa'i
 \uf na'a 'o- 'a- bigi -ia ale- ena ana lo'e 'o- 'a- to- pa'i
 \ps cj su- mo- v -ob prep- dem adv neg su- mo- v- v
 \gl if 2s- irr- work -3s like- pdst also neg 2s- irr- get- have

\tx hepalo manumanu.
 \uf hepalo manu
 \ps num n
 \gl one thing

\ft If you do it like that, you also won't have anything.

\ref 060

\tx Napedu.
 \uf na- pedu
 \ps mo- adv
 \gl real- finish

\ft (It's) finished.

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James Alton Hafford received his master of arts degree in linguistics from The University of Texas at Arlington in 1999. James has also earned a bachelor of arts degree in computer science from Pacific Lutheran University (1983).

James is a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and has been working as a translator among the Wuvulu people of Papua New Guinea since 1994.

