A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF 'ARE'ARE: THE SOUND SYSTEM AND MORPHO-SYNTAX

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis is a sketch grammar of 'Are'are, a Southeast Solomonic language belonging to the Oceanic family, spoken mainly in the southern part of Malaita by approximately 18 000 speakers. Previous academic works documenting and describing 'Are'are are almost nonexistent. This sketch grammar is based on data collected during consultation sessions with the main language consultant in New Zealand and during six weeks of fieldwork in Hauporo, West 'Are'are and Honiara in the Solomon Islands.

'Are'are is a head marking language with SVO word order whose noteworthy features include: (i) distinction between alienable and inalienable possession marking, (ii) several valency-increasing devices available to a single verb stem, (iii) verb serialization, (iv) three categories of prepositions distinguished by different patterns of object marking and (v) remarkably small consonant inventory compared to other languages spoken on Malaita.

After the introduction to the language and its speakers, Chapter 2 lays out the sound system and introduces the major phonological and morphophonemic processes. Chapter 3 introduces the grammatical profile of the language, including a discussion on tense, aspect and mood and lexical categories attested in the language. Nouns and the structure of the noun phrase are discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 is concerned with verbs and the verb phrase. Prepositions are examined in Chapter 6. The structure of verbal and non-verbal clauses is the topic of Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 describes complex constructions such as coordination, subordination and serial verb constructions. The appendices provide a preliminary report on the language vitality, a brief discussion on dialects of 'Are'are and also a sample text.

List of glossing conventions and abbreviations

*	ungrammatical form
-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADD	additive
ABL	ablative
AFF	affirmative
ALL	allative
AND	andative
AS	associative
ATTN	attenuative
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CNTF	counterfactual
COMPL	completive
CONT	continuative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIR	directional
DIS	discourse
DIST	distal
DM	discourse marker
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
EXCM	exclamation
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
IDF	identifier
IMM	immediate
IMP	imperative
IN	inessive
INCL	inclusive
INS	instrumental
INTS	intensifier
ITR	iterative
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PFV	perfective

PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREC	precedentive
PREP	preposition
PRS	personal
PROX	proximal
PURP	purposive
QUANT	quantifier
RDP	reduplication
REL	relative
REAS	reason
SBJ	subject
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SIT.DEM	situational demonstrative adverb
SUB	subset
TAM	tense, aspect, mood marker
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
VENT	ventive

1 The cultural and sociolinguistic context of the language

1.1 The 'Are'are language

This thesis aims to offer a sketch grammar of the 'Are'are language. 'Are'are belongs to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family[1] (Lynch, Ross, & Crowley, 2002) and is spoken in the southern part of Malaita island in the Solomon Islands. Figure 1.1 shows the position of the Solomon Islands in the Pacific. On this map, the island of Malaita is highlighted in red (adapted from an editable and royalty-free map sourced from http://www.freeusandworldmaps.com/html/WorldRegions/WorldRegionsPrint.html).

Figure 1 Map of Oceania showing the position of the Solomon Islands in the Pacific

'Are'are is one of the 71 languages currently spoken in the Solomon Islands. (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2013). Figure 2 below shows a language map of the Solomon Islands. This langauge is classified as part of the Longgu/Malaita/Makira subgroup of the Southeast Solomonic family (Lynch et al., 2002). According to previous studies regarding languages of the Solomon Islands, the number of 'Are'are speakers, estimated at 17 900 in 1999 (Lewis et al., 2013) is relatively high compared to other langauges spoken in the region. Ethnologue

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[1] See Appendix 1 for a diagram of 'Are'are language affiliation.

classifies 'Are'are as *developing*, meaning that "the language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable" (2013). See Appendix 2 for a preliminary language vitality assessment of 'Are'are.
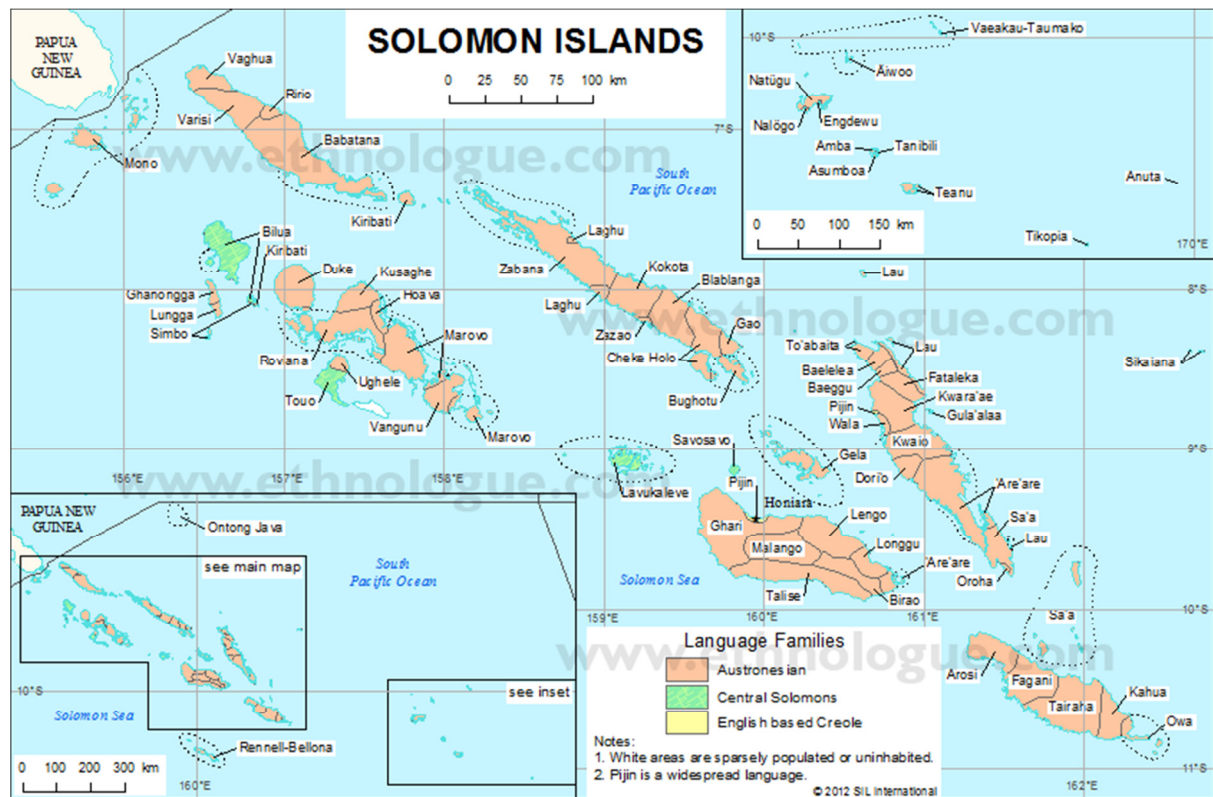
Figure 2 Solomon Islands language map (Lewis et al., 2013)

There are several dialects of the languge being used by the speakers. The exact number of dialects is not known. Whilst Tryon and Hackman (1983) list seven main dialects of 'Are'are: Are, Aiaisii, Woo, I'iaa, Tarapaina, Mareho and Marau, my consultants suggested that the number of dialects is probably higher than ten, but no final number was arrived at. Conducting a comprehensive dialectal survey was not feasible in the time frame for the current work. Whilst the data displays a certain degree of dialectal variation, the tokens are not sufficient to determine the number of existing dialects or allow for an analysis of the differences between different dialects. Appendix 4 contains examples of lexemes from different dialects of 'Are'are as given in the preface to *'Are'are 'auaapu ha'ananau* 'Advice to 'Are'are maidens', by Chief Ishmael Irisitapa'a (2009) as well as an illustration of variation found in my own data.

The analysis in this thesis is based on the 'middle' dialect[2] whose boundaries span the area from Ta'arutona to Rohinari. This particular dialect has been chosen because of the accessibility of its speakers to me.

1.2 Previous research

Despite the fact that 'Are'are is one of the strongest languages in the Solomon Islands in regards to the number of its speakers, existing academic resources dealing with description or documentation of this language are scarce. The only dictionary published to-date is the *'Are'are dictionary* (Geerts, 1970), which lists a relatively large number of lexical items and their English translation equivalents but does not provide any information on pronunciation, the 'Are'are sound system, or grammar. The dictionary also seems to fail to distinguish between the various dialects of the language. My consultants agreed that the lexical items listed come from a range of dialects but no details were given by Geerts.

Another important work mentioning the 'Are'are language is *Solomon Islands Languages: An Internal Classification* (1983), compiled by D.T. Tryon and B.D. Hackman. This monograph presents a large-scale survey of 56 Austronesian languages (plus some of the dialects of these) spoken in the Solomon Islands, using lexical and phonetic data for the purpose of a genetic classification. The authors list 324 vocabulary items for each of the languages (where it was possible to recover the items). For 'Are'are, two wordlists are presented; one from Ma'asupa village, the other one from Waiahaa village. The differences in the wordlists clearly show that the dialects spoken in the two villages at the time of the data collection were different from each other. The dialect described in this paper shows more lexical similarities to the dialect spoken in Waiahaa than the one spoken in Ma'asupa.

Although unpublished, there is a preliminary grammar sketch written by Ronald Gebauer (1992) in his first year of residing on Malaita in preparation for his future work on Bible translation. Ronald Gebauer kindly shared this grammar sketch and provided me with many helpful insights regarding the language and its speakers.

1.3 'Are'are people

Whilst the 'Are'are language is part of the Malayo-Polynesian subfamily, its speakers are ethnically Melanesians. The number of native speakers was estimated to be around 18 000 in 1999 (Lewis et al., 2013). This is a significant increase from the figure of 9 000 listed by

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[2] The area where this dialect is spoken corresponds roughly with the middle part of 'Are'are province, hence the description 'middle' given by the speakers.

Tryon and Hackman in 1983, and from the figure of over 13 000 speakers in 1993 given by John Houainamo Naitoro (1993). However, this increase seems to correspond with the overall population growth in the Solomons over that period. According to the Solomon Islands Population and household census (Solomon Islands National Statistics Office, 2011), the total population of the Solomon Islands rose from 285 176 in 1986 to 515 870 in 2009.

The 'Are'are speaking population occupies the southern part of the Malaita island. Some speakers also reside in Marau and in the capital Honiara on the island Guadalcanal. The area is mostly rural, with limited access to infrastructure. Many inhabitants rely on basic agriculture and fishing for their subsistence. The main root crops and vegetables grown in the area are kumara, several kinds of taro and tropical yam, tapioca, coconuts, slippery cabbage, cucumber, beans, tomatoes and breadfruit. Commonly grown fruits include pineapple, water melon, mango, different kinds of bananas and sugarcane. The meat consumed in the area includes fish, shellfish, crabs and turtles. People also keep chickens and pigs; pigs are often kept not only for food but also for trade. Other sources of cash include running local stores (canteens), selling agricultural produce, betel nut and copra.

According to John Naitoro (1993), the 'Are'are form a rather heterogenous cultural group, with internal dialectal as well as social variations that include practices in marriage ceremony, feasting method and leadership. In his discussion, Naitoro states that the modern boundaries of administrative units within 'Are'are correspond to the traditional internal subdivisions. Whilst the differences have been somewhat weakened in recent times, they still form the basis of differentiating between 'Are'are groups. One notable feature of the social organization of the 'Are'are people where these differences are still discernible is leadership. Naitoro explains that there are three types of chieftainship[3]: *namo aaraha*, *aaraha ni mane* and *ha'aaarahana*. *Namo* chieftainship stems from the personal ability and achievement of an individual, *aaraha ni mane* refers to the "big-man" leadership with the importance of taking a lead in social activities and *ha'aarahana* is a chieftainship with succession based in inheritance (Naitoro, 1993).

The 'Are'are people are predominantly Christian now, but the traditional ancestral worship still has an important place in the modern society. There is a very close connection between the ancestors and the land. Land is significant not only as a source of subsistence but also in spiritual and religious terms, especially sites associated with ancestral power, such as burial

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[3] Geerts lists lexical items distinguishing between ten classes of chiefs in his dictionary (1970:10), but does not include definitions or explanation of the differences between the classes.

sites. As Naitoro explains, "[t]hey provide a geography of the people's past and a constant reminder of their collective identity as descendants" (1993:12). For more on 'Are'are traditional beliefs and social structure see Naitoro (1993).

1.4 Literacy and orthography

'Are'are culture is traditionally an oral one, passed down the generations through genealogical stories, myths and legends and sacred chants (Naitoro, 1993). Writing has been introduced relatively recently here, presumably by white missionaries. Therefore written materials are very recent, related to Christian topics, such as translations of excerpts from the Bible. I was able to locate only one publication in 'Are'are[4] written by an 'Are'are speaker, the *'Are'are 'auaapu ha'ananau[5]*,"Advice to 'Are'are maidens", by Chief Ishmael Irisitapa'a (2009).

An official written standard is yet to be established. Currently Latin script is being used, with inconsistencies especially in graphemes for glottal stop and marking of long vowels. Significant are efforts of the Wairokai Translation Committee and notably of Ronald and Roxanne Gebauer in Wairokai, West 'Are'are, who are working towards the establishment of a standardized orthography of 'Are'are and its possible implementation in the primary school curriculum locally (Ronald Gebauer, personal communication, January 2012). However, establishing a written standard of the language is not without issues. The biggest divide relates to the question which letter should be used to represent the glottal stop. Currently there are two camps: one advocating the "traditional" use of the apostrophe, which has already been somewhat established, the other adopting the IPA symbol for glottal stop (both upper and lower case). The apostrophe has featured in the early records written in 'Are'are (as is also obvious from the written form of the name of the language) and seems to be widely accepted among the speakers. The IPA symbol has been recently adopted in the area of Wairokai harbour by the Wairokai Translation Committee working with SIL towards producing an 'Are'are translation of the Bible. Whilst both options have their advantages and disadvantages, I feel that the apostrophe would pose fewer technical challenges for the ordinary speaker of 'Are'are, especially should the speaker in question wish to use his or her language in new media and with modern technology. Also, whilst there has been an agreement reached on the use of the IPA symbol in the Wairokai area, it should be noted that this decision involved rather small group of the 'Are'are speakers. Unfortunately, due to the

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[4] I was given a collection of texts written in 'Are'are by Roxanne Gebauer. However, she was unsure of their origin or dialect. Analysis of these texts is beyond the scope of the present work but it is hoped that in the future they will become part of a larger corpus of 'Are'are data for a more in-depth analysis.
[5] This work is written in a different dialect from the one analysed here.

geography of Malaita and the absence of roads or a functioning transport system, attempting to consult a truly representative number of speakers from different areas would be a highly challenging task. For an overview of orthographic conventions used throughout this work see section 1.10.

1.5 Multilingualism

Given the number of vernacular languages spoken in the country, multilingualism is extremely common in the Solomon Islands. Intermarriages are common and family members often originate in different areas of the same province or in different provinces altogether. The members of one family may thus be speaking several different dialects or even languages. Customarily a woman follows her husband and moves into his village after the wedding. The children from such a union would grow up speaking mainly their father's dialect or language, although they would understand their mother's too. However, often children leave their home to spend up to several months at a time with their relatives in other areas, which enables them to become familiar with other dialects or languages spoken by other family members. This is further magnified in areas close to language boundaries where people may use their own language as well as the neighbouring one to communicate.

The national language of the Solomon Islands is English (Lewis et al., 2013), but the rates of fluency in English are significantly lower than fluency in Solomon Island Pijin, which serves as lingua franca across the islands and is commonly used for communication between Solomon Islanders speaking different vernacular languages. Whilst the provinces are linguistically very rich, the situation in the capital Honiara is rather different. The language spoken predominantly is Pijin, which has been gaining prominence to the expense of the native languages. Speakers report that it is not uncommon for children living in the capital to acquire Pijin as their first language and have only a limited or no fluency in the language(s) their parents speak.

1.6 Contexts of use and language choice

'Are'are is commonly spoken in most environments on Malaita. However, whilst it is the language of everyday use and communication, there are areas in which Pijin or English are used instead. This applies especially to education as there are virtually no existing resources for the curriculum in the vernacular language (The Literacy Association of SI, personal communication, December 2011). Also people often choose to write in English or Pijin. This

is possibly due to the lack of a standardized orthography of 'Are'are and no established conventions for writing this language.

Whilst a comprehensive study into the language choice of 'Are'are speakers is yet to be conducted, my main language consultant provided information which offers at least an insight into the typical language choice of the 'Are'are speakers. A questionnaire based on the Choice of Language in Oberwart by Men and Women (Gal, 1979:135) has been used to obtain the information about the common contexts of use of 'Are'are, Pijin and English by 'Are'are speakers during the main consultant's childhood and youth. The answers include his own self-reported linguistic choices as well as choices normally made by the speech community in the area during that period, roughly until 1985.

Language used to:	Language choice
God	'Are'are
Grandparents and their generation	'Are'are
Parents and their generation	'Are'are
Friends and age-mate neighbours	'Are'are
Brothers and sisters	'Are'are
Spouse	'Are'are
Children and their generation	'Are'are
Grandchildren and their generation	'Are'are
Government officials	'Are'are/Pijin/English
Doctors	'Are'are/Pijin
School	English/Pijin/'Are'are

Table 1.1 Language choice in various contexts

The answers show that in most domains, 'Are'are is the preferred language. It is commonly spoken at home and in interactions with other people of all ages locally. Generally, interaction between 'Are'are speakers would always be in 'Are'are, regardless on the situation. In situations involving an 'Are'are speaker and a Solomon Islander speaking another language, the conversation would be in Pijin. This also includes formal or semi-formal interactions with Solomon Islands officials and doctors. English is used in schools as the language of the curriculum; however, interactions between the teacher and the pupil may occur in any of the three languages. In formal writing, such as contracts, official letters and account keeping, English is used exclusively, unless the situation requires the use of 'Are'are vocabulary to clarify or stress a point (for example a letter to the court involving a matter of a local land dispute). This is due to the need for the document to be understood by speakers of

other languages. But even if the contracts are written in English, the parties still use 'Are'are or, if necessary, Pijin to close the deal.

My own observations during fieldwork suggest that these answers would still be typical for the speakers in the area today. However, as I was able to observe only a relatively small number of speakers of one dialect in one particular area, I cannot draw generalised conclusions for the whole language group. Note also that the above summary of context of use of 'Are'are is likely to be valid for speakers residing on Malaita, or at least for those visiting their home village frequently. For those who have migrated to the capital Honiara, and especially for their children and grandchildren, the choices of language use are probably different. This is due to the need to communicate with a large number of speakers of other languages; an environment which clearly favours Pijin and, in more formal contexts, English.

1.7 Viability

It is difficult to establish the viability of 'Are'are with a satisfactory degree of accuracy as the information available is very limited. It appears that the intergenerational transmission rate is high, at least on Malaita, and the language is used in most domains as long as the interaction involves 'Are'are speakers. It is not normally used in public domains such as education, business or media, and it does not enjoy any official status or protection by the government. Standardized orthography is still being established and official educational materials in 'Are'are are virtually non-existent. As far as I was able to observe, the speakers themselves have a positive attitude towards their language and encourage its maintenance.

Where speakers have access to new media, 'Are'are may be used as long as the interaction involves participants or an audience speaking 'Are'are. Recently, a Facebook page was created, as a forum for discussions pertaining to reading and writing the 'Are'are language. Only posts in 'Are'are are acceptable, except when expressing concepts foreign to the culture for which no native expression is available. This page has generated quite a wide interest and serves as a proof that 'Are'are can expand into new domains.

1.8 Loanwords

There is a number of English and Pijin loanwords presently in use in 'Are'are[6]. Commonly speakers use loanwords for items and concepts that did not exist before contact with Western culture (knife, cup, computer). However, it appears that increasingly often loanwords are

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[6] Since Solomon Pijin is an English based creole, it is sometimes difficult to establish with accuracy in which language a given loan word originated.

used where a native word exists, such as numerals (low as well as high), words for 'wait', 'must' etc. Where a loanword is used, its form conforms to the phonotactics of 'Are'are:

English	'Are'are
'knife'	*naihi*
'cup'	*kapu*
'axe'	*hakesi*
'copper'	*kapaa*
'fridge'	*'aisi*
'John'	*Tione*
'Paul'	*Pauro*

There are also instances of a word identifiably coming first from English to Pijin, and then from Pijin to 'Are'are. The word *sereni* is such an example. This word originated in English as 'shilling', then became part of the Pijin lexicon as *selen* meaning 'money', and was subsequently borrowed into 'Are'are to mean 'white man money'.

1.9   The present research

The research for this work has been conducted as fieldwork in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an MA thesis in Linguistics at the University of Canterbury. There were three stages of the research; the initial phase included elicitation sessions conducted in New Zealand with the main language consultant and a preliminary analysis of the elicited data, the second stage focussed on the preparation for the fieldwork and the fieldwork in the Solomon Islands, and the third stage consisted mainly of transcriptions, analysis of new data and the final write up.

The fieldwork took place over six weeks in December 2011 to January 2012 in two locations in the Solomon Islands, the capital Honiara on Guadalcanal Island and in the Hauporo village on Malaita. The elicitation sessions were mainly focussed on eliciting lexical items (extended Swadesh list), translation of sentences from English to 'Are'are and discussions on the grammaticality of structures. Narratives using three children picture books (Mayer, 1973, 2003, 2008) and traditional narratives (custom stories) were also elicited.

Seven adult native speakers of 'Are'are participated in elicitation sessions and consultations. All of the speakers are fluent in the language and with the exception of the main consultant all use 'Are'are in everyday situations. All consultants are bilingual in 'Are'are and Solomon

Island Pijin and all can understand spoken English. Out of the seven speakers, four were male and three were female, with ages ranging from twenty four to forty nine. The main consultant used 'Are'are in day to day interactions for the first twenty years of his life before moving to New Zealand. According to the judgement of other speakers, his L1 has not been noticeably affected by English and he has retained a native level of fluency.

The criteria for choosing the field consultants were willingness to participate in the project, language and communication skills as judged by family and friends (speakers were suggested and/ or recommended by others) and accessibility. All field language consultants were adult native speakers living predominantly in or in close proximity to the Hauporo village. All 'Are'are data used in this paper come from the language consultants unless specified otherwise. In several instances data from the 'Āre'āre dictionary (Geerts, 1970) were used.

The aim of this research is to produce a sketch grammar of 'Are'are as it is currently spoken in West 'Are'are in the Hauporo area. This thesis should thus be understood as offering a preliminary analysis of the sound system and grammatical structures and properties of a particular dialect of 'Are'are rather than as a comprehensive in-depth analysis of the language.

The research was conducted with the knowledge and approval of the local tribal chiefs of the Hauporo, Rohinari and Rutorea villages and surrounding areas and was supported by the local population. The research has also been approved by the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Canterbury.

It is hoped that this research will not only contribute to the scientific knowledge of the Malaitan languages, but that the collected data together with the analysis will serve as a tangible record of the 'Are'are language which will be available for future generations should the intergenerational transmission fail or the language change dramatically.

1.10 Transcription and orthography

Chapter 2 of this work uses the IPA for 'Are'are examples. Whilst most examples are transcribed phonemically (enclosed in slanted brackets //), phonetic transcription (enclosed in square brackets []) is used where there is a need for more detail. All other chapters follow the orthographic conventions laid out below. The following table shows the correspondences of phonemes to graphemes used throughout this work.

Phoneme	p	t	k	m	n	ɾ	s	h	ʔ	w	a	e	i	o	u
Grapheme	p	t	k	m	n	r	s	h	'	w	a	e	i	o	u

Table 1.2 Phoneme to grapheme correspondences

The mapping of phonemes to graphemes is rather intuitive in most cases. Throughout this work, the glottal stop is represented by the straight apostrophe. I use the apostrophe in the orthography where the glottal stop is pronounced, even though it may not be phonemic in that particular position. Long vowels are marked by double letters.

2 Segmental phonology

2.1 Phonemic inventory

'Are'are features a relatively small phoneme inventory. While its five vowel system is a common feature of Oceanic languages (Lynch et al., 2002), the number of consonantal phonemes is rather small compared to some closely related languages spoken on Malaita[7] (Ashley, 2012; Featherstone-Santosuosso, 2011; Keesing, 1985; Lichtenberk, 2008; Macdonald, 2010). Table 2.1 shows the number of consonantal phonemes in those Malaitan languages for which up to date descriptions were available.

Language	Number of consonantal phonemes	Number of vowel phonemes
Toqabaqita[8]	17	5
Lau	16	5
Kwara'ae	18	5
Kwaio	16	5
'Are'are	10	5
Sa'a	15	5

Table 2.1 Number of consonantal phonemes in Malaitan languages[9]

The inventory of contrastive consonants consists of four voiceless plosives /p, t, k, ʔ/, two nasals /m, n/, two voiceless fricatives /s, h/, the tap /ɾ/ and the approximant /w/. There are no phonemic voiced plosives or voiced fricatives. 'Are'are also lacks the lateral liquid /l/ and the labio-velar consonants found in some other Malaitan languages. The language has a five vowel system /i, e, a, o, u/ and distinguishes between short and long vowels.

2.1.1 Consonants

The 'Are'are consonantal phoneme inventory is rather unusual in its asymmetry. It features five manners of articulation: plosives, nasals, a tap, fricatives and an approximant, and five places of articulation: bilabial, labio-velar, alveolar, velar and glottal. As seen from Table 2.2,

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[7] See also Tryon and Hackman for consonantal sound correspondences between POC and modern Malaitan languages (1983).

[8] The orthography of this language (Lichtenberk 2008) uses the letter <q> to represent the glottal stop.

[9] In Table 2.1, the order top to bottom corresponds with geographical distribution of languages, north to south of Malaita.

there are no voiceless/voiced pairs in any of the place/manner classes. The symbols to the left stand for voiceless sounds, the symbols to the right represent voiced sounds.

	Bilabial	Labio-velar	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p		t	k	ʔ
Nasal	m		n		
Tap			ɾ		
Fricative			s		h
Approximant		w			

Table 2.2 Contrastive consonants in 'Are'are

2.1.1.1 Plosives

All 'Are'are plosives are voiceless and unaspirated: /p, t, k, ʔ/. Minimal and near-minimal pairs illustrate the contrast between the sounds:

/p/, /t/, /k/

/paɾa/	'be white', 'fishook'	/panipani/	'wall'
	(Geerts, 1970:85)		
/taɾa/	'road'	/tani/	'daylight'
/kaɾa piakau/	'cassava pudding'	/kani/	'skin disease' (Geerts, 1970:47)

The glottal plosive also contrasts with the plosives /p, t, k/ and with the nasal /m/:

/ʔ/ and /p/ and ∅

/toʔi/	'work (v)'	/toʔo/	'hit (v)'
/topi/	'cut (v)'	/topo/	'be silent; stop (v)'
/toi/	'penis'		

/ʔ/ and /t/

/pote/	'be full'	/mata/	'be ripe'
/poʔe/	'twist (v)'	/maʔa/	'be dry, extinguished'

/ʔ/ and /k/

/haʔa/	'causative particle'
/haka/	'boat'

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/ʔ/ and /m/

/toʔa/   'to have sexual intercourse'

/toma/   'be limp (v)' (Geerts, 1970:127)

2.1.1.1.1 Status of the glottal stop

The exact status of the glottal stop is somewhat ambiguous. Whilst the above examples illustrate that it is clearly a contrastive phoneme in the language, in some environments its presence is completely predictable and would be better described as determined by a phonological process. The glottal stop appears in word-initial position preceding a short vowel:

[ʔapu]   'blood'

[ʔaɾe]   'thing'

[ʔasuhɛ]   'rat'

[ʔiɾijo]   'dolphin'

[ʔoni]   'stay, live'

[ʔuɾu]   'blind'

[ʔuʔu]   'finger, toe'

When such words are prefixed or reduplicated, the glottal stop is also present in the morpheme-initial position:

/ewa/   [ʔɛβa]   'be tall, long'

/haʔa-ewa=a/   [haʔa-ʔɛβa=a]   'make long'

/ateʔate/   [ʔatɛʔatɛ]   'be dry'

/ikiʔiki/   [ʔikiʔiki]   'root'

/oraʔora/   [ʔoɾaʔoɾa]   'ashes'

The presence of the glottal stop in these environments is completely predictable, and the logical conclusion is that the glottal stop here is not phonemic but rather the result of a phonological hyatus-filling process. However, there is some diachronic evidence that in the past the onset position was filled by other consonants that over time debuccalized by losing their [+ dorsal] feature.

Reconstructed POC forms	'Are'are forms	
*kani	[ʔani=ə]	'consume'
*kami	[ʔami]	'we (first person plural exclusive)'
*qenop	[ʔɛno]	'lie down'
*kayu	[ʔəj]	'stick, tree'

As seen from the reconstructions (Greenhill, Blust, & Gray, 2008), at least some 'Are'are words that contain a preglottalised short vowel word-initially seem to have had another, often a velar or an uvular, consonant in place of the current word-initial glottal stop. I suggest it is more accurate to treat the presence of the glottal stop in this position as a phonological process. Firstly, there are no non-preglottalised short vowels occurring word-initially in 'Are'are. Secondly, there are many 'Are'are reflexes of the reconstructed POC forms (Greenhill et al., 2008) where the word-initial consonant has been not debuccalized to a glottal stop but lost completely. In 'Are'are, these words occur with a long word-initial vowel:

Reconstructed POC forms	'Are'are forms	
*qawa	[o:βa]	'mouth'
*tolu	[o:ru]	'three'
*qusan	[u:tə]	'rain'
*tasik	[a:si]	'sea'

Whilst it appears that diachronically the glottal stop may have been the result of sound change, a synchronic analysis of the data reveals regularity and predictability in the occurrence of this sound in word-initial positions preceding short vowels, ruling out the possibility of its being phonemic in this environment.

There are signs of lenition and deletion of the glottal stop in some intervocallic positions. For example, the reduplicated form of the verb /maʔasu/ 'sleep' is /ma~maʔasu/ or /ma~maasu/. In the second reduplicated form the glottal stop has been deleted and the word is commonly pronounced either with the sequence of two /a/ vowels or is sometimes realised as /mamasu/. Similarly, /meʔetani/ 'night' is commonly realised as [metan]. However, the tokens obtained from the present data are not sufficient to determine the conditioning factors for the lenition and deletion of the glottal stop.

2.1.1.2 Nasals

The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast between the two nasals, /m/ and /n/:

/m/ and /n/

/maɾa/	'be ashamed'	/ma/	'and (coordinator)'
/naɾa/	'cry (v)'	/na/	'the (determiner)'

/musu/	'spit (v)
/nusu/	'mouth'

Minimal pairs can also be found between /m/ and the other bilabial sound in the language, /p/:

/m/ and /p/

/namo/	'lake'	/maːmaː/	'father'
/napo/	'grasshopper'	/paːpaː/	'grandparent or grandchild'

The nasal /n/ contrasts with the other alveolar sound /t/:

/n/ and /t/

/naɾa/	'cry (v)'	/napo/	'grasshopper'
/taɾa/	'road'	/tapo=a/	'catch (vt)

Some speakers occasionally produced forms with /w/ and /n/ where normally /m/ and /t/ respectively would occur in this dialect. Note that the variants contain homorganic sounds that differ only in manner of articulation:

/meɾa/	/weɾa/	'child'
/tete-ku/	/neke-ku/	'my mother'

I explain this as dialectal variation. Whilst most speakers in this study produced /meɾa/ and /tete-ku/ respectively, Tryon and Hackman's (1983) word list from the 'Are'are Waiahaa village features the forms /weɾa/ and /nekanao/.[10] Given that the forms collected by Tryon

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[10] I interpret *nekenao* as a different spelling variant from my *neke nau* 'my mother', where the possession is marked as alienable as opposed to the inalienable possessive suffix *-ku*. For discussion on possessive marking see Chapter 4.

and Hackman (1983) from neighbouring languages are /mwela/ and /nika-na/ in Sa'a[11] (south of 'Are'are) and /wela/ and /negeia/ in Dori'o (north of 'Are'are), the variant forms /weɾa/ and /neke-na/ are not surprising.

2.1.1.3 Tap

For the tap /ɾ/, the following minimal pairs with other alveolar sounds were found:

/ɾ/ and /s/

/maɾika/	'fish'
/masika/	'be small'

/ɾ/ and /t/

/ɾaɾo/	'sky'
/ɾato/	'sun'

The tap also contrasts with the velar plosive /k/ and the glottal fricative /h/:

/ɾ/ and /k/

/huɾa/	'moon, month'
/huka/	'wife'

/ɾ/ and /h/

/oːɾu/	'seasonal wind'
/oːhu/	'sugarcane'

The tap is sometimes realised as [dʷ] but no rules have been found determining the distribution of this realisation. Since both variants may occur in the same lexeme, they do not contrast:

[ɾuə]	[dʷuə]	'two'

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[11] Tryon and Hackman also found the Sa'a form /teite/ in Uki Ni Masi village. This suggests that variation, especially close to the language boundaries, is common.

2.1.1.4 Fricatives

The following minimal pairs were found for the voiceless fricatives /s/ and /h/:

/s/ and /h/

/ɾasu/	'smoke'	/soʔo-/	'about-'[12]
/ɾahu/	'be old' (Geerts)[13]	/hoʔo/	'bark (v)

Minimal pairs have also been found for the glottal fricative /h/ and the glottal plosive /ʔ/:

/h/ and /ʔ/

/tohi/	'room'	/aːɾaha/	'chief'
/toʔi/	'work (v)'	/aːɾaʔa/	'be steep'

The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast between /h/ and /k/:

/h/ and /k/

/aːke/	'anchor'
/aːhe/	'flow (v)'

2.1.1.5 Approximant

The approximant /w/ contrasts with the tap /ɾ/, the nasal /m/ and the glottal fricative /h/:

/w/ and /ɾ/

/ɾaɾaha/	'thigh'
/wawaha/	'cloud, mist'

/w/ and /m/

/waʔi/	'hurt'
/maʔimaʔi/	'basket'

/w/ and /k/

/kakawe/	'string'
/kakake/	'swamp taro'

The approximant /w/ has an allophone [β]. The phoneme is realized as [w] word-initially but as [β] when occurring intervocalically:

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[12] This preposition references its object with a personal suffix, see Chapter 6.
[13] In my data, only the suffixed form *rahu'a* 'be old' was found. See Chapter 5 for discussion on the verbal suffix –*'a*.

/w/ →[β] / V_V

/ewa/ → [ʔeβa]   'be long'

/aːwaɾa/ →[aːβaɾa]   'ten'

However, this rule does not apply to reduplicated words where the approximant originally occurs word initially:

[weːweː]   'baby'

[ʔəiwanawana]   'lightning' (compound *'ai* 'tree' and *wana* 'to glow')

2.1.2 Vowels

The language has a five vowel system /i, e, a, u, o/.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Table 2.3 Vowel inventory of 'Are'are

Figure 3 illustrates the vowel space of three male 'Are'are speakers. Whilst the high and mid vowels are rather compact, the low central vowel /a/ occupies a disproportionately large space. The reason for this is that the phonemic /a/ is frequently raised and realised as [ə] and occasionaly as [ɛ], especially in the vicinity of high vowels (see discussion in section 2.4.1).

The vowel space of three male speakers of 'Are'are
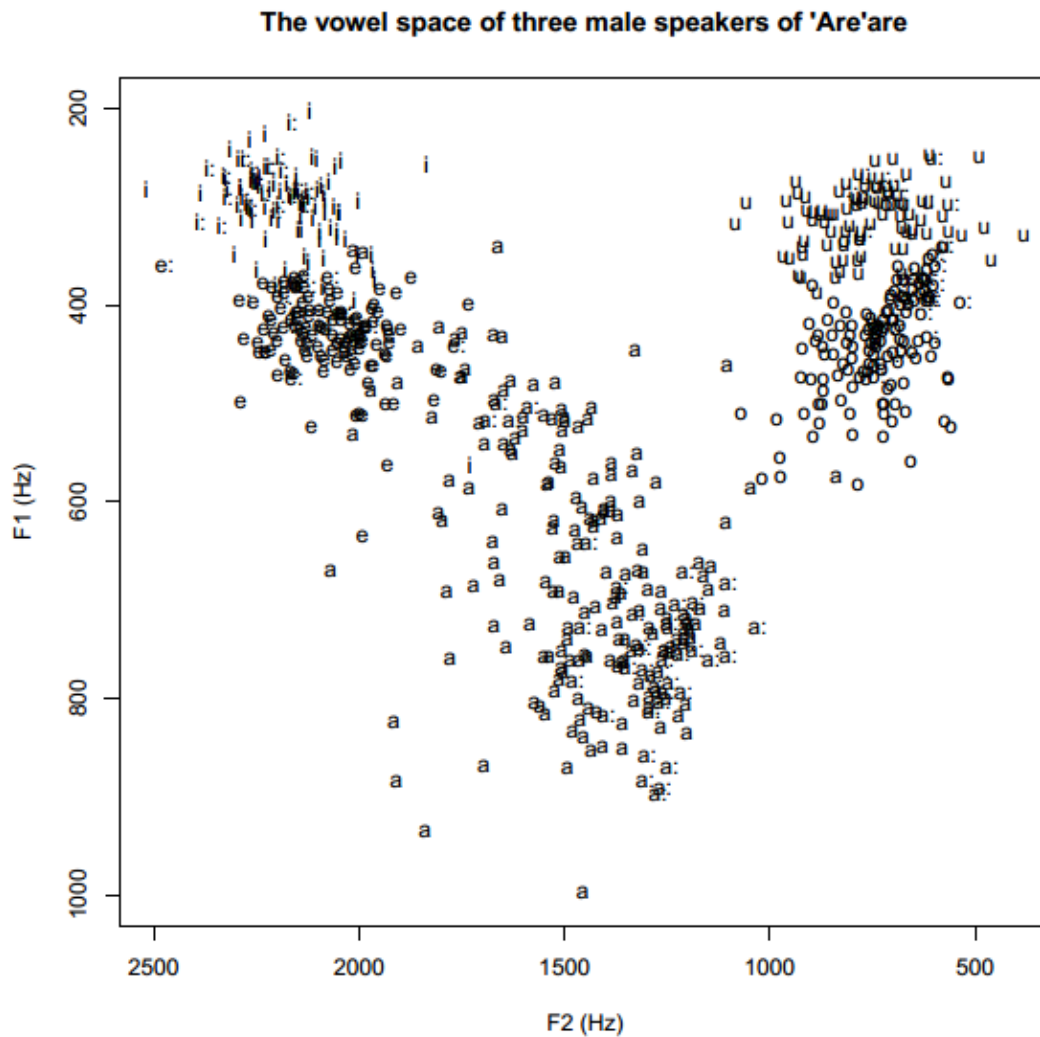
Figure 3 Vowel space of three male speakers of 'Are'are

2.1.2.1 Short and long vowels in 'Are'are

Vowel length in 'Are'are is contrastive and long vowels are frequent. Minimal and near-minimal pairs can be found for the short and long counterparts, illustrating the contrast:

/i/ and /iː/

/si/	'negative future particle'	[ʔisu]	'move' (v)
/siː/	'precedentive particle'	/iːsu/	'count, read (v)'

/e/ and /eː/

/tete/	'pebble'
/teːteː/	'mother'

/a/ and /aː/

| /maːsika/ | 'worm' | [aːpu] | 'taboo' |
| /masika/ | 'small' | [ʔapu] | 'blood' |

/o/ and /oː/

| [oːto] | 'meet' |
| [ʔoto] | 'throw, spear' |

/u/ and /uː/

| [suːsuʔu-ku] | 'my elbow' | [uːtə] | 'rain' |
| [susu-ku] | 'my breast' | [ʔutaː] | 'what' |

Long vowels can appear word-initially, word-medially or word-finally. Table 2.4 below shows examples of the occurrence of long vowels in different position.

Word initial		Word medial		Word final	
aːhe	'flod'	**h**aːtaʔania	'show (v)'	ʔaitaː	'what'
aːpota	'egg'	maːɾa	'sore (n)'	haɾaː	'wash'
iːhihu	'hair, feather'	ɾiːkoː	'play (v)'	s**i**ː	'first'
iːɾoɾa	'canoe'	haʔaiːweɾaː	'make plenty'		
eːɾo	'flame'	ɾeːsia	'see'	teː**te**ː	'mother'
eːta	'one'	weːweː	'baby'	ʔaiʔ**e**ː	'this'
oːhu	'sugarcane'	poːnmeɾa	'umbilical cord'	ɾawakoː	'flying fox'
oːpa	'belly'	poːɾuɾu	'kneel down'	p**o**ː	'pig'
uːhi	'yam'	n**u**ːha	'song'	wapusuː	'rain forest'
uːɾa	'crayfish'	suːnia	'burn'	ɾatosuː	'sunset'

Table 2.4 Distribution of long vowels in 'Are'are

Short vowels can also appear in all positions, but they are compulsorily preglottalised when occurring word-initially and morpheme-initially in prefixed and reduplicated words. See discussion in section 2.1.1. above.

2.1.2.2 Sequences of vowels and diphthongs

Sequences of vowels are relatively common in this language. Table 2.5 lists the vowel sequences found in the present data.

/a/ - /aː/	haʔa-aːɾokasia	/i/ - /u/	aːkiu, hiu
/a/ - /e/	mae, kae	/i/ - /a/	haiaɾa, naia
/a/ - /o/	haoɾu, mamaono	/o/ - /a/	moa, ɾoɾoa
/a/ - /i/	ʔai, paina	/o/ - /i/	poiha
/a/ - /u/	mauɾi	/o/ - /e/	aːɾakoe, hoe
/e/ - /a/	mahea, peata	/o/ - /u/	tou, hinou
/e/ - /o/	weo	/u/ - /a/	kiɾaɾua, kukua
/e/ - /i/	aːtei	/u/ - /i/	kui
/i/ - /o/	haiotoi, ɾio	/u/ - /u/	ʔuu

Table 2.5 Attested vowel sequences in 'Are'are

The sequences /e/ - /u/, /u/ - /e/ and /u/ - /o/ have not been attested in my data.

To distinguish between vowel sequences and diphthongs, the main consultant was asked to clap once on each syllable. The hypothesis was that the speaker would produce one clap for a diphthong but two claps for a sequence of vowels. The test was repeated several times on different days, with mixed results. It is possible that the main consultant's judgement was influenced by English, or by orthography.

The following sequences of vowels were identified with one clap as diphthongs, although they may not be diphthongs underlyingly[14]. In the below examples, syllable boundaries are marked with a dot.

/au/	/pau./	'head'
/ai/	/pai.na/	'be big'
/oi/	/poi.ha/	'shouting (n)'
/ui/	/ui.ha/	'throwing (n)'
/ei/	/tei.po.ro/	'table (English)'

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[14] Sequences of vowels occurring word-initially are preglottalised in the same way as short vowels. This suggests that although some sequences are realised as diphthongs, they are underlyingly sequences: /ai/, [ʔəj] 'tree, stick'

The clapping test produced mixed results for the words below. I conclude that these vowel sequences do not form diphthongs.

/ae/	/kae/	or	/ka.e/	'lie (v)'
/eo/	/weo/	or	/we.o/	'be tired'
/oe/	/hoe/	or	/ho.e/	'friend'
/ua/	/ku.kua/	or	/ku.ku.a/	'chicken'
	/rua/	or	/ru.a/	'two'

The sequences /i/ - /o/, /i/ - /u/ and /i/ - /a/ were produced with an intervening glide and judged by the speaker as belonging to different syllables:

/rio/	[ɾi.jo]	'see'
/aːkiu/	[aː.ki.ju]	'sink (v)
/reːsia/	[ɾɛː.si.jə]	'see (vt)'

The tests to distinguish between diphthongs and sequences of vowels belonging to different syllables proved inconclusive. The results of the clapping test suggest that it is possible to identify diphthong formation for those sequences of vowels where the second vowel is higher than the first one.

2.2 Stress

Stress is not phonemic in 'Are'are. Lexical stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable of the word and phrasal stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the phrase:

/'ɾo.to/	'swim'	/ɾo.'to.ha/	'swimming'
/'ma.ne/	'man'	/ma.ne.'ne.na/	'that man'

However there are exceptions. If the final syllable contains a long vowel, it will be stressed:

/'ha.na/	'eat'
/ha.'ɾaː/	'wash'

If the antepenultimate syllable contains a long vowel it will be stressed:

/'aː.wa.ɾa/   'ten'
/'oː.hi.ja/   'cradle (baby)'

In a disyllabic lexeme or phrase where both syllables contain long vowels or diphthongs, the penultimate syllable is stressed.

/'aː.tei/   'who'
/'ɾaː..mai/   'come'

The following lexeme seems to be an exception, with the stress falling on the ultimate syllable:

/iː.'taː/   'what'

Function (grammatical) words are normally unstressed. Commonly, vowels in monosyllabic function words are deleted, especially if they are high vowels. In the phrases below, primary stress is shown in the phonetic transcription:

Orthography	Phonemic	Phonetic	Gloss
ta'aa ni mane	/taʔaːni mane/	[taʔaːn 'mane]	'the males'
roto na 'ai	/ɾotona ʔai/	[ɾoton 'ʔai]	'fruit of a tree'
so'o-na	/soʔona/	['soʔon]	'after, about'

2.3   Syllable structure

The most common syllable structure is CV. At the underlying level, no closed syllables and no consonant clusters are allowed; however, at the surface level closed syllables and consonant clusters may appear following the deletion of a high vowel. Syllables do not compulsorily require onsets and codas; a syllable can be solely consisting of a short or long vowel.

Possible syllable structures:

V	/ke.ʔe.**a**/	'bite=3OBJ'
VV	/**a:**.he/	'flow (v), flood (n)
CV	/ma/	'and'
CVV	/hau/	'stone'
CVC	[na:.**pon**]	'yesterday'

Note that the CVC structure usually occurs in those cases where a word-final vowel has been deleted. In my data the only consonants that seem to be able to function as the coda are nasals.

2.4 Major phonological and morphophonemic processes

2.4.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is relatively common in 'Are'are and applies to the two major lexical categories: nouns and verbs.

2.4.1.1 Reduplication in nouns

Some lexemes appear only in a fully reduplicated form:

/teːteː/	'mother'
/maːmaː/	'father'
/weːweː/	'baby'
/ikiʔiki/	'root'
/oɾaʔoɾa/	'ashes'
/hepehepe/	'butterfly'

In nouns whose base form is not reduplicated, the first syllable may be reduplicated to signal endearment. This normally applies only to humans and animals kept as pets:

/waɾi/	/wa~waɾi/	'uncle'
/kui/	/ku~kui/	'dog, doggie'

2.4.1.2 Reduplication in verbs

Similar to nouns, some intransitive verbs also appear only in their reduplicated form. The reduplication is either full or partial:

/ateʔate/   'be wet'

/maɾimaɾi/   'be sweet'

/ikiʔikiɾa/   'be thin'

/kokoʔosu/   'be short'

Both intransitive and transitive verbs may be reduplicated.[15] It appears that full reduplication is common for monosyllabic and disyllabic bases; bases consisting of three syllables have only the first two syllables reduplicated:

Base	Reduplicated form	Gloss
/ɾa:/	/ɾa:~ɾa:/	'go'
/poi/	/poi~poi/	'shout, call'
/oni/	/oni~ʔoni/	'stay, live'
/huɾa/	/huɾa~huɾa/	'arrive'
/kiɾu/	/ kiɾu~kiɾu/	'be ill'
/mahea/	/mahe~mahea/	'be hungry'
/niʔiɾae/	/niʔi~niʔiɾae/	'think'
/toʔoɾu/	/toʔo~toʔoɾu/	'sit'

The reduplication patterns do not hold always. In my data, some disyllabic bases accept partial as well as full reduplication:

Base	Reduplicated form			Gloss
/naʔa/	/naʔa~naʔa/	or	/na:~ naʔa/	'talk'
/eno/	/eno~ʔeno/	or	/e~ʔeno/	'lie down'

The partial reduplication may involve the first or the first two syllables:

/ɾaʔau/	/ra~ɾaʔau/	or	/ɾaʔa~ɾaʔau/	'go'

My language consultants could not attach differential meaning to reduplication types.

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[15] For discussion on the function on reduplication in verbs see Chapter 5.

2.4.2 Low central vowel raising

The central low vowel /a/ is regularly raised in the vicinity of high vowels. In both sequences /i/ - /a/ and /u/ - /a/ the low central vowel is normally raised and is most commonly realised as [ə]. The sequence /i/ - /a/ occurs most commonly in verbs with the transitive suffix which regularly end with the vowel /i/ and take the object clitic =*a*.

/a/ is also usually raised when it precedes the high vowel in the sequences /a/ - /i/ and /a/ - /u/. Thus the sequences involving a high vowel and the low central vowel are commonly phonetically realised as [əi, iə, əu, uə]. This raising effect also occurs when a syllable containing the low central vowel follows a syllable containg one of the high vowels, but not when the syllable containing high vowels follow the syllable containing /a/.

Central vowel raised			Central vowel not raised		
/mauɾi/	[məuɾi]	'be alive'	/kahu/	[kahu]	'water'
/akua/	[ʔakuə]	'to me'			
/huka/	[hukə]	'wife'			
/paina/	[pəinə]	'be big'	/hau nasi/	[həu nasi]	'flintstone'
/asia/	[ʔasijə]	'away'			
/masika/	[masikə]	'be small'			

In environments where /a/ occurs word-finally but is not preceded by a high vowel, it is realized as [a]:

/hana/	[hana]	'to eat'
/i:ɾoɾa/	[i:ɾoɾa]	'canoe'

The low central vowel may also be realised as [ɛ:]. This normally occurs when the vowel is in one of the positions where it normally raises to [ə] and is immediately followed by the determiner *na*. The presence of the determiner lengthens the preceding vowel (see the next phenomenon discussed):

(2-1a) *Pita*   *'e*   *tau=a*   *'e*   *ra'au.*
       pitə   ʔe   <u>tau=ə</u>   ʔe   ɾaʔəu
       Peter   3SG   do=3OBJ   3SG   go
       'Peter made him go.'

(2-1b) *Pita*   *'e*   *tau=a*   *na.*
    pitə   ʔe   <u>tau= ɛ:</u>   na
    Peter   3SG   do=3OBJ   DET
    'Peter did/made it.'

The /a/ raising rule applies to short vowels only. Long low central vowel is realized as [a:] even when the preceding syllable contains a high vowel:

/tamana i:ta:/   [tamana i:ta:]   'because of what'

2.4.3   Vowel lengthening preceding determiner *na*

The determiner *na* lengthens the word-final short vowel in the preceding word. If the last vowel is /a/ that rose to schwa, it will be realized as a long central vowel or as a long mid front vowel. So this rule applies after the rule raising /a/ to schwa.

/suna/   [sunə]   'fire'

/nima/   [nimə]   'house'

[sunə:na]   or   [sunɛ:na]   'the fire'

[nimə:na]   or   [nimɛ:na]   'the house'

V [-long] → V [+long] / _ # na

2.4.4   Vowel shortening preceding possessive suffix

Possessive suffixes shorten a word final long vowel in the preceding word, unless it is monosyllabic:

/te:te:/   'mother'   [teteku]   'my mother'

/ma:ma:/   'father'   [mamaku]   'my father'

/ma:/   'eye'   [ma:ku]   'my eye(s)'

Whether the shortening applies compulsorily to all vowels in a word or only to the one immediately preceding the possessive suffix is not clear:

/pa:pa:/   'grandparent'   [papaku]   or   [pa:paku]   'my grandparent'

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2.4.5 Object clitics

2.4.5.1 Stem-final /a/

Direct objects are marked by enclitics on the verb. These clitics are *=nau* and *='o* for first and second person singular, respectively. For all other persons the object clitic is *=a*. If the verb stem ends in a short low central vowel, this vowel is realized as long when the object clitic *=a* is present:

/aːhuɾa/	[aːhuɾa]	'dig'
/aːhuɾa/ + *=a*	[aːhuɾaː]	'dig=3obj'

/tapa/	[tapa]	'cut' (v)
/tapa/ + *=a*	[tapaː]	'cut=3obj'

If the stem ends with a long vowel of the same quality as the object suffix, both vowels will be together realized as one long vowel:

/haɾaː/	[haɾaː]	'wash' (v)
/haɾaː/ + *=a*	[haɾaː]	'wash=3obj'

2.4.5.2 Stem-final /e/

Stem final /e/ changes to /i/ when preceding the object clitic *=a*.

The verb /ɾae/ 'know' is realized as /raia/ for when the object clitic *=a* is present:
/ɾae=a/ → [ɾaːia] or [ɾaːja]   'know=3obj'

Similar effect is observed when the nominalizing suffix *–ha* is present:

/kae/	[kae]	'lie (v)'	/kae=ha/	[kajha]	'lying, lie'
/mae/	[mae]	'die'	/mae=ha/	[məjhə]	'dying, death'

2.4.6 Assimilation

Assimilation is not a widely present process in 'Are'are; however, there is one environment where progressive assimilation occurs regularly. When the particle /ka/ follows the second singular pronoun *'o*, it is realised as [ko].

(2-1a) *Na=**ka** raa.*
     na=ka   ɾaː
     1SG=TAM go
     'I am going/walking.'

(2-1b) *'O =**ko** raa.*
     ʔ=ko   ɾaː
     2SG=TAM   go
     'You (sg) are going/walking.'

2.5 Relaxed speech rules

2.5.1 Vowel deletion

It is common for high vowels to be deleted when they occur word-finally or morpheme-finally, especially in function morphemes:

Orthography	Phonemic	Phonetic	Gloss
'a'e-ni 'are	/aʔeni ʔaɾe/	[ʔaʔen 'ʔaɾe]	'leg of something'
hari-mu	/haɾi-mu/	[haɾi-m]	'your bottom (sg)'
'oni'oni	/oniʔoni/	[ʔonʔon]	'stay, live (redup)'

Even a non-high vowel may be optionally deleted in unstressed position in a function word, particularly in fast speech (see section 2.2.). In relaxed speech high vowels occurring in word final positions (unstressed), especially in function (grammatical) words, are often deleted. This results in closed syllables with typically a nasal coda which do not appear otherwise.

/haɾimu/	[haɾim]	'your bottom (sg)'
/oniʔoni/	[ʔonʔon]	'live (reduplicated)'
/komu ʔeː/	[komʔeː]	'this village'
/te huan ni/	[tehuan]	'some'

2.6 Variation and dialectal influences

Often the same speaker produces different forms of the same item, such as:

/mar̥ika/	or	/mar̥ike/	'fish'
/nima/	or	/nime/	'house'
/masika/	or	/masike/	'be.small'
/iːhihu/	or	/uːhuhu/	'hair'

Whether these are cases of a true free variation or whether they reflect another dialect is not possible to determine at this moment, although in at least some instances the influence of another dialect or language is highly likely.

The language consultants participating in the elicitations often used two different variants of the same expression, without any apparent difference in meaning. When asked, they would reply that both of the words 'are the same'. The following examples illustrate this:

Form 1	Form 2	Gloss
tete-ku	*neke-ku*	'my mother'
mera	*wera*	'child'
'erua	*'aurua*	'2dual.excl'
kiki'i	*kuiku'i*	'tail'
aahiu	*aahisu*	'collapse'
ha'a'ero=a	*hai'ero=a*	'send'
ha'araa	*ha'area*	'counterfactual particle'
waro	*wareta*	'rope'
hasira'ani=a	*haira'ani=a*	'stab'
hi	*wau*	'plural marker'

For more examples see Appendix 4. I believe that the differences show cross-dialectal influence, although without a detailed survey it is not possible to say how many dialects may be involved.

In some cases the variation can be better explained by the speaker's contact with another language, since the phoneme /l/ is actually not a phoneme of 'Are'are:

/lapsia/   or   /ɾapsia/   'hit'

2.7 Non-native sounds

It may happen that a word is used that contains a sound non-native to 'Are'are, or at least non-native to this particular dialect. In that case, speakers would pronounce the word with the closest sound existing in the 'Are'are inventory:

'Melissa'   [meɾisa]
'Helen'   [heɾen]

This has been observed in situation where speakers used the foreign word in an 'Are'are context, speaking 'Are'are. In situations where the language used was English, the words in question were pronounced as [melisa] and [helen].

3 Grammatical profile

The purpose of this chapter is to offer an overview of the grammatical profile of the 'Are'are language. It also provides space to discuss various matters which do not fit neatly into any other particular chapter, and issues that span several different chapters. The chapter is structured as follows. Section 3.1 lays out the morphosyntactic patterns of the language and section 3.2 provides an overview of tense, aspect and mood marking. Section 3.3 lists parts of speech attested in 'Are'are and discusses the issues with assigning grammatical categories to certain lexemes.

3.1 Morphosyntactic patterns

'Are'are is a head-marking nominative/accusative language with SVO word order.

Pronominal objects are expressed by weak pronouns which tend to cliticise to the verb (3-1). Nominal objects are indexed by the clitic =a[16] (3-2). Pronominal objects expressed by strong pronouns are free-standing and may be optionally indexed by the clitic =a (3-3).

(3-1) *Pita   'e   rae='o /   rae=**nau**.*
     Peter   3SG   know=2SG /   know=1SG[17]
     'Peter knows you / knows me.'

(3-2) *Na   noro=**a**   wara.*
     1SG   hear=3OBJ   news
     'I heard some news.'

(3-3) *Na   noro   iikira/ noro=**a**   iikira.*
     1SG   hear   3PL/   hear=3OBJ   3PL
     'I heard them.'

Transitive and intransitive verbs are distinguished morphologically. Transitive verbs may contain short or long transitive suffixes and/or the causative prefix *ha'a-*. Often, verbs may have more than one valency-increasing device available to them.

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[16] In some instances the clitic is =*'i*, see section 5.2.1.2.2 in Chapter 5.
[17] The form *nau* occurs only in object position. All the other pronouns have the same form in subject and object positions. See section 4.2.1 in Chapter 4.

'Are'are has serial verb constructions (SVCs) that fall into two categories: symmetrical and asymmetrical. The asymmetrical SVCs are headed, the first verb being the head and the second verb the modifier. SVCs may consist of more than two verbs; in that case the third verb acts as a modifier of the preceding two-verb SVC. Object indexing clitics appear on the second verb in the SVC only.

Noun modifiers are mostly postnominal, only the quantifiers are prenominal. 'Are'are has two types of possessive constructions: direct (inalienable) and indirect (alienable). Direct possession is marked by possessive suffixes (3-4) and (3-6a), indirect possession is marked by simple juxtaposition of the possessum and the possessee (3-5) and (3-6b).

(3-4) *tete-na   mera   na*
      mother-POSS   child   DET
      'the child's mother'

(3-5) *'aikarua Pita*
      canoe   Peter
      'Peter's canoe'

The membership of nouns in the inalienable or alienable group is not completely fixed; it is possible for at least some nouns to be marked for possession in either way[18]:

(3-6a) *tete-ku*
       mother-1SG.POSS
       'my mother (inalienable)'

(3-6b) *tete   nau*
       mother 1SG.POSS
       'my mother (alienable)'

All adpositions are prepositions and modifiers inside prepositional phrases follow the head. There are two kinds of prepositions which index their complements. The first kind takes suffixes that are identical to inalienable possessive marking on nouns (3-7). The second kind indexes their objects in the same way as verbs do, by means of object clitics (3-8). The third class of prepositions does not index their objects (3-9).

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[18] It may be possible that in instances such as (3-6), an alienable marking signals a kind of remoteness or detachment compared to the inalienable marking, but at this point I cannot make any conclusions.

(3-7) *rao-**na***   *komu*
      IN-PRS   village
      'inside (a) village'

(3-8) *tare=**a***   *hi*   *nima*   *na*
      ALL=3OBJ   PL   house   DET
      'towards the houses'

(3-9) *hi*   *nima*
      to   house
      'to (a) house'

The basic order of the constituents in the clause is as follows:

subject - predicate - X (adjunct)

The predicate may contain a verb (3-10) or may be verbless (3-11):

(3-10) *Pita*   *'e*   [*to'i=a*   *nima*   *na*].
      Peter   3SG   build=3OBJ   house   DET
      'Peter built the house.'

(3-11) *Nima*   *'ee*   [*nima*   *nau*].
      house   DEM.PROX   house   1SG.POSS
      'This is my house.'

Subjects are indexed by subject markers that have the form of weak pronouns:

(3-12) *Hi*   *mera*   ***kira***   *hura*   *no'o.*
      PL   child   3PL   arrive   PFV
      'The children have arrived.'

It is possible for the subject to be expressed solely by the subject marker, without an overt subject NP:

(3-13) ***Kira***   *hura*   *hau*   *kekere*   *aa-na*   *aasi*
      3PL   arrive   PREP   shore   OBL-PRS   sea
      'They arrived at the sea shore.'

Topicalisation, where elements occupy a dislocated TOPIC position on the left periphery, is common:

(3-14) **Mane 'ewau**, *rae-na[19]* *ka rao mano.*
  man DEM.DIST being-POSS FUT be.happy
  'That man will be happy.' (Lit. That man, his being will be happy.)

(3-15) **Pita** *iinaia* *'e* *rau~rau* *ha-na* *tisa.*
  P. 3SG 3SG HAB~become PURP-PRS teacher
  'Peter used to be a teacher.'

In (3-14), the noun phrase *mane 'ewau* 'that man' occupies the topic position at the left periphery and is followed by the subject *raena* 'his being'. In (3-15), the subject NP *Pita* appears in the topic position. There is often a slight pause following the topicalised element. Objects and other elements can also be topicalised, see section 7.3.4 in Chapter 7 Clauses for discussion.

3.2 Tense, aspect and mood

Tense and aspect are somewhat difficult to tease apart in 'Are'are. The following sections provide an overview of how events, processes and states are grounded in time (3.2.1) and how aspect is expressed in this language (3.2.2). Section 3.2.3 provides a brief discussion on the expressions of modality in 'Are'are.

3.2.1 Tense

Tense can be described as a way of grounding or locating situations in time. It serves to express "the sequence of events in real time" (Payne, 1997:234). I suggest that 'Are'are has a basic tense distinction between non-future and future. My conclusions are supported by the following evidence:

- Non-future is unmarked, future is marked in all types of predicates
- Non-verbal clauses are allowed in non-future but not in future
- There is a non-future and future distinction in negation

Non-future is unmarked, positive future is marked by the preverbal particle *ka rao*. This is valid for active and stative verbal predicates (3-16), (3-17) as well as non-verbal predicates (3-18).

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[19] The word *rae-na* literally means 'his/her liver'. In 'Are'are, the liver is thought of as the essence of being and the seat of emotions, much like the English 'heart'.

(3-16a) *Na   ma'asu.*
      1SG   sleep
      'I slept.'

(3-16b) *Na=**ka rao**   ma'asu.*
      1SG=FUT   sleep
      'I will sleep.'

(3-17a) *Na   'ewa.*
      1SG   be.tall
      'I am tall / I was tall.'

(3-17b) *Na=**ka rao**   'ewa   ke.*
      1SG =FUT   be.tall EMPH
      'I will be tall.'

(3-18a) *Hanara   'e   rua-na   rahara.*
      food   3SG   on.top-PRS   table
      '(The) food is / was on (the) table.'

(3-18b) *Hanara=**ka rao**   'oni   rua-na   rahara.*
      food =FUT   stay   on.top-PRS   table
      '(The) food will be on (the) table.'

Non-verbal clauses appear only in non-future. All clauses expressing future must contain a verb. Prepositional predicates appear with the verb *'oni* 'stay' (3-18b), nominal predicates appear with the prepositional verb *rau* 'become' (3-19b):

(3-19a) *Pita   'e   haha'ausurina.*
      Peter 3SG   teacher
      'Peter is a teacher.'

(3-19b) *Pita   'e=**ka rao**   **rau**   ha-na   haha'ausurina.*
      Peter 3SG=FUT   become   PURP-PRS   teacher
      'Peter will be a teacher.'

The distinction between future and non-future is also discernible in negation. Whilst non-future is negated with the preverbal particle *ma* (3-20), for future negation the particle *si* is used:

(3-20a) *Na=**ma*** *ma'asu.*
   1SG=NEG   sleep
   'I didn't sleep.'

(3-20b) *Na*   *ka=**ma***   *ma'asu.*
   1SG   TAM=NEG   sleep
   'I don't sleep (right now, I am not asleep).'

(3-20c) *Na=**si***   *ma'asu.*
   1SG=NEG.FUT sleep
   'I will not sleep.'

The same pattern is followed by prepositional (3-21) and nominal predicates (3-22):

(3-21a) *Tione '**e=ma***   *rao-na*   *nima.*
   John   3SG=NEG   IN-PRS   house
   'John is not in (the) house.'

(3-21) *Te*   *noni '**e=si***   *'oni*   *rao-na*   *nima*   *nena*   *no'o.*
   IDF   person 3SG=NEG.FUT stay   IN-PRS   house   DEM   INT
   'There won't be (any) people in that house.'

(3-22a) *Pita*   *'**e=ma***   *haha'ausurina.*
   Peter   3SG=NEG   teacher
   'Peter is not a teacher.'

(3-22) *Pita*   *'**e=si***   *rau*   *ha-na*   *haha'ausurina.*
   Peter   3SG =NEG.FUT become   PURP-PRS   teacher
   'Peter won't become a teacher.'

Imperatives also show the future/non-future distinction. Whilst both examples below are prohibitive, the sentence in (3-23a) aims to stop an action that is already in progress, whilst the sentence in (3-23b) aims to prevent action that has not yet begun:

(3-23a) ***Man*** *ma'asu!*
   NEG   sleep
   'Don't sleep! (wake up).'

(3-23b) *'O=**si***   *ma'asu!*
   2SG=NEG.FUT   sleep
   'Don't sleep! (Don't fall asleep!).'

The time reference in clauses is also often given by a time adverb such as *karahini* 'soon', *naapon* 'yesterday', *warita* 'long ago' and so on. In narratives, the speaker sets the temporal reference at the beginning of the narrative, such as by *te horo'o'a* 'one day', which could also be translated as 'once upon a time'.

3.2.2 Aspect

Tense and aspect are intertwined to a degree in this language. As Payne states, aspect is concerned with the "internal temporal structure of a situation" (1997:234) rather than with placing events in real time. Several markers express aspect in 'Are'are: the most prominent ones being *ka* and *no'o*. Another device used to express aspect is reduplication.

3.2.2.1 Ka

The particle *ka* has several functions, depending on the context. It appears to mark:

- imperfective / progressive aspect with active verbs
- inchoative aspect with verbs expressing states

When occurring with verbs expressing actions and processes, *ka* indicates an ongoing, unfinished action. I suggest that it marks imperfective aspect:

(3-24a) *Pita   'e=ka   nuu   no'o.*
        Peter   3SG =TAM   sing   now
        'Peter is singing now.' (I can hear him.)

Compare:

(3-24b) *Pita   'e   nuu   'ewa'a   rika'a naapon.*
        Peter   3SG   sing   be.long   very   yesterday
        'Peter was singing/sang for a long time yesterday.'

The particle *ka* is commonly used not only with active verbs but also with verbs expressing states. However, its use with these verbs differs, depending on the subtype of the verb. Stative verbs in 'Are'are may express either an individual-level or a stage-level property. Whilst the stage-level verbs commonly occur with *ka* to express that the state holds at the time of speaking (3-25b), the individual-level verbs occur with *ka* only when the reading of a change of state is implied (3-26b):

(3-25a) *Na   mahea   naaponi.*
      1SG   be.hungry   yesterday
      'I was hungry yesterday.'

(3-25b) *Na=**ka**   mahea   no'o.*
      1SG=TAM   be.hungry   now
      'I am hungry now.'

(3-26a) *'Are   nena   'e   masika.*
      thing DEM   3SG   be.small
      'This thing is small.'

(3-26b) *'Are   nena=**ka**   masika.*
      thing DEM=TAM   be.small
      'This thing is getting small.'

(3-27a) *Pita   'e   pooruru.*
      Peter 3SG   kneel
      'Peter is kneeling down.' (He is in a position of being on his knees.)

(3-27b) *Pita   'e=**ka**   pooruru.*
      Peter 3SG=TAM   kneel
      'Peter is kneeling.' (He is getting into a position of being on his knees.)

The particle *ka* also commonly occurs in conditional adverbial clauses. In this context, *ka* may occur in clauses expressing hypothetical past events:

(3-28) *'Aremara   na=**ka**   to'i   rika'a ta'au aano   ha'araa*
      if   1SG=TAM   work   very   PREP   garden   CNTF

      *'ai   nau   na=**ka**   to'o   roto   iiwera   na.*
      tree   1SG.POSS   DET=TAM   have   fruit   be.many   DET
      'If I had worked hard in the garden, my trees would have fruited.'

I suggest that the reason for the presence of *ka* in (3-28) above is that the situation can be seen as imperfective, since the conditions under which the state of affairs expressed in the matrix clause would obtain were not satisfied, and the state of affairs thus did not hold.

That *ka* is used in situations expressing imperfectivity can be also seen from the example in (3-29):

(3-29) *Na'o-ha-na*   *'ami=**ka***   *raa*   *hi*   *Rutorea*
       before-OBL-PRS   1PL.EXCL=TAM   go   to   R.

     *'ami=**ka** rao*   *hana.*
     1PL.EXCL=FUT   eat
     'Before we go to Rutorea, we'll eat.'

In (3-29), the first clause contains *ka* whilst the second clause contains the future marker *ka rao*. Whilst the events in both clauses are imperfective, the second event is placed further in the future than the first one. The presence of *ka* in the first clause may signal imperfectivity, however *ka* is also used to express the very near or certain future (3-30):

(3-30) ***'Aremara***   ***ka***   *uuta*   *ra'ahore'e*   *ma*
      if   TAM   rain   tomorrow   and

     *kura=**ka***   *'oni*   *nima*[20] *ke*   *na.*
     1DU.INCL=TAM   stay   house EMPH SIT.DEM
     'If it rains tomorrow, we (will) stay at home.'

Ka also commonly occurs in narratives, where it allows the narrator to express events as if they were taking place at the time of speaking (similar to the historical present in English).

Although the occurrence of *ka* often correlates with events taking place in the present time, I believe it is better to treat it as an aspect marker rather than as a marker of present tense. Firstly, its occurrence seems to be restricted to verbal predicates:

(3-31a) *Mane waiwau*   *'e*   *mama-ku.*
      man DEM.DIST   3SG   father-1SG.POSS
      'That man is my father.'

(3-31b) **Mane waiwau 'e=**ka** mamaku.*
       'That man is my father.'

With verbal predicates, the occurrence of *ka* is limited to clauses that express an on-going action, a temporary state or a change of state. Furthermore, it is possible for *ka* to occur in clauses temporarily placed in the past, as in (3-28). Therefore I conclude that the presence of *ka* signals not present tense, but rather an imperfective or inchoative aspect.

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[20]It is possible to express 'in the house', 'at home' without any preposition.

3.2.2.2 No'o

Events and situations that can be described as completed are often called perfective (Comrie, 1976, pp. 18-20). In 'Are'are, clauses expressing events and situations that have been successfully completed frequently contain the particle *no'o*.

(3-32) *Na*   *hana*   ***no'o***.
        1SG   eat   PFV
        'I have eaten already.'

(3-33) *Tete-na*   *mera*   *na*   *'e*   *hanari=a*   *mera*   *na*
        mother-POSS   child   DET   3SG   feed=3OBJ   child   DET

        ma   *mera*   *na*   *'e*   *pote*   ***no'o***.
        and   child   DET   3SG   be.full   PFV
        'The child's mother fed the child and the child is full now.'

Interestingly, *no'o* can be used in situations clearly expressing an incomplete action or an action in progress. In those contexts it has the meaning 'now'. *No'o* has also other functions, such as intensifier and discourse marker and therefore is glossed according to its function in a given example. This particle is discussed in more detail in section 5.3.2.5 in Chapter 5.

3.2.2.3 Reduplication

Partial or full reduplication of the verbal stem is used to express habitual (3-34) or continuative (3-35) aspect:

(3-34) *Okay*   *iinaia*   *Ninikowau*   *ka*   ***'on~'on***   *ha'ani=a*   *neke-na*
        okay   3SG   N.   TAM   HAB~live   with=3OBJ   mother-POSS
        'Okay, N. lives with his mother.'

        Rikimana   *horo'a*   *neke-na*   *ka*   *raa*   *hi*   *aano*
        every   time   mother-POSS   TAM   go   to   garden

        ma   *'e=ka*   ***toi~to'i***   *'are*   *aa-na*   *Ninikowau*   *he'eta*.
        and   3SG=TAM   HAB~do   thing   BEN-PRS   N.   always
        'Always mum goes to the garden and does things for N.'

(3-35) *Kiraurua*   ***rii*~*ri'o-hi-uura,***   ***rii*~*ri'o-hi-uura,***
       3DU   CONT~see-TR-crayfish   CONT~see-TR-crayfish

raa~raa*~*raa   *ma*   *ka*   ***raa*~*raa***   *no'o*   *hi*   *raurahi*   *ma*
CONT~CONT~go   and   TAM   CONT~go   now   PREP   evening   and

Hai'ae'ae   *ka*   *poi*   *no'o:*
H.   TAM   call   now
'They kept looking for crayfish, kept looking for crayfish, (they) kept going (on
  looking for crayfish), and now it's going towards the evening, and Hai'ae'ae calls out:'

3.2.3 Modality

Modality expresses the attitude of the speaker towards a situation, such as the speaker's belief in the likelihood or the reality of the situation or its relevance to himself/herself (Payne, 1997:244). One of the main distinctions made by Palmer (2001) is between propositional modality and event modality. Propositional modality includes epistemic modality and is "concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition", whilst event modality, which includes deontic modality and dynamic modality, relates to "events that are not actualized, events that have not taken place but are merely potential " (Palmer, 2001:8). Expressions of both epistemic and deontic modality seem to be present in 'Are'are.

Whilst Oceanic languages commonly distinguish between irrealis, which is marked, and realis, which is morphologically unmarked (Lynch et al., 2002) there is not sufficient evidence of this distinction in 'Are'are in my data.

3.2.3.1 *Epistemic modality*

As Palmer notes, epistemic modality expresses how or to what degree the speaker is commited to the truth of a given proposition (1986:121). In 'Are'are, the situational demonstrative adverb *nena* is used to emphasise that a state of affairs is indeed as it is stated by the speaker (3-36), (3-37).

(3-36) *'Aikarua*   *na*   *'e*   *hi'a,*   *'e*   *ka rao*
      canoe   DET   3SG   be.heavy   3SG   FUT

toto   ***nena****.*
sink   SIT.DEM
'The canoe is heavy, it will (surely) sink.'

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(3-37) *Pita   mane   'e   'ewa   **nena**.*
　　　Peter   man   3SG   be.tall   SIT.DEM
　　　'Peter is a tall man.'

The affirmative postverbal particle *ra'o* 'truly' can also be used to indicate the speaker's belief in the truth of the statement. See section 5.3.2.8 in Chapter 5.

The expressions *mo'are* 'maybe' (3-38), (3-39) and *'e rio mara* 'it looks like' (3-40) are used to indicate the speaker's uncertainty about the proposition:

(3-38) *Iinaia   ko'e   na,   **mo'are**   ka   poi~poi*
　　　3SG   frog   DET   maybe   TAM   RDP~call

　　　tare   kiraura   moa,   mao   moa,   na=ma
　　　ALL   3DU   or   be.not   or   1SG=NEG

　　　rae=a   ra'o.
　　　know=3OBJ   AFF
　　　'The frog, maybe it is calling (towards) them, or not, I don't know for sure.'

(3-39) *Na=ma   rae=a   ra'o,   **mo'are**   'e   mae*
　　　1SG=NEG   know=3OBJ   AFF   maybe   3SG   die

　　　moa   Pita   'e   mauri.
　　　or   P.   3SG   live
　　　'I don't know whether Peter died or whether he is alive.' (Lit. I don't know for sure,
　　　 maybe he (Peter) is dead or Peter is alive.'

In (3-40), the speaker expresses the possibility of the canoe sinking by using the expression *'e rio mara* 'it looks like'. The situational demonstrative adverb *nena* is also present. I assume that it serves to emphasise the likelihood of the canoe sinking:

(3-40) *'Aikarua   na   'e   hi'a,   **'e   rio mara***
　　　canoe   DET   3SG   be. heavy   3SG   look like

　　　*ka rao toto   **nena**.*
　　　FUT   sink   SIT.DEM
　　　'The canoe is heavy, it looks like it will sink.'

3.2.3.2 Deontic modality and dynamic modality

According to Palmer (2001), deontic modality refers to obligation or permission which come from a source external to the speaker, whilst dynamic modality is concerned with ability or willingness of the speaker.

Expressions of deontic modality are not frequent in my data. The purpose etymon *ha-na* is used to express 'need':

(3-41) *'E*   ***ha-na***   *na*   *ka*   *ra'au* *no'o.*
      3SG   PURP-PRS   1SG   TAM   go   now
      'I need to go now.'

The only expression of 'must' attested in my data involves a borrowing of the modal from English:

(3-42) *'O=ko*   ***mas*** *tau=a*   *'are*   *nena.*
      2SG=TAM   must do=3OBJ   thing DEM
      'You must do that.'

Examples of dynamic modality are also scarce in my data. To express a skill or an ability to perform an action, the verb *rae* 'know' can be used:

(3-43) *Pita*   *'e*   ***rae=a***   *roto-ha.*
      Peter   3SG   know=3OBJ   swim-NMLZ
      'Peter can swim.' (Lit. 'Peter knows swimming.')

To indicate willingness or wanting, *ha-na* is preceded by the lexeme *rae-na* expressing one's essence of being:

(3-44) *Pita,*   *rae-na*   *'e*   *mao* ***ha-na***   *roto-ha.*
      Peter   being-POSS   3SG   be.not PURP-PRS   swim-NMLZ
      'Peter doesn't want to swim.' (Lit. Peter, his being is not for swimming.')

(3-45) *Rae-ku*   ***ha-na***   *kahu.*
      being-1SG.POSS   PURP-PRS   water
      'I want (some) water.'

For more discussion of uses of *ha-na* see section 6.2.9.3 in Chapter 6.

It is likely that further studies will reveal that the expression of modality in 'Are'are is a more complex matter than the above data would indicate. However, a more comprehensive analysis is beyond the scope of this work.

3.3 Parts of speech categories

'Are'are has the following lexical categories and grammatical categories:

OPEN LEXICAL CLASSES:

Nouns and *Verbs*: Both classes accept new members. This includes borrowings from both English and Solomon Island Pijin.

CLOSED LEXICAL CLASSES:

Adverbs

Numerals: The language uses a decimal system.

GRAMMATICAL CLASSES:

Pronouns: 'Are'are pronominal forms distinguish between first, second and third person, inclusive and exclusive, and singular, dual and plural number. There are strong and weak personal pronouns which slightly differ in their distribution and function. The weak forms are used as subject markers (except third person singular, see section 4.2 for discussion).

Determiners

Demonstratives

Quantifiers

Prepositions

Particles

Coordinators and subordinators

Interjections

3.3.1 Issues with assigning grammatical categories

3.3.1.1 Heterosemy

The language displays a considerable amount of heterosemy (Lichtenberk, 2008), meaning that the same word form can function as a member of different lexical categories with different distributional properties. For example, whilst the form *rika'a* functions most

commonly as an adverb 'very' (3-46), it can also appear as a noun modifier (3-47a) or as the predicate (3-47b):

(3-46) *Naihi   na   'e   to'o   rika'a.*
      knife   DET   3SG   be.sharp   very
      'The knife is very sharp.'

In the example (3-47a) below, *rika'a* denotes a strong good quality of Neil Armstrong:

(3-47a) *Neil Armstrong   ('e)   mane **rika'a**, mane 'e*
        N.A.   (3SG)   man   ?   man   3SG

        hane-'i=a   hura.
        climb-TR=3OBJ   moon
        'Neil Armstrong, he was a (proper?) man, he went to the moon.'

Rika'a can equally express a strong negative quality:

(3-47b) *Mane 'e   **rika'a**, mane ha-na   ko'u-ha   no'o.*
        man   3SG   ?   man   PURP-PRS   drink-NMLZ   INTS
        '(That) man is bad/crazy, he drinks a lot.'

Similarly, *wau* may function as a verb meaning 'to go away' (3-48), as an andative postverbal particle (3-49), as a preposition expressing location (3-50) or direction (3-51), as a component in a compound distal demonstrative (3-52, 3-53) or as a plural marker[21] (3-54).

(3-48) *Na=ka   **wau***
      1SG=TAM   go.away
      'I am going away.'

(3-49) *Na=ka   raa   **wau***.
      1SG=TAM   go   AND
      'I am going away.'

See section 3.3.1.2 for evidence that andantive and ventive particles are distinct from modifying verbs in SVCs.

(3-50) *Pita   'e   **wau** nima.*
      Peter   3SG   PREP   house
      'Peter is (over there) in the house.'

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[21] Note that *wau* is a dialectal variant of the plural marker *hi*.

(3-51) *Kira=ka   raa   **wau**   tare=a...*
       3PL=TAM   go   AND   ALL=3OBJ
      'They are going towards it…' (away from their current location)

(3-52) *Mane   **wau'ee**   'e   'ewa.*
       man   DEM.DIST   3SG   be.tall
      'The man over there is tall.'

(3-53) *Mane   **'ewau**   'e   rae-'are.*
       man   DEM.DIST   3SG   know-thing
      'The man over there is knowledgeable.'

(3-54) ***Wau**   mane   **wau'ee**   kira   'ewa.*
       PL   mane   DEM.DIST   3PL   be.tall
      'The men over there are tall.'

There are several bound morphemes in 'Are'are which function as components in various compounds, often belonging to different categories. It is possible that these morphemes still have an identifiable meaning by themselves; however it is not possible to establish that on the basis of the present data.

One such morpheme is *'uri-* (or *'ure-*):

(3-55) ***'Uria** Pita   tisa   nena?*
       be.so Peter   teacher   SIT.DEM
      'Is Peter a teacher?' (Lit. Is it so that Peter is a teacher?)

(3-56) *'Oki~'okira-ha   kui   na   'e   **'uri-ha-na**   laione.*
       RDP~be.strong-NMLZ dog   DET   3SG   like-OBL-PRS   lion
      'The dog is strong as a lion.'

(3-57) *Pita   'e   **'uriwau**.*
       Peter 3SG   DEM.DIST
      'Peter is over there.'

(3-58) *Ka   wa'era'ani=a maa-na   **'ure'ee**   ma...*
       TAM   swing=3OBJ eye-POSS   like.this   and
      '(He) swings his eyes like this and…'

The morpheme *hai* occurs in locative compounds, but it does not occur by itself. Its meaning seems to be related to 'place':

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(3-59) *tai-**hai***   'where (location)'

   *hii-**hai***   'where (direction)'

   *maani-**hai***   'where from'

The list of forms functioning in different ways is by no means exhaustive; its purpose is to illustrate the complexity of the matter. The scope of this paper does not allow for a comprehensive study of these multi-function morphemes.

For the purpose of this work, forms that can function as members of different categories will be glossed according to the function they have in a given example.

3.3.1.2 Diachronic change

Some lexemes/morphemes display properties of one category whilst functioning as members of another. Prepositions can serve as an example. Only a handful of 'Are'are prepositions are true prepositions; a large proportion of the prepositional elements display noun-like or verb-like properties. True prepositions are bare, they do not index their objects:

(3-60) *hi   nima*
     to   house
    'to (the) house'

Noun-like prepositions take personal suffixes to reference their complements. These suffixes have forms identical to possessive suffixes marking inalienable possession:

(3-61) *Na'a   **'api-ku**!*
     talk   REC-1SG.PRS
    'Talk to me!'

(3-62) *Pita   'e   wate=a   **ha-mu***.
     Peter   3SG   give=3OBJ   REC-2SG.PRS
    'Peter gave (it) to you.'

(3-63) *Na   raa   **so'o-na**   Pita.*
     1SG   go   after-PRS   Peter
    'I went after Peter.' or 'I followed Peter.'

The verb-like prepositions reference their complements by means of the pronominal clitics that are used to index the object on the verb:

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(3-64) *Pita   'e   sisihora   **tari=nau**.*
     Peter   3SG   story.tell   to=1SG
     'Peter told me a story.'

(3-65) *Pita   'e   na'a   rete   **ha'ani='o**.*
     Peter   3SG   speak   be.good   with=2SG
     'Peter praised you.' (Lit. Peter spoke well with you.)

(3-66) *Pita   'e   ooro   **maani=a**   Tione.*
     Peter   3SG   run   ABL=3OBJ   John
     'Peter ran away from John.'

A plausible explanation for this behaviour is that the noun-like prepositions were originally nouns, and the verb-like prepositions were verbs. Payne suggests that historically adpositions often derive from verbs or nouns (1997:87). In modern 'Are'are, these morphemes have retained their object marking patterns, but their function and distribution are those of prepositions. Some prepositions can function as heads of non-verbal predicates, although this seems to be restricted to the noun-like prepositions (see section 7.2.2 in Chapter 7). Prepositions are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

The ventive *mai* and the andative *wau* can be used as another example here. Reconstructions suggest that in the past these lexemes most likely functioned as verbs (Greenhill et al., 2008). In modern 'Are'are, their status is somewhere between the lexical category of verbs and the grammatical category of particles/prepositions. Whilst they can be used as the head of a verbal predicate, as seen in (3-48) above, this is not very common and they do not seem to be able to function as verbs in all contexts available to "full" verbs. Consider the following examples. 'Are'are has serial verb constructions. Where the constructions are transitive, the object clitic attaches to the last verb:

(3-56) *Na   wate   siko=**a**   rikimana   kahu   'a-na   Pita.*
     1SG   give   finish=3OBJ   all   water   REC-PRS   Peter
     'I gave all the water to Peter.'

The ventive *mai* can function as the head of a (most likely) verbal predicate:

(3-68) *Na=ka   mai.*
     1SG=TAM   come
     'I am coming (to the interlocutor or to a specified destination)'

But it cannot function as the modifying verb in a SVC. The object clitic attaches to the first verb in (3-69):

(3-69) *Tau=**a***   *mai*   *kuki*   *'e*   *mapota*   *nena!*
        give=3OBJ   VENT   pot   3SG   be.broken   DEM
        'Give me that broken pot!'

This suggests that *mai* is not a full verb here, and that it may be better analysed as a postverbal particle rather than a modifying verb:

(3-70) *'O*   *rio*   *mai!*
        2SG   look   VENT
        'Look here!'

The lexemes/morphemes are glossed according to the function they fulfil in a given example.

3.3.2   Stative verbs versus adjectives

I suggest that 'Are'are does not have the category of adjectives. Whilst on the surface nouns appear to be modified by an adjectival element, on a closer look these seem to be intransitive verbs functioning as heads of predicates in reduced relative clauses which in turn modify nouns[22]. As Ross (1998) notes, it is not uncommon for Oceanic languages to have a category of *adjectival verbs* that function as stative verbs and as noun modifiers. I present the following evidence for 'Are'are.

In verbal as well as non-verbal clauses, the subject noun phrase is optionally followed by the relevant subject marker, after which follows the predicate:

(3-71) *Wa'a-ku*   *'e*   *manata.*
        brother-1SG.POSS   3SG   be.clever
        'My brother is clever.'

In the example below, the noun phrase *wa'aku 'e manata na* 'my clever brother' functions as the subject. The head noun *wa'aku* is modified by the reduced relative clause (RC) *'e manata* 'is clever'[23]. That the unit *wa'aku 'e manata na* is a noun phrase with an internal clausal modifier is evident from the position of the determiner *na*. Determiners occupy the right-most position in 'Are'are noun phrases:

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[22] This is unlike in Toqabaqita, where verbs may modify nouns directly (Lichtenberk, 2005).
[23] Reduced relative clauses in 'Are'are do not require any relativiser, see Chapter 8.

(3-72) [*Wa'a-ku* ['e *manata*] *na*]_{NP} *'e* *raa* *hi* *sasani.*
      brother-1SG.POSS   3SG be.clever   DET   3SG   go   to   school
      'My clever brother went to school.'

Often, the subject marker in the reduced relative clause can be omitted, especially in third person singular:

(3-73) [*Wa'a-ku* *manata* *na*]_{NP} *'e* *raa* *hi* *sasani.*
      brother-1SG.POSS   be.clever   DET   3SG   go   to   school
      'My clever brother went to school.'

The reduced relative clauses may contain prepositional or intransitive verbal predicates[24]. The evidence that the reduced RCs expressing properties and attributes are headed by intransitive verbs and not by adjectives is based on the differences between verbal and non-verbal predicates in 'Are'are. If the reduced RCs were headed by adjectives, they would be non-verbal predicates. The prediction would be that these predicates would follow the patterns of other non-verbal predicates in the language as discussed in section 3.2.1. 'Are'are allows non-verbal predicates only in non-future tense; future tense clauses must be verbal. The verbs *rau* 'become' and *'oni* 'stay' are used as copular verbs for future tense nominal (3-74) and prepositional predicates (3-75) respectively.

(3-74a) *Pita* *iinaia* *haha'ausurina* *nena.*
       Peter 3SG   teacher   DEM.SIT
       'Peter is a teacher.'

(3-74b) *Pita* *'e=si* **rau** *ha-na* *haha'ausurina.*
       Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT become   PURP-PRS   teacher
       'Peter will not become a teacher.'

(3-74c) **Pita 'e si Ø haha'ausurina.*
        'Peter will not become a teacher.'

(3-75a) *Hanara* *iiwera* *'e* *rao-na* *ma'i.*
       food   be.much   3SG   IN-PRS   basket
       'There is a lot of food in the basket.'

(3-75b) *Te* *hanara 'e=si* **'oni** *rao-na ma'i* *ra'ahore'e.*
       IDF   food   3SG=NEG.FUT stay   IN-PRS basket tomorrow
       'There will not be any food in the basket tomorrow.'

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[24] See also Chapter 4.

(3-75c) *Te hanara 'e si Ø rao-na ma'i ra'ahore'e.*
      'There will not be any food in the basket tomorrow.'

Predicates headed by intransitive verbs expressing properties and attributes, on the other hand, do not require any additional verb in future tense. I suggest this is because they are themselves verbs, and thus their presence satisfies the requirement for a verbal predicate in future tense:

(3-76a) *Pita   'e   'ewa.*
      Peter 3SG   be.tall
      'Peter is tall.'

(3-76b) *Pita   'e=si   'ewa   no'o.*
      Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT be.tall INT
      'Peter will not be tall.'

Compare:

(3-76c) *Pita   'e=si   pe'a   ra'ahore'e.*
      Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT dance tomorrow
      'Peter will not dance tomorrow.'

Based on the above evidence, I conclude that lexemes expressing properties and attributes of nouns in 'Are'are are stative verbs rather than adjectives, and that there is no separate category of adjectives in this language.

4 Nouns and noun phrases

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 4.1 describes the properties of the word class of nouns in 'Are'are and the distinguishing features of different categories of nouns. Section 4.2 discusses pronouns, and section 4.3 lays out the structure of the noun phrase.

4.1 Nouns

'Are'are nouns can be divided into different categories based on several criteria:

- common and proper nouns (section 4.1.2)
- count and mass nouns (section 4.1.3)
- directly and indirectly possessed nouns (section 4.1.4)

'Are'are nouns are generally not structurally different from other classes. It is also relatively common for one word form to function as a noun or as a verb (4-1, 4-2). (For discussion on heterosemy see section 3.3.1.1 in Chapter 3.)

(4-1) *Na* *reesi=a* ***hote*** *na.*
   1SG see=3OBJ paddle DET
   'I saw the paddle.'

(4-2) *Na=ka* ***hote***.
   1SG=TAM paddle
   'I am paddling.'

Whilst 'Are'are lexical categories are for the most part not distinguished morphologically, the position they occupy provides a vital clue about their function in a sentence. In (4-1) above, *hote* is followed by a determiner *na*, and the whole NP *hote na* 'the paddle' occupies the position of a direct object coming straight after the transitive verb. In this case, *hote* functions as a noun. In (4-2) above, *hote* directly follows the particle *ka*, which is a position normally occupied by verbs.

Nouns can be monomorphemic (4-3) or composed of two or more free or bound morphemes (4-4, 4-5). Partial or full reduplication is not uncommon (see below).

(4-3) *kui*
   'dog'

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In the example below, the noun *rae'areha* means 'learned knowledge'. The noun is derived from a verb *rae-'are* 'to be knowledgeable'[25] by means of the nominalizing suffix *-ha*. The components *rae* and *'are* can function as independent lexemes with the meaning 'to know' and 'thing' respectively.

(4-4) *rae-'are-ha*
      know-thing-NMLZ
      'knowledge'

(4-5) *'okira-ha*
      be.strong-NMLZ
      'strength'

4.1.1 Derivational processes

Whilst many of 'Are'are nouns are monomorphemic, compounding and derivation are productive word-formation processes in the language.

4.1.1.1 Compounding

Noun compounds can be formed by a combination of a noun and a verb or two nouns. See the table 4.1 below for examples.

Compound	Component1	Component2
'aikarua	*'ai*	*karui=a*
'canoe' (dugout)	'tree'	'to hollow out'*
pusuasi	*pusu*	*aasi*
'whale'	'to burst'	'sea, sea water'
'aihaka	*'ai*	*haka*
'pawpaw'	'tree'	'boat'**
noni mera	*noni*	*mera*
'child	'person'	'child'
kui mera	*kui*	*mera*
'puppy'	'dog'	'child'
noni paina	*noni*	*paina*
'adult'	'person'	'be big'

Table 4.1 Compounding in 'Are'are nouns

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[25] *Rae-'are* is a case of object incorporation, see section 5.1.1.4 in Chapter 5 for discussion.

*This lexical item is from 'Are'are dictionary (Geerts, 1970:49).

**Note that this particular sense of *haka* has a meaning associated with it that denotes something or someone that originated from far away, in foreign parts. Pawpaw originates in the Americas and was introduced to the Solomon Islands.

4.1.1.2 4.1.1.2. Suffixation

Some 'Are'are nouns are derived from verbs by means of the nominalizing suffixes *–ha*   and *-na*. Two tokens also illustrate the suffix *–ta*, but this suffix is rare in my data. The resulting nouns carry the meaning 'the action of', related to the verb, or have similarly related meaning to the verb. For most of the cases it is possible to posit a rule where *-ha* is the default suffix and *-na* is its allomorph applicable where the closest consonant in the stem preceding the suffix is /h/. However, whilst this rule applies in most cases, there are nouns derived with the suffix *-ha* following /h/ in the stem, and also nouns derived with the *-na* suffix despite there being no /h/ in the preceding stem. Table 4.2 lists examples of the derived nouns and the original verbs.

Verb	Meaning	Suffix allomorph	Suffixed noun	Meaning
hana	to eat	*-ha*	*hanaha*	eating
eeno	to lie down	*-ha*	*eenoha*	lying down
nuu	to sing	*-ha*	*nuuha*	singing, song
ha'ananau	to give advice	*-ha*	*ha'ananauha*	advice
haiara	to fight	*-ha*	*haiaraha*	fighting
uuhi	to blow	*-ha*	***uuhiha***	blowing
mahea	to hunger	*-ha*	***maheaha***	hunger
roha	to dance	*-na*	*rohana*	dancing
tohu	to cut	*-na*	*tohuna*	cutting
hua	to bring	*-na*	*huaana*	bringing
tau	to do, to make	*-na*	***tauana***	making
to'i	to make, to hold	*-na*	***to'iana***	making
ooho	to fight	*-ta*	*oohotoa*	fighting
hahi	to cook in earth oven	*-ta*	*hahita*[26]	earth oven plus its content

Table 4.2 Nominalizing suffixes in 'Are'are

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[26] Keesing (1985, pp. 79-80) notes that in Kwaio, the nominalizing suffix *–ta* is used to derive a noun refering to an instrument that is used to create a particular state.

There are exceptions in my data where the suffix –*na* is used in the absence of /h/ in the stem, such as in *to'iana* and *tauana*, both meaning 'making'. This data has been given by two different speakers, one of them also provided *tohuha* 'cutting', which according to the allomorph rule should be incorrect. Other two speakers provided the forms *uuhiha* 'blowing' and *maheaha* 'hunger', which is also against the allomorph rule.

There are several possible explanations for this inconsistency. There may be cross-dialectal differences and the forms produced by the speakers are influenced by other dialects they speak or have been exposed to. It is also possible that there is a difference in meaning between the –*ha* and –*na* suffixed nouns that is not possible to discover from the data available at this time. Another possibility is that the forms *tauana* and *to'iana* have not been created by the nominalizing suffix but rather they are fused sequences of verb plus the propositional element *aa-na*, see Chapter 6 for discussion.

4.1.1.3 Reduplication

Reduplication in nouns is relatively common in 'Are'are and serves several different purposes. Some lexemes appear only in the reduplicated form:

(4-6a) *hepehepe*　　(4-6b) *'ora'ora*
　　　'butterfly'　　　　　　'ashes'

In some cases both the single morpheme form and the reduplicated form exist but are completelly unrelated in terms of meaning:

(4-7a) *'apa*　　　　(4-7b) *'apa'apa-*[27]
　　　'shore'　　　　　　　'wing'

(4-8a) *'ai*　　　　　(4-8b) *'ai'ai-*
　　　'tree'　　　　　　　'hand'

In other cases both words (the base and the reduplicated form) carry the same meaning:

(4-9a) *ma'i*　　　　　　　　　(4-9b) *ma'ima'i*
　　　'basket' (from tree bark)　　　　　'basket' (from tree bark)

(4-10a) *kato*　　　　　　　　　(4-10b) *kakato*
　　　'basket'(from coconut frond)　　　'basket' (from coconut frond)

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[27] Nouns referring to body parts, both human and animal, normally occur with a possessive suffix. See discussion below in section 4.1.5. in this chapter.

(4-11a) *hoko* (4-11b) *hokohoko*
     'group' (inanimate)   'group' (inanimate)

In (4-9b) the whole item is reduplicated whilst in (4-10b) it is only the first syllable. The reason for this is unknown as there does not seem to be any difference in meaning (apart from the material).

Reduplication in some nouns is used to mark endearment. This is usually possible only with nouns referring to human relations or animals kept as pets:

(4-12a) *hikuma* (4-12b) *hihikuma*
     'friend'   '(dear) friend'

(4-13a) *wari* (4-13b) *wawari*
     'uncle'   '(dear) uncle'

(4-14a) *kui* (4-14b) *kukui*
     'dog"   'dog (a pet)'

The 'Are'are language does not employ reduplication as an expression of endearment in nouns where the whole lexeme consists of two reduplicated syllables:

(4-15) *teetee*
     'mother'

(4-16) *maamaa*
     'father'

Admittedly, since the lexemes *teetee* and *maamaa* are used by children to address their parents, the examples in (4-15) and (4-16) already express endearment.

4.1.2 Proper and common nouns

'Are nouns can be divided into common and proper. The proper nouns subgroup contains personal names and place names (villages, countries). There is a category of common nouns: absolute locative nouns which includes nouns referring to locations (garden), buildings or parts of buildings (house, school, bedroom) or geographical features (sea). Whilst these nouns are common nouns, they share one property with the proper nouns designating places, and that is the ability to appear with the preposition *hi* 'to'.

(4-17a) *Na=ka*   *raa*   ***hi***   ***Hauporo***.
       1SG=TAM   go   to   H.
       'I am going to Hauporo (village)'

(4-17b) *Na=ka*   *raa*   ***hi***   ***tohi***.
       1SG=TAM   go   to   bedroom
       'I am going to (the) bedroom.'

(4-17c) *Na=ka*   *raa*   ***hi***   ***aano***.
       1SG=TAM   go   to   garden
       'I am going to (the) garden.'

Proper names are not formally distinguished from common nouns; all nouns are treated in the same way. They can take the plural marker *hi* or other numeral quantifier, although the use would be rather restricted compared to common nouns (4-18), (4-19), (4-20), (4-21).

(4-18) *Na*   *reesi=a*   *kui.*
     1SG   see=3OBJ   dog
     'I saw a dog.'

(4-19) *Na*   *reesi=a*   *Pita.*
     1SG   see=3OBJ   Peter
     'I saw Peter.'

(4-20) *Hi*   *Pita*   *na*   *kira*   *hura* *no'o.*
     PL   Peter DET   3PL   arrive PFV
     'The Peters have arrived.'

The sentence in (4-20) above could be used to comment on the arrival of several persons named Peter.

(4-21) *Rua*   *Pita*   *na*   *kira*   *hura* *no'o.*
     two   Peter DET   3PL   arrive PFV
     'The two Peters have arrived.'

The sentence in (4-21) could be used to inform about the arrival of two persons named Peter.

Proper nouns serving as place names are also treated in the same way as common nouns (4-22).

(4-22a) *Pita   'e   raa   hi   nima.*
      Peter   3SG   go   to   house
      'Peter went to a house.'

(4-22b) *Pita   'e   raa   hi   Rutorea.*
      Peter   3SG   go   to   Rutorea
      'Peter went to Rutorea.'

4.1.3 Count vs. mass nouns

The language distinguishes between count and mass nouns. Substances such as water, sand and food are treated as uncountable. The nouns referring to these substances can sometimes still be modified by a numeral or non-numeral quantifier, but this quantification will be understood to apply to a container or a fixed unit (4-24). In other cases it may be necessary to specify the units being counted (4-26). In some situations it is possible to use the quantifier *hita* with mass nouns to enquire about the general amount, but the use is restricted and the answer will be given in terms of number of units (4-27).

(4-23) *kahu*
     'water, river'

(4-24) *hita kahu*
     'how many rivers' or 'how many bamboo containers of water'
     *'how much water'

Whilst it is possible to use *hita kahu* to enquire about the number of rivers or the number of bamboo containers of water, the reading 'how much water' is ungrammatical.

(4-25) *hanara*
     'food'

(4-26) *hita kato ni hanara*
     'how many baskets of food'

(4-27) *hita hanara*
     'how much food (how many different food items were there at the feast)'

Note that the answer to (4-27) would be relating to the number of different food items, number of parcels of fish, heaps of kumara etc.

The matter of quantification is discussed in greater detail in section 4.3.1 below.

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4.1.4 Directly and indirectly possessed nouns

'Are'are distinguishes between nouns that are normally always possessed, and nouns whose possession is optional. Following Lynch et al., they will be referred to as directly and indirectly possessed nouns here (2002). This distinction roughly corresponds to the terms alienable and inalienable possession described in other literature. The directly possessed nouns include body parts, both human and animals, and also parts of plants, and some human relations. The indirectly possessed class includes some human relations and all other nouns. The two classes mark possession in a different way. Whilst the directly possessed nouns take a possessive suffix, the indirectly possessed nouns do not; they are followed by the relevant weak pronoun for each person. See section 4.2.3 for discussion. Table 4.3 below illustrates the nouns belonging to each of the classes.

Directly possessed nouns		Indirectly possessed nouns	
All body parts, name	**Some human relations**	**Objects, animals**	**Some human relations**
pau-ku 'my head'	*teetee-ku* 'my mother'	*nima nau* 'my house'	*mera nau* 'my child'
roroa-ku 'my ear'	*wa'a-ku* 'my brother'[28]	*'aikarua nau'* 'my canoe'	*weewee nau* 'my baby'
'ai'ai-ku 'my hand'	*wari-ku* 'my uncle'	*kui nau* 'my dog'	*huka nau* 'my wife'
'a'e-ku 'my leg, foot'	*hoe-ku* 'my friend'	*kusi nau* 'my cat'	*poro nau* 'my husband'
rata-ku 'my name'	*huno-ku* 'my spouse's parents'	*hanara nau* 'my food'	*aahorota nau* 'blood relations of my spouse'
maa-na kura 'our eyes' (2du.excl)	*teetee-na kura* 'our mother' (2du.excl)	*nima kura* 'our house' (2du.excl)	*mera kura* 'our child' (2du.excl)

Table 4.3 Directly and indirectly possessed nouns in 'Are'are

Interestingly there are nouns that claim membership in both categories and can appear with either of the possessive markers:

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[28] *Wa'a* can be used by a female to refer to her brother or sister or by a male to refer to his brother but not by a male to refer to his sister. This term is also used in the same way among cousins.

(4-28a) *teetee-ku*   (4-28b) *teetee nau*
      'my mother'   'my mother'

There is a difference in pronunciation between (4-28a) and (4-28b), as the possessive suffix shortens the preceding vowels in the stem whilst the free-standing possessive pronoun does not. (See Chapter 2) It is not possible to determine on basis of the present data whether there is also a difference in meaning or whether each of the possessive forms would be used in a different context.

4.2   Pronouns

4.2.1   Personal pronouns

'Are'are has a range of personal, possessive and relative pronouns. All can be used for animate and inanimate referents. When asked directly, some speakers were hesitant to use personal pronouns with the exception of *'e* for non-human or inanimate referents. However, since the speakers subsequently produced sentences with personal pronouns referring to non-human or inanimate entities and considered these forms grammatical, I conclude that the language does not distinguish between animate and inanimate or human and non-human referents in terms of pronouns use. In this section, personal, possessive and relative pronouns will be described in turn.

'Are'are distinguishes between singular, dual and plural number in pronouns. The dual and plural pronouns are further divided into two categories: inclusive and exclusive. The inclusive pronouns include the addressee(s) in the group whilst the exclusive pronouns refer only to the speaker(s) but not to the addressee(s).

Personal pronouns in 'Are'are can appear either in a weak form, used in most constructions, or in a strong form. The strong pronouns are used in particular environments, especially when emphasis is needed (see below). The strong forms are identified by the clitic/prefix *ii* / *'i*, attaching to the weak forms. The exact form (pronunciation) differs between speakers. All pronouns follow this pattern with the exception of the third person singular which has *iinaia* as the strong form but appears as *'e* in its weak form. I suggest that there is a third form of the 3sg pronoun, and that is the object referencing clitic =*a*. See discussion below.

The *ii/'i* seems to be a reflex of a Proto-Malayo-Polynesian personal article **i* (Lynch et al., 2002:68). In modern 'Are'are, its reflex occurs as a prefix in the strong pronominal forms and it also appears in lexical items such as:

noni / iinoni   'person'
iitaa   'what'

The 1sg pronoun has two weak forms: *na* appears in the subject position whilst *nau* appears in the object positions. (It seems likely that *na* is a truncated form of *nau*.) This is illustrated by the examples (4-29) and (4-30).

(4-29) ***Na***   *reesi=a*   *Tione.*
      1SG   see=3OBJ   John.
      'I saw John.'

(4-30) *Tione*   *'e*   *reesi=**nau**.*
      John   3SG   see=1SG
      'John saw me.'

There is some degree of variation in the weak pronominal forms. Table 4.4, which lists the weak and strong pronominal forms, contains the forms that are most common in my data.

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Strong	**Weak**	**Strong**	**Weak**	**Strong**	**Weak**
1 inclusive			*iikura*	*kura*	*iikoru*	*koru*
1 exclusive	*iinau*	*na/nau*	*ii'erua*	*'erua*	*ii'ami*	*'ami*
2	*ii'oo*	*'o*	*ii'aurua*	*'aurua*	*ii'au*	*'au*
3	*iinaia*	*'e*	*iikiraurua*	*kiraurua*	*iikira*	*kira*
		=a				

Table 4.4 Strong and weak pronouns in 'Are'are

4.2.2 Distribution of strong and weak forms of personal pronouns

Whilst in many instances my language consultants claim that the forms are interchangeable, in certain environments only one of them is grammatical or at least strongly preferred. Each of the observed environments will be discussed in turn: emphasis, pronouns in subject and object positions, pronouns in copular constructions, pronouns directly following a preposition and coordinated pronouns.

4.2.2.1 Emphasis

Emphasis is usually achieved by using one the strong pronouns. The following behaviour has been observed in a group of children playing in the sea taking turns in a game. In answer to the question 'Who is next?', they would shout (4-31):

(4-31) ***Iinau, iinau****!*
     'Me, me!'

to indicate that they would like to be chosen. The weak forms *na* or *nau* would never be produced in this context.

Another possible scenario illustrating the use of the strong pronouns for emphasis involves a discussion about a recent fight. In an answer to a question enquiring about the person who punched a particular man, the speaker would use the strong 1sg pronoun *iinau* to emphasise that he is responsible for the action.

(4-32) *Aatei   ne   'e   kumuri=a   mane na?*
    who   REL   3SG   punch=3OBJ   man   DET
    'Who (was it that) punched the man?'

(4-33a) ***Iinau***   *ne   na   kumuri=a   mane na.*
    1SG   REL   1SG   punch=3OBJ   man   DET
    'It was me who punched the man.'

In the example in (4-33a) the strong 1sg pronoun is followed by the relative pronoun *ne*. In this context, only the strong pronoun is grammatical.

Note that certain amount of variation is possible to express the meaning of the sentence in (4-33a). It would be grammatical to say (4-33b) and (4-33c):

(4-33b) ***Iinau***   *na   kumuri=a   mane na.*
    1SG   1SG   punch=3OBJ   man   DET
    'I punched the man.'

(4-33c) ***Na***   *kumuri=a   mane na.*
    1SG   punch=3OBJ   man   DET
    'I punched the man.'

In my understanding the sentences in (4-33a) and (4-33b) are equal in terms of emphasis whilst the sentence in (4-33c) is simply a statement without any emphasis put on the speaker as the 'puncher'.

Instances of both strong and weak pronouns appearing in one clause are discussed in the following section.

4.2.2.2 Personal pronouns in subject and object positions

Personal pronouns in 'Are'are can occupy a subject or an object position in a sentence. All the pronouns follow the same pattern with the exception of 1sg and 3sg, which will be explained below.

4.2.2.2.1 Subject position

'Are'are often uses the pronouns to refer to the subject of a sentence even when a full subject NP is expressed. The pronouns can appear either in the strong or weak form. Compare the following examples (4-34a) and (4-34b).

(4-34a) *Hi*   *mane*   *na*   ***kira***   *'oni*   *rao-na*   *nima*   *waiwau.*
     PL   man   DET   3PL   live   IN-PRS   house   DEM.DIST
     'The men live in that house.'
     (Literally: The men, they live in house over there.)

(4-34b) *Hi mane na **iikira** 'oni raona nima waiwau.*
     'The men live in that house.'

It is also possible for both the strong and weak pronoun to appear in the same clause, referring to the same subject (4-35) and (4-36a).

(4-35) *Pita*   ***iinaia***   ***'e**=ma*   *poi*   *naapon.*
     Peter   3SG   3SG=NEG   shout   yesterday
     'Peter didn't shout yesterday.'

(4-36a) *Pita*   ***iinaia***   ***'e**=ma*   *'ewa.*
     Peter   3SG   3SG=NEG   be.tall
     'Peter is not tall.'

Note that sentences with only *'e* or only *iinaia* are also grammatical (4-36), (4-37).

(4-36b) *Pita **iinaia** ma 'ewa.*
     'Peter is not tall.'

(4-36c) *Pita **'e** ma 'ewa.*
'Peter is not tall.'

(4-37a) *Mane 'e'ewa na   **iinaia**   'oni   rao-na nima   waiwau   na.*
man   be.tall DET   3SG   live   IN-PRS house   DEM.DIST   DET
'The tall man lives in that house.'

(4-37b) *Mane 'e'ewa na **'e** 'oni raona nima waiwou na.*
'The tall man lives in that house.'

In sentences with a pronominal subject only one pronoun is usually present. However, in cases where emphasis is desired, both the strong pronoun and the weak form (the resumptive pronoun) can be used for the same referent as was shown in the above examples (4-35) and (4-36a). See also the following examples (4-38), illustrating that either of the pronoun forms can function as the subject:

(4-38a) ***Kira**   'oni   rao-na   nima   waiwau.*
3PL   live   IN-PRS   house   DEM.DIST
'They live in that house.'

(4-38b) ***Iikira** 'oni raona nima waiwau.*
'They live in that house.'

Note that both sentences presume that the subject is known from the context and that the men in question have been already introduced into the conversation.

4.2.2.2.2 Object position

In most cases both the weak and strong forms can occupy the direct object position (4-39).

(4-39a) *Na   reesi   **kira**.*
1SG   see   3PL
'I saw them.'

(4-39b) *Na reesi=a **iikira**.*
'I saw them.'

The pronouns have the same form regardless of whether they appear in the subject or the object position, with the exception of 1sg and 3sg. Compare the above examples (4-39) with (4-40):

(4-40a) *Kira   reesi=**nau***.
      3PL   see=1SG
      'They saw me.'

(4-40b)* *Kira reesi **na***.
      'They saw me.'

Similarly to the 1sg pronouns, the weak pronoun *'e* cannot appear in object position but the strong pronoun *iinaia* can (4-41). The sentence in (4-41a) could be used when pointing to someone Peter knows:

(4-41a) *Pita   'e   rae=a   iinaia*.
      Peter 3SG   know=3OBJ   3SG
      'Peter knows him/her.'

(4-41b) **Pita 'e raea **'e***.

It is possible to reference a third person singular object solely by the object clitic =*a*, see discussion below.

4.2.2.2.3 Note on the pronominal clitic =*a* and strong pronouns

This clitic serves to reference the objects of transitive verbs and also the objects of verb-like prepositions. It is used for third person singular objects. It can also be optionally used when the object is expressed by a strong pronoun or a weak pronoun modified by an appositive NP[29]. The fact that =*a* can solely reference the object suggests that it has a status similar to the weak pronouns.

(4-42a) *'O   reesi=**nau***.
      2SG   see=1SG
      'You saw me.'

(4-42b) *'O   reesi=**a***.
      2SG   see=3OBJ
      'You saw him/her.'

The fact that =*a* can also be used together with the strong pronouns suggests that possibly the strong pronouns have a slightly different status from the weak pronouns. It is possible that the

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[29] See section 5.2.1.2.1 in Chapter 5.

presence of the prefix *ii-* causes the strong pronouns to have noun-like properties. See the discussion on distribution of the strong and weak pronouns below, especially section 4.2.2.4.

4.2.2.3 Personal pronouns in copular constructions

In nominal copular constructions, both weak and strong pronouns are possible. However, there seems to be a possible variation in interpretation for sentences with the weak pronouns. Consider the following examples in (4-43):

(4-43a) *Pita* **iinaia**   *tisa*.
        Peter   3SG   teacher
        'Peter is a teacher.'

(4-43b) *Pita*   **'e**   *tisa.*
        Peter   3SG   teacher
        'Peter is a teacher.' or 'Peter is teaching now.' (Peter is in the process of instructing
         students.)

Whilst the sentence in (4-43a) has only one possible interpretation, the sentence in (4-43b) has two.

The weak and strong pronouns can also appear together in one clause (4-43c):

(4-43c) *Pita* **iinaia** *'e tisa.*
        'Peter is a teacher.' (Lit. Peter, he is a teacher.)

The same variation of interpretation occurs with other weak and strong pronouns (4-44):

(4-44a) *Hi*   *mane*   *nena wou*   **iikira**   *tisa.*
        PL   man   DEM.DIST   3PL   teacher
        'The men over there are teachers.'

(4-44b) *Hi*   *mane*   *nena wou*   **kira**   *tisa.*
        PL   man   DEM.DIST   3PL   teacher
        'The men over there are teachers.' or 'The men over there are teaching now.'

4.2.2.4. Personal pronouns in relative clauses

Normally relative clauses in 'Are'are are introduced by the relative pronoun *ne*, which applies to all persons. This relative pronoun is then optionally followed by the appropriate personal pronoun agreeing in person and number with the subject (the resumptive pronoun). It appears

that both strong and weak forms are allowed to occupy this position, with the exception of 3sg *'e* (4-45).

(4-45a) *Mane 'ai'ehu'a* **ne** *na reesi=a naaponi na.*
　　　　man　DEM.PROX　REL　1SG　see=3OBJ　yesterday　DET
　　　　'This is the man whom I saw yesterday.'

(4-45b) *Mane 'ai'ehu'a* **ne iinaia** *na reesia naaponi na*.
　　　　'This is the man whom I saw yesterday.'

(4-45c) **Mane 'ai'ehu'a* **'e** *na reesia naaponi na*.
　　　　'This is the man whom I saw yesterday.'

All other person pronouns can follow the relative *ne* in their weak or strong form (4-46).

(4-46a) *Na reesi=a hi mane* **ne** **kira** *wate-hanara*
　　　　1SG　see=3OBJ　PL　man　REL　3PL　give-food

　　　　'a-ku^{30}-a na.
　　　　REC-1SG.PRS-3OBJ　DET
　　　　'I saw the men who gave me food.'

(4-46b) *Na reesia hi mane* **ne iikira** *wate hanara 'akua na.*
　　　　'I saw the men who gave me food.'

4.2.2.4 Coordination

Pronouns coordinated with the conjunction *ma* 'and' can appear only in their strong form:

(4-47a) **Ii'o** *ma aatei?*
　　　　2SG　and　who
　　　　'You and who (else)?'

(4-47b) ***'O** *ma aatei?*
　　　　'You and who (else)?'

(4-48a) *Pita ma* **iinau**.
　　　　Peter　and　1SG
　　　　'Peter and I.'

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[30] This is a benefactive construction consisting of the etymon *'a-* and the relevant personal suffix. The suffixes have the same form as the possessive suffixes but are glossed as personal in this environment. See section 6.2 in Chapter 6

(4-48b) * *Pita ma **na/nau***.
       'Peter and I.'

(4-49a) *Pita   ma   **iinaia.***
      Peter   and   3SG
      'Peter and he/she.'

(4-49b) **Pita ma '*e/naia***.
      'Peter and he/she.'

(4-50a) *Pita   ma   **iikira.***
      Peter   and   3PL
      'Peter and they.'

(4-50b) **Pita ma **kira.***
      'Peter and they.'

But compare

(4-50c) *Pita ma **kira** Tione ma Peato*.
      'Peter and John and Beato.'

Normally only strong forms are allowed in coordination; however, if a weak pronoun is modified by an appositive NP, the weak form of pronoun is grammatical. This echoes the rules governing the object referencing suffix on verbs, see Chapter 5.

4.2.3 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns in 'Are'are have identical forms to the short personal pronouns. In addition to the distinction in number and inclusivity, possessive pronouns also fall into two categories that signal whether the following noun is directly possessed or not. Table 4.3 in section 4.1.5 above gives an overview of directly and indirectly possessed nouns.

Directly possessed nouns take the respective possessive suffixes *–ku*, *-mu* and *–na* in singular and the suffix *–na* plus followed by the relevant independent pronoun in plural. For singular possessors, the direct possession is marked by the presence of the suffix only. The indirect possession is marked only by the presence of the possessive pronouns that share their form with the normal personal pronouns. Table 4.5 illustrates how the possession is marked on nouns belonging to the two different categories.

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Direct	**Indirect**	**Direct**	**Indirect**	**Direct**	**Indirect**
1 incl			*-na kura*	*kura*	*-na koru*	*koru*
1 excl	*-ku*	*nau*	*-na 'erua*	*'erua*	*-na 'ami*	*'ami*
2	*-mu*	*'o*	*-na 'aurua*	*'aurua*	*-na 'au*	*'au*
3	*-na*	*naia*	*-na kiraurua*	*kiraurua*	*-na kira*	*kira*

Table 4.5 Possessive pronouns in 'Are'are

To further illustrate the difference between marking direct and indirect possession, Table 4.6 shows examples of possessive pronouns used with the noun *teetee* 'mother', which is directly possessed, and the noun *nima* 'house', which is indirectly possessed, respectively.

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Direct	**Indirect**	**Direct**	**Indirect**	**Direct**	**Indirect**
1 incl			*teetee-na kura*	*nima kura*	*teetee-na koru*	*nima koru*
1 excl	*teetee-ku*	*nima nau*	*teetee-na 'erua*	*nima 'erua*	*teetee-na 'ami*	*nima 'ami*
2	*teetee-mu*	*nima 'o*	*teetee-na 'aurua*	*nima 'aurua*	*teetee-na 'au*	*nima 'au*
3	*teetee-na*	*nima naia*	*teetee-na kiraurua*	*nima kiraurua*	*teetee-na kira*	*nima kira*

Table 4.6 Direct and indirect possession marking

4.2.4 Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun *ne* is optionally used for all persons:.

(4-51) *Mera*   *'ai'ehu'a*   ***ne***   *'e*   *nara*   *naaponi*   *na.*
      child   DEM.PROX   REL   3SG   cry   yesterday   DET
      'This child cried yesterday.'

(4-52) *Na*   *reesi=a*   *mera* ***ne***   *'e*   *nara*   *naaponi*   *na.*
      1sg   see=3OBj   child   REL   3SG   cry   yesterday   DET
      'I saw the child who cried yesterday.'

As the form *ne* is used for all persons, it is possible that it is simply a relative marker setting off the relative clause rather than a relative pronoun. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

4.3 Noun phrase

The noun phrase in 'Are'are is minimally formed by a common noun (4-53), a proper noun (4-54) or a pronoun (4-55).

(4-53) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [***haiara-ha***].
      1SG   see=3OBJ   fight-NMLZ
      'I saw a fight.'

(4-54) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [***Pita***].
      1SG   see=3OBJ   Peter
      'I saw Peter.'

(4-55) *Na*   *reesi*   ***kira***.
      1SG   see   3PL
      'I saw them.'

Noun phrases in 'Are'are may contain a range of pre-head (4-56) or post-head (4-57) modifiers.

(4-56) ***Hita***   *kato-ni*   *hanara?*
      how.many   basket-AS   food
      'How many baskets of food?'

(4-57) *nima*   ***nau***   ***na***
      house   1SG.POSS   DET
      'my house'

Modifiers coming before the head noun include the plural marker *hi* (or *wau*) (4.3.1.1.), numerals (4.3.1.2), identifier *te* (4.3.1.3), indefinite quatifier *waru / te waru* 'some' (4.3.1.4), subset quantifier *haru / te haru* 'some' (4.3.1.5), quantifier *rikimana* 'all' (4.3.1.6), interrogative quantifier *hita* 'how many' (4.3.1.7)

Modifiers appearing after the head noun include possessives (4.3.2.1), associative phrases (4.3.2.2), determiners (4.3.2.3), demonstratives (4.3.2.4), prepositional phrases (4.3.2.5), interrogative *'utaa* 'which' (4.3.2.6), interrogative *aatei* 'whose' (4.3.2.7) and clausal modifiers (4.3.2.8). The modifiers are be discussed in turn in the following sections.

4.3.1 Pre-head modifiers inside NP

4.3.1.1 Plural marker *hi*

The plural marker *hi* is used to mark plural on all count nouns, singular forms are unmarked.

(4-58) ***hi***   *mane*   *waiwau*
      PL   man   DEM.DIST
      'those men over there'

(4-59) ***Hi***   *kui*   *'ai'ehu'a*   *kira*   *ka*   *ho'o-si=a*   ***hi***   *mane*   *waiwau.*
      PL   dog   DEM.PROX   3PL   TAM   bark-TR=3OBJ   PL   man   DEM.DIST
      'These dogs are barking at those men.'

(4-60) ***Hi***   *nima*   *nena wau*   *kira*   *paina*   *rika'a.*
      PL   house   DEM.DIST   3PL   be.big   very
      'Those houses over there are big (lit. those houses over there, they are big).'

Some speakers use *wau* as the plural marker; this seems to be a dialectal variant of *hi* with no distributional differences.

(4-61a) *keni*   (4-61b) *hi keni*   (4-61c) *wau keni*
      'woman'   'women'   'women'

(4-62a) *nima*   (4-62b) *hi nima*   (4-62c) *wau nima*
      'house'   'houses'   'houses'

(4-63a) *mera*   (4-63b) *hi mera Pita*   (4-63c) *wau mera Pita*
      'child'   'Peter's children'   'Peter's children'

Note that the plural marker *hi* has a homophone which functions as a directional preposition meaning 'to' or 'towards'. There is no prosodic difference between these two lexical items. Consider the following examples (4-64) and (4-65):

(4-64) *Pita*   *'e*   *haata'ani=a*   ***hi***   *nima*   *na*   *ha-na*[31]   *Tione.*
      Peter   3SG   show=3OBJ   PL   house   DET   REC-PRS   John
      'Peter showed the houses to John.'

(4-65) *Pita*   *'e*   *raa*   ***hi***   *nima.*
      Peter   3SG   go   to   house
      'Peter went to a house.'

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[31] Recipient / benefactive construction, personal suffix identical with possessive suffix. See Chapter 6.

It is not possible to use *hi* functioning as the plural marker and as the preposition juxtaposed in one clause:

(4-66) **Pita 'e raa hi hi nima na.*
      'Peter went to the houses.'

To express the meaning intended in (4-66), it is necessary to employ another preposition (4-67) and (4-68):

(4-67) *Pita   'e   raa   **tare=a**   **hi**   nima na.*
       Peter   3SG   go   ALL=3OBJ   PL   house DET
       'Peter went towards the houses (he may not have entered them).'

(4-68) *Pita   'e   raa   **hi**   **rao-na**   hi   nima na.*
       Peter   3SG   go   to   IN-PRS[32]   PL   house DET
       'Peter went into the houses (he entered them one by one).'

The dialectal variant *wau* of the plural marker is also homophonic with a prepositional/directional element:

(4-69) *kapu   nena wau*
       cup   DEM.DIST
       'the cup over there'

In the above phrase, there is only one cup, and the lexeme *wau* refers to its position in relation to the speaker.

Speakers switch freely between the plural markers *hi* and *wau*. The following two examples show data obtained from the same speaker.

(4-70) *Hi   mane 'ewau   kira   ka   weo.*
       PL   man   DEM.DIST   3PL   TAM   be.tired
       'The men over there are tired.'

(4-71) *Wau   mane 'ewau   kira   'ewa.*
       PL   man   DEM.DIST   3PL   be.tall
       'The men over there are tall.'

The last example illustrates *wau* functioning as the plural marker and as the demonstrative (combined with another demonstrative element) in the same phrase.

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[32] Noun-like prepositions take personal suffixes identical to possessive suffixes. See Chapter 6.

It is not uncommon for the speakers to omit the plural marker on nouns altogether when it is obvious from the context or common knowledge that the referent is plural.

4.3.1.2 Numerals

4.3.1.2.1 Cardinal numerals

If cardinal numerals are present in the noun phrase, they directly precede the head noun. Even if the numeral is higher than one, the following noun appears without the plural marker. Note that *eeta* is used only in counting numbers; to indicate one person/item *tai* is used instead.

(4-72) *eeta,   rua,   ooru …*
  one   two   three
  'one, two, three …'

(4-73) *tai   noni*
  one   person
  'one person'

(4-74) *tai   poo*
  one   pig
  'one pig'

(4-75) *rua   mane*
  two   man
  'two men'

(4-76) *rua   nima*
  two   house
  'two houses'

When the cardinal numeral preceding the head noun is ten or higher, the associative suffix *-ni* is used:

(4-77) *aawara-ni   marika*
  ten-AS   fish
  'ten fish'

(4-78) *sinora-ni   noni*
  thousand-AS   person
  'thousand people'

The following table lists basic cardinal numerals in 'Are'are:

'Are'are	Numeral
eeta (counting numbers)	'one'
tai (counting things)	
rua	'two'
ooru	'three'
hai	'four'
nima	'five'
oono	'six'
hiu	'seven'
waru	'eight'
siwa	'nine'
aawara	'ten'
aawara mana eeta	'eleven'
rua aawara	'twenty'
rua aawara mana eeta	'twenty-one'
tanahuru*	'one hundred'
tanahuru mana eeta	'one hundred and one'
tanahuru ma aawara	'one hundred and ten'
tanahuru ma aawara mana eeta	'one hundred and eleven'
sinora	'one thousand'

Table 4.7 'Are'are cardinal numerals

*Two speakers produced *tanahuru* when asked for the term for 'ten'. The term given for 'hundred' was *tanarau*. This corresponds with the items listed for 'ten' and 'hundred' by Geerts (1970:120).

Constructions containing cardinal numerals ten and above may be better described as associative phrases in their own right, rather than single lexemes functioning as modifiers. So in the example (4-77) above, *aawara* is the head of the phrase, modified by a kind of a prepositional phrase *-ni marika*, translating into English as 'ten [of fish]'.

In 'Are'are, associative phrases also include expressions referring to a particular number of entities of certain kind:

(4-79) *'ata-ni   niu*
         ?-AS   coconut
         '(pack of) ten coconuts'

(4-80) *haora'ia-ni (poo)*
         '(herd of) a hundred pigs'

Note that in the phrase in (4-80) above it is not necessary to include the word *poo* 'pig', as it is understood to inherently apply to pigs. Apparently it is also possible to use *haora'ia-ni mera* 'a herd of kids', with the meaning of 'a brood, many children', but not with any other nouns.

To express 'a group of hundred people', the numeral would be used:

(4-81) *tanarau-ni ta'aa*
      '(a group of) hundred people'

For more discussion on associative phrases see section 4.3.2.2 below.

4.3.1.2.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are expressed by the cardinal numeral followed by the suffix *-na*. Note that this construction differs from associative phrases; see example in (4-84) below.

'Are'are	Ordinal Numeral
eeta-na	'first'
rua-na	'second'
ooru-na	'third'
hai-na	'fourth'

Table 4.8 'Are'are ordinal numerals

Note that for expressing 'the first' the numeral *eeta* is used, not *tai*:

(4-82) *eeta-na*   *mera*
       one-ORD   child
       'first child'

(4-83) *rua-na*   *mera*
       two-ORD   child
       'second child'

(4-84) *Eeta-na*   *nima-na/ni nima*   *'e*   *to'i=a.*
       one-ORD   five-AS   house   3SG   build=3OBj
       'The first five houses he built.'

In the example in (4-84) above, *eeta-na nima-na nima* could be translated as 'the first lot of five houses'. Whilst the *-na* suffix on the numeral eeta is the ordinal suffix, the *-na* following *nima* 'five' is the associative suffix and is interchangeable with *-ni*.

4.3.1.3 Identifier *te*

Te is used to identify a single member of a group:

(4-85) *Te*   *nima*   *aa-na*[33]   *hi*   *nima*   *wau'ee*

        IDF   house   OBL-PRS   PL   house   DEM

        'e   *nima*   *nau.*
        3SG   house   1SG.POSS
        'That house out of the houses over there is mine'

Te can also be used to distinguish between two or more items with different characteristics:

(4-86) *Te*   *kahu*   *'e*   *raa*   *hi*   *Wairokai,*
        IDF   river   3SG   go   to   Wairokai,

        te   *kahu*   *'e*   *raa*   *hi*   *Waisisi.*
        IDF   river   3SG   go   to   Waisisi
        'This river goes to Wairokai; this river goes to Waisisi.'

Te is also used in negative sentences:

(4-87) *Te*   *mane*   *'e=ma*   *raa.*
        IDF   man   3SG=NEG   go
        'Nobody went.'

(4-88) *Te*   *hanara*   *'e*   *mao*   *no'o*
        IDF   food   3SG   be.not   now
        'There is no food.'

(4-89) *Te*   *noni*   *'e=ma*   *'oni*   *rao-na*   *nima*   *na*
        IDF   person   3SG=NEG   stay   IN-PRS   house   DET
        'Nobody lives in that house.'

The fact that *te* can only have negative interpretation when a negative particle or a negative verb is present suggests that *te* is a negative polarity item, similar to English 'any'. See also section 7.3.1.5. in Chapter 7.

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[33] In this case the etymon *aa-na* has a meaning equivalent to the English 'among, out of'. This etymon is used very commonly in 'Are'are, for discussion see section 6.2.9 in Chapter 6.

4.3.1.4 The quantifier *waru/haru*

The quantifier *waru* is used for plural referents where the exact identity or number is not known, approximating the English 'some'. The dialectal variants *waru* and *haru* are used interchangeably. The variant *waru* may be optionally preceded by the plural marker *hi*.

(4-90) *Pita*　　　　　*'e*　*tau=a*　　*ha³⁴-ku*　　***waru/haru***　　*'aru'aru.*
　　　　Peter　　　　3SG　give=3OBJ　REC-1SG.PRS　QUANT.PL　　necklace
　　　　'Peter gave me some necklaces.'

(4-91) *Hua=a*　　　　*mai*　　***waru***　　　*'are*　　　*nena!*
　　　　bring=3OBJ　here　　QUANT.PL　　thing　　　DEM
　　　　'Bring over those things!'

(4-92) *Pita*　　　　　*'e*　　　*wate=a*　　***haru***　　*manamanataha*
　　　　Peter　　　　3SG　　　give=3OBJ　QUANT.PL　advice/idea

　　　　ha-ku.
　　　　REC-1SG.PRS
　　　　'Peter gave me (plenty of) advice/ideas.'

(4-93) *Hi*　　***waru***　　　*mane*　*ne*　*kira*　*ka*　　*ooro-hi=a*　*ma'asu*　　　*na.*
　　　　PL　　QUANT.PL　　man　　DET　3PL　TAM　　run-TR=3OBJ　forest　　　　DET
　　　　'Some men are running into the forest.'

(4-94) ***Waru***　　　　*huka*　*na*　*kira*　*hahi=a*　　*poo*　*na.*
　　　　QUANT.PL　　wife　DET　3PL　cook=3OBJ　pig　DET
　　　　'Some women cooked the pig in the earth oven.'

(4-95) *Pita*　*'e*　*iisumi=a*　　*hi*　　***waru***　　　*poo*　*na*　*kane.*
　　　　Peter　3SG　count=3OBJ　PL　QUANT.PL　　pig　DET　already
　　　　'Peter has already counted the pigs.'

4.3.1.5 Subset quantifier *te waru/te haru*

Te haru / te waru quantifier is used to identify a subset of a group involving plural referents. It functions in a similar way to the singular subset quantifier *te*.

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[34] The etymon *-ha* here expresses a recipient. It takes personal suffixes identical to possessive suffixes, glossed as personal.

(4-96) *Pita*   *'e*   *tau=a*   *ha-ku*   ***te haru***   *'aru'aru*
Peter   3SG   give=3OBJ   REC-1SG.PRS   QUANT.SUB   necklace

        aa-na   *hi*   *'aru'aru*   *nena wau.*
        OBL-PRS   PL   neckalce   DEM.DIST
        'Peter gave me some of the necklaces out of those necklaces over there.'

(4-97) *Hi*   *poo*   *waiwau,*   ***te haru***   *poo*   *aa-na*
        PL   pig   DEM.DIST   QUANT.SUB   pig   OBL-PRS

        kira   *poo*   *wasiu.*
        3PL   pig   be.wild
        'Those pigs over there, some of them are wild.'

(4-98) ***Te haru***   *mane*   *kira*   *rai*   *aa'o,*   *te haru*   *mane*
        QUANT.SUB   man   3PL   go   garden   QUANT.PL   man

        kira   *rae*   *'eri*[35]   *kakake.*
        3PL   go   dig   swamp.taro
        'Some men went to the garden; some men went to dig swamp taro.'

(4-99) ***Waru***   *'are*   *'ai'ehu'a,*   ***te haru***   *'are-ai*   *na=ka*
        QUANT.PL   thing   DEM.PROX   QUANT.SUB   thing-PL   1SG=TAM

        tau=a   *ha-mu.*
        give=OBJ   REC-2SG.PRS
        'Out of these things, I give you some.'

The following sentences in (4-100) can also be used to express the meaning intended in (4-99):

(4-100a) ***Haru*** *'are 'ai'ehu'a,* ***te haru*** *'areai na ka taua hamu.*
        'Out of these things, I give you some.'

(4-100b) ***Haru*** *'are 'ai'ehu'a,* ***waru*** *'areai na ka taua hamu.*
        'Out of these things, I give you some.'

(4-100c) ***Haru*** *'are 'ai'ehu'a,* ***te waru*** *'areai na ka taua hamu.*
        'Out of these things, I give you some.'

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[35] This is a serial verb; the second verb modifies the first one.

(4-101) *Waru*　　　　　*mane*　　　*kira*　*'oni*　*nena wau,*　***te haru***
　　　　　QUANT.PL　　　man　　　3PL　live　DEM.DIST　　QUANT.SUB

　　　　　mane　　　　*aa-na*　　　*kira*　*kira*　*'e'ewa*　　*rika'a.*
　　　　　man　　　　　OBL-POSS　3PL　　3PL　　be.tall　　very
　　　　　'Out of the men who live over there, some are very tall.'

In the examples above, the comma signifies a pause marking phrase boundary.

It appears that *te waru* and *te haru* are interchangeable for the most part. The most likely explanation is that they are dialectal variants of the same quantifier.

4.3.1.6 Quantifier *rikimana* 'all'

The quantifier *rikimana* is used for all nouns, including mass nouns. The following noun does not take the plural marker.

(4-102) *Rikimana*　　　*mane*　*kira*　　*raa.*
　　　　　all　　　　　　man　　3PL　　go
　　　　　'All men / everybody went.'

Rikimana can be also used in a negative sentence:

(4-103) *Rikimana*　　　*mane*　*kira=ma*　　　*raa.*
　　　　　all　　　　　　man　　3PL=NEG　　　go
　　　　　'None of the men went (everybody stayed).'

(4-104) *rikimana*　　　*kahu*
　　　　　all　　　　　　water
　　　　　'all the water (e.g. all the water from the barrel is gone)'

(4-105) *rikimana*　　　*hanara*
　　　　　all　　　　　　food
　　　　　'all the food'

Rikimana can also carry the meaning of 'each':

(4-06) R*ikimana*　　　*mane*　*kira*　　*rau-marika.*
　　　　　all　　　　　　man　　3PL　　catch-fish
　　　　　'Each of the men caught a fish.'

(4-107) *Rikimana*　　　*mane*　*kira*　*to'i=a*　　　*nima*　*maraa-na*　　*kira.*
　　　　　all　　　　　　man　　3PL　build=3OBJ　　house　by.self-PRS　　3PL
　　　　　'Each man built a house himself (or for himself).'

4.3.1.7 Interrogative quantifier *hita* 'how many'

Hita is used to enquire about the number of persons, animals, objects etc. Normally it is used with count nouns only. For mass or non-count nouns such as water or food, *hita* must be applied to a countable unit. This countable unit is normally expressed, as in (4-109), but it may also be implied, as in (4-110). The head noun modified by the quantifier *hita* does not take the plural marker.

(4-108) *hita*   *poo*
       how.many   pig
       'how many pigs'

(4-109) *hita*   *kato-ni*   *hanara*
       how.many   basket-AS   food
       'how many baskets of food'

(4-110) *hita*   *kahu*
       how.many   water
       'how many bamboo containers of water' or 'how many rivers'

(4-111) *hita*   *kato-ni*   *oone*
       how.many   basket-AS   sand
       'how many baskets of sand'

(4-112) **hita oone*
        'how much sand'

To enquire about the amount of non-count nouns is only possible by asking how many units of N. So the quantity of such items as food, sand etc. must be expressed in terms of the number of baskets of food, bags of sand.

The only exception I have encountered in my data is water. A question *Hita kahu?* 'How much water?' would be understood as being an enquiry about the number of containers of water if it is obvious that what is being discussed is amount of water and not a number of rivers. Such strong is the association with the bamboo containers in which water used to be transported and stored that it is not necessary to specify it. Whilst the question *Hita 'au-ni kahu?* 'How many bamboo (containers) of water? would be perfectly grammatical and is used, it is not necessary to mention containers here.

4.3.2 Post-head modifiers inside NP

Modifiers of the head noun that appear after the head of the NP include possessives (4.3.2.1), associative particles (4.3.2.2), demonstratives (4.3.2.3), interrogative lexemes (4.3.2.4) and clausal modifiers (4.3.2.5).

4.3.2.1 Possessives

Possessives express a relation between two entities. This relation may be a true possession, that is the possessor owns the possessum, but possessives also serve to express that the possessum is part of the possessor (body parts) or kinship relations. As discussed above, 'Are'are distinguishes between direct and indirect possession.

4.3.2.1.1 Direct (inalienable) possession

When the possessor is expressed by a pronoun, the direct possession is marked with the possessive suffix. The suffixes are –*ku*, -*mu* and –*na* for 1sg, 2sg and 3sg person respectively.

(4-113a) *maa-ku*   (4-113b) *maa-mu*   (4-113c) *maa-na*
      eye-1SG.POSS   eye-2SG.POSS   eye-3SG.POSS
      'my eyes'   'your eyes'   'his/her eyes'

For plural, the suffix is –*na* for all persons and the suffixed noun is followed by the relevant pronoun:

(4-114) *maa-na kira*
      eye-POSS 3PL
      'their eyes'

When the possessor is expressed by a full noun phrase, the possessed noun takes the suffix –*na* and the nominal possessor follows:

(4-115a) *hahone-na* *Pita*   (4-115b) *teetee-na*   *mera* *na*
      sister-POSS Peter   mother-POSS   child DET
      'Peter's sister'   'the child's mother'

Plural possessors are marked in the same way:

(4-115c) *teetee-na*   *kiraurua*
      mother-POSS   3DU
      'their mother (dual)'

4.3.2.1.2 Indirect (alienable) possession

Indirect possession is expressed by a juxtaposition of the possessum and the possesor, the possessed noun does not take any suffix. The indirect possession is marked in the same way for pronominal possessors and possessors expressed by a full noun phrase.

(4-116a) *nima nau* (4-116b) *nima 'o* (4-116c) *nima naia*
   house 1SG.POSS   house 2SG   house 3SG.POSS
   'my house'   'your house'   'his/her house'

(4-116d) *nima kira*
   house 3PL
   'their house'

The pronouns used to express indirect possession are the weak forms of personal pronouns. The exception is 3sg where the form used is *naia*; this form is not used in any other context.

Possessors expressed by a full noun phrase also directly follow the possessed noun:

(4-117) *nima Pita*
   house Peter
   'Peter's house'

(4-118) *painaha mane 'ewau na*
   rank   man DEM.DIST DET
   'the rank/position of that man'

4.3.2.2 Associative phrases

A particular kind of phrase expressing a relation is often used to modify the head noun in a noun phrase. Following Lichtenberk (2008) I call these phrases associative. They are similar to possessive phrases in that they too express a kind of a relation. They differ from possessives in that the relation is not necessarily between two entities in terms of ownership or belonging[36]. Associative phrases usually express a more general association rather than a specific one, although this is not always the case.

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[36] Although possessives may be generally used to express relations that are not strictly possessive too.

There are two associative suffixes *-ni* and *-na*, both of which are best translated into English as 'of'[37]. It is possible that the difference in the form of the particles is due to their origin in two different dialects rather than due to a difference in function. In the sentences below, the *-na* and *-ni* suffixes are completely interchangeable with no difference to the meaning. The associative suffix can express a part of a whole in general as well as in specific terms:

(4-119) *roto-ni/na*   *'ai*
       fruit-AS   tree
       'fruit of a tree' (a specific fruit of a specific tree)
or   'a tree fruit' (generic)

(4-120) *paoha-ni/na nima*
       'roof of a house'

The relation of part of a whole also applies to body parts:

(4-121) *iihihu-ni/na*   *rape*
       hair-AS   body
       'body hair'

(4-122) *iihihu-ni/na*   *pau*
       hair-AS   head
       'hair (on the head)'

(4-123) *kakamusi-ni/na*   *'a'e*
       heel-AS   foot
       'heel (of a foot)'

To express possession, the relevant noun must appear with the possessive suffix:

(4-124) *iihihu-ni/na*   *pau-**na***   *Pita*
       hair-AS   head-POSS   Peter
       'Peter's hair' (lit. hair of Peter's head)

(4-125) *kakamusi-ni/na*   *'a'e-**ku***
       heel-AS   foot-1SG.POSS
       'my heel' (lit. heel of my foot)

Membership in a group or association with an area or a place is also expressed through the use of the associative phrase. *Ta'aa* is used to refer to a group of people; it can only be used

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[37] The suffix *-na* also appears in constructions such *as mane-na Pita* '(the) man Peter' or *mane-na marika* '(the) man fish'. The exact meaning and function are not clear; it appears that these constructions may be similar to English 'Bob the hamster'.

for human referents. By itself it means a group of people of either gender, or combined with the expressions for male or female, it can refer to males or females in general.

(4-126) *ta'aa-ni/na*   *mane*
      people-AS   man
      'males/men (in general)'

(4-127) *ta'a-ni/na*   *keni*
      people-AS   woman
      'females/women (in general)'

When *ta'aa* is used together with the plural marker it denotes a group of males or females, or, if no gender is specified, it denotes a specific group of people:

(4-128) *hi*   *ta'aa-ni*   *keni*
      PL   people-AS   woman
      'the women (specific group)'

Compare

(4-129) *Hi*   *ta'aa*   *na*   *kira*   *ka*   *hana.*
      PL   people DET 3PL   TAM   eat
      'Those people (that group of people) are eating.'

The use of the associative phrase in relation to people also denotes the people of a particular area or place:

(4-130) *hi*   *ta'aa-ni/na*   *Waisisi*
      PL   people-AS   Waisisi
      'the people of Waisisi'

The associative phrase can be also used to refer to the material or content of the referent:

(4-131) *peha-ni*   *sisini*
      bed-AS   coconut.leaf
      'bed (made) of coconut leaf'

(4-132) *kato-ni*   *hanara*
      basket-AS   food
      'basket (full) of food'

The associative phrase may also express a kind of purpose or function:

(4-133) *ma'ima'i-ni/na*   *mera*
       basket-AS   child
       'womb'

However, in other instances the purpose the referent is expressed by the etymon *ha-* plus the relevant personal suffix instead of the associative phrase. It is possibly so to avoid confusion between the meaning expressed:

(4-134) *kato*   *ha-na*   *hanara*
       basket   PURP-PRS   food
       'basket for food, food basket'

In some cases there appears to be a difference between the meaning of *-ni* and *-na*. Compare the following examples:

(4-135a) *maihoe-**na** Niu Siillen*
       'friend of NZ' (correct but sounds funny, one can only be friends of people from NZ)

(4-135b) *maihoe-**ni** Niu Siilen*
       'friend from NZ'

4.3.2.3 Demonstratives

The category of demonstratives in 'Are'are is rather a heterogenous one. There are a number of demonstrative forms with different properties and distribution, belonging to several demonstrative systems. There are three demonstrative systems in 'Are'are: determiner demonstratives, locative demonstratives and situational demonstrative adverbs, as shown in Table 4.9 (multiple forms signal possible dialectal variants). Some forms appear in more than one system. Diessel (1999) classifies demonstratives on a semantic and pragmatic basis[38]. The semantic information encoded by demostratives in this language is primarily deixis. The data collected for this work do not indicate a distinction between a speaker's and hearer's sphere; the deictic centre for all deictic expressions is either the speaker or a point in space specified by the speaker in the discourse. According to their pragmatic function, 'Are'are demonstratives can be divided into exophoric and endophoric demonstratives. Following Diessel (1999), I use the term exophoric for forms that are used in the speech situation to

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[38] Diessel (1999) also distinguishes a syntactic criterion, based on the grammatical category. Given the issues surrounding assigning categories to some forms and the time constraints of the present work, this criterion is not discussed in depth here.

point towards entities and locate them in space, and the the term endophoric for forms that enable the hearer to orient themselves in the discourse.

Demonstrative determiners	Locative demonstratives	Situational demonstrative adverbs
na	*'ai'ee / 'ene / 'ee*	*nena*
ne	*waimai*	*na*
nena	*te'emai*	
	waiwau	
	te'ewau / tai'ewau	
	taita'au	
	haihau	
	ta'auru	
	hauhu'a	
	'ai'ehu'a	

Table 4.9 Demonstrative forms in 'Are'are

4.3.2.3.1 Determiner demonstratives

The determiner demonstratives are modifiers positioned inside the noun phrase, where they occupy the last position of all modifiers. The most commonly used one is *na*, which usually translates into English as 'the'. The function of *ne* seems to be similar, although not exactly the same. *Nena*, *'ai'ee* and *'ene* are used in a similar way to the English demonstratives 'this' and 'that'. The determiner demonstratives are mutually exclusive. They all function exophorically, *nena* has possibly also endophoric function.

na	definite / specific
ne	specific?
nena	proximal 'this', distance neutral, also functions endophorically
'ai'ee	proximal 'this here'
'ene	proximal 'this here'

Table 4.10 The determiner demonstratives

4.3.2.3.1.1 The exophoric function of the determiner demonstratives

4.3.2.3.1.1.1 Na

It is not clear whether *na* marks definitness or specificity. As Lyons (1999) notes, the definition of definitness and specificity is not a straightforward matter. Inclusiveness and identifiability have been identified as the main criteria of definitness. Specific expressions are

considered indefinite but denoting a particular entity, a specific referent, even though this referent may not be identifiable to the hearer (Lyons, 1999).

In examples (4-136) and (4-137), *na* seems to mark definitness, referring to individuals identifiable by the hearer:

(4-136) *Ha'akoni=a*   [*mera* **na**]*!*
       look.after=3OBJ   child   DET
       'Look after **the** child!'

(4-137) [*Wau mane kira=ka*   *mahea*   **na**]   *kira=ka*   *hana.*
       PL   man   3PL=TAM   be.hungry   DET   3PL=TAM   eat
       '**The** hungry men are eating.'

The sentence in (4-138) comes from a custom narrative. The word *rooti* 'road' is mentioned for the first time at this point, and there is no indication that the hearer is expected to be able to identify the road in question. The determiner *na* seems to refer to a specific road however, one that has a particular kind of nut growing alongside it:

(4-138) *"Te*   *horo'a* *'o=ko*   *raa*   *ha'an* *Hai'ae'ae*   *ma*
       IDF   time   2SG=TAM   go   with   H.   and

       nari puru   *so'o-na*   *rooti* **na**   *'o=ko*   *ha'e*
       canarium nut PREP-PRS   road   DET   2SG=TAM   CONT

       'ani=a   *nena."*
       eat=3OBJ   SIT.DEM
       'When you go with Hai'ae'ae, (if there is) a canarium nut (growing) on the road, you eat it.'

The determiner *na* can co-occur with possessives[39] and quantifiers:

(4-139) [*Kareko*   *'o*   **na**] *'e*   *pisu'a*   *rika'a.*
       clothes   2SG   DET   3SG   be.wet   very
       'Your clothes are very wet.'

(4-140) [*Rua kui* *nau*   **na**] *kirarua*   *paina.*
       two   dog   1SG.POSS   DET   3DU   be.big
       'My two dogs are big.'

If locative demostratives are used, they precede the determiner demonstratives:

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[39] The co-occurrence of na with the possessives seems to be restricted to indirect possession.

(4-141) [*Rua   nima   waiwau   **na**]   *kira   paina.*
       two   house   DEM.DIST   DET   3PL   be.big
       'Those two houses over there are big.'

4.3.2.3.1.1.2 Ne

The form *ne* occurs less frequently, and can also be translated into English as 'the'. At this point it is not clear how *ne* differs from *na* and what is its exact function. The following examples suggest that it possibly marks specificity as opposed to definitness. Often, *na* and *ne* can each occur in the same context, but with a slightly different reading. Compare (4-142) and (4-143):

(4-142) *Huaraa   **na**   'e   ke'e=a   Pita.*
       crocodile   DET   3SG   bite=3OBJ   Peter
       'The crocodile bit Peter.' (We have heard about the crocodile already.)

In (4-143), it is assumed that the hearer is already famiar with the crocodile, it has already been discussed.

(4-143) *Huaraa   **ne**   'e   ke'e=a   mane   na*
       crocodile   DET   3SG   bite=3OBJ   man   DET
       'The crocodile bit the man.

In (4-144), the crocodile is mentioned for the first time. The expression *huaraa ne* 'the crocodile' is not definite. It is, however, referential, and points to a specific entity.

It appears that it is possible to use *ne* in situations where the exact identity of the referent is not known, but the existence of the referent can be deduced:

(4-144) *Noni   **ne**   'e   peri   me'etani.*
       person   DET   3SG   thieve   night
       'A person thieved at night.'

Although the identity of the thief is not known, it is obvious from some evidence that there was a person who came to thieve, such as footprints around the house.

4.3.2.3.1.1.3 Nena

The exact function of *nena* is somewhat challenging to determine. When functioning as a deictic demonstrative, *nena* appears directly after the head noun. It is frequently used for persons, objects and concepts that can be seen, are being pointed to or have been already spoken about and may be accompanied by a pointing gesture. Whilst *na* and *nena* seem to overlap in certain contexts and they cannot co-occur, their function is not exactly the same.

The following scenario illustrates the difference between *na* and *nena*. In this situation two people meet, one of them carrying a bag. The other person assumes that the bag contains betel nut, since the person carrying it is known for chewing betelnut. The person can say:

(4-145) *Tau   mai   'ota   **na**!*
        give   VENT   betelnut   DET
        'Give me the betelnut!'

This can be said even though the person does not have any actual evidence that the bag contains betelnut. The demonstrative *nena* would not be used in this context.

The second scenario involves the same situation, but this time the betelnut is visible, being placed next to the bag. To ask for some of the betelnut the person would say:

(4-146) *Tau   mai   'ota   **nena**!*
        give   VENT   betelnut   DEM.PROX
        'Give me that betelnut!'

Nena can function on its own (4-147) and (4-148), but commonly it is combined with one of the locative demonstratives (4-149).

(4-147) *'Aitaa nena?*
        what DEM.PROX
        'What is this?'

(4-148) *Mane **nena**   'e   hiku'a.*
        man   DEM.PROX   3SG   be.friendly
        'This man is friendly.'

(4-149) *'Aikarua   'ee   'e   ta'aa   riutaro=a*
        caone   DEM.PROX   3SG   be.bad   compared.to=3OBJ

        *'aikarua   **nena** wou.*
        canoe   DEM.DIST
        'This canoe is worse than that canoe over there.'

4.3.2.3.1.2 *The endophoric use of the demonstrative determiners*

Endophoric use of the demonstrative determiners in my data is anaphoric. Anaphoric demonstratives are co-referential with a prior NP and aid to keep track of the referent (Diessel, 1999). The form *nena* can be used anaphorically to refer to an entity mentioned earlier in the speech situation. The following sentences was uttered in a narrative; sentence in

(4-150) introduces the child into the discourse, and the sentence in (4-151) contains the next mention of the character, refers back to it.

(4-150) *Te horo'a mera 'e raa hi rao-na   paak.*
    IDF time child 3SG go to IN-PRS   park
    'One day, (a) child went to (a) park.'

(4-151) *Mera **nena** 'e hokosi=a suu naia   na ma…*
    child DEM 3SG put.on=3OBJ shoe 3SG.POSS DET and
    'This child put on his shoes and…'

The sentence in (4-152) from the same narrative. Here, the child has been mentioned several times already but not in the sentences immediately preceding (4-152). *Nena* here helps speaker locate the character in the story:

(4-152) *Ka rio keke so'o-na iinaia mera **nena**…*
    TAM look around after-PRS 3SG child DEM
    '(The frog) looked around for the child..'

Another frequent use of *nena* in its endophoric function involves linking events in narratives. In this function, *nena* is always followed by the conjunction *ma* 'and'. It appears that in this context *nena* refers to what has just been said. It is extremely common in narratives, although there is some variation between the speakers as to the degree of how often they use this device. The best translation is 'and then'. The sentence in (4-153) appears in a narrative following the main character's explanation that something bad has happened to her:

(4-153) *'E na'a uuna ha-na   pore keni*
    3SG speak thus REC-PRS girl

    'e huta   sii na.
    3SG be.born PREC DET
    'She spoke thus to the first-born girl.'

    ***Nena ma** pore keni sii na 'e oohi=a*
    and then girl   PREC DET 3SG cradle=3OBJ

    wera naia   ma ka iiri=a:
    child 3SG.POSS and TAM say=3OBJ

    " 'Aru 'on~'on ru'u na=ka raa no'o. "
    2DU RDP~stay INTS 1SG=TAM go now
    'And then the first-born girl craddled her (mother's) baby and (the mother) said: You two stay here, I am going now.'

Ka	*ha'e*	*naa~nara*	*no'o*	*ha'i*	*raa-ha.*
TAM	CONT	INTS~cry	now	COM	go-NMLZ

'(The mother) keeps crying whilst walking.'

Nena ma	*wera*	*na*	*rae-na*	*ka*	*iiki…*
and then	child	DET	being-POSS	TAM	be.agitated

'And then the child is agitated…'

4.3.2.3.2 Locative demonstratives

These forms all seem to be composed of two morphemes, but their meaning is not always compositional and the meaning of some of the components has been bleached. For the purpose of this work they will be treated as single units as a detailed analysis of their constituent parts is beyond the scope of this thesis. Some of the forms can also function as prepositions, see section 6.3. Unlike the demonstrative determiners, the locative demonstratives can function not only as head modifiers inside a noun phrase, but also as predicates. The locative demonstrative forms are listed in Table 4.11.

'ai'ee / 'ene / 'ee	proximal
waimai	proximal
te'emai	proximal
waiwau / wau'ee	medial, distal
te'ewau / tai'ewau	distal
taita'au / tau'ee	up, in front
haihau	behind
ta'auru	above
hauhu'a	below
'ai'ehu'a	proximal

Table 4.11 Locative demonstratives

The function of the locative demonstratives is purely deictic, they serve to identify or to point to a referent in space. Frequently they are accompanied by a pointing gesture, usually made by hand or in need of discretion by head or even by lips. They are speaker-oriented and follow a three-way distinction: close to the speaker, further from the speaker but still within the speaker's sphere, and far from the speaker and outside of the speaker's sphere. The reckoning of the distance is relative and may change depending on the context. The demonstratives may also encode information about the elevation of the referent in relation to the speaker or the hearer. Table 4.12 below illustrates responses given by the main consultant when pointing to a cup positioned in different locations relative to the speaker and hearer.

The order of the forms in each column reflects the speaker's preference for that particular setting.

Close to the speaker	Closer to the addressee than the speaker	Between the speaker and the addressee	Far from the speaker and the addressee
'ai'ee / 'ee	*waiwau*	*nena wau*	*tai'ewau / te'ewau*
'ai'ehu'a	*nena wau*	*nena*	
mai	*nena*	*waiwau*	
'ai'emai			
waimai			
nena mai			

Table 4.12 Proximal and distal demonstrative forms: speaker's response

The forms *'ee* and *'ai'ee* are associated with a close proximity to the speaker, whilst the forms *wau* and *waiwau* express that the object is located further from the speaker, regardless of direction. These seem to be the base forms, which can be combined with other morphemes. The morpheme *mai* generally expresses a location or direction close to the speaker. The forms *'e'emai, 'ai'emai, waimai, nena mai* can be all used to refer to an object in close proximity to the speaker. The morpheme *wau* is the counterpart of *mai*. It is used to refer to an object that is positioned further from the speaker. The forms *wau'ee, 'ewau, 'e'ewau, nena wau* all carry this meaning. The form *'ai'ehu'a* is a compound involving the preposition *hu'a* 'down'. This form may be used when pointing to a referent close to the speaker, possibly also located below the speaker (on the floor) but not necessarily so. It appears that the meaning of *hu'a* is somewhat bleached in this compound. Whilst the meaning and function of the base forms is clear, the nature of some of the resulting combined forms is unclear. There do not seem to be differences in meaning, and it is possible that the high number of forms is due to contribution of several dialects.

Some other forms express the position of the referent relative to the speaker not in terms of distance but rather in direction. These forms, or their components, also function as prepositions.

(4-154) *taita'au*   'in front'
      haihau   'behind'
      ta'auru   'above, up'
      hauhu'a   'below, down'

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The locative demonstratives can function as modifiers of the head in a noun phrase (4-155) – (4-159):

(4-155) [*Rua   nima   **waiwau**   na*]NP *kira   paina.*
       two   house DEM.DIST   DET   3PL   be.big
       'Those two houses are big.' (Lit. 'Two houses over there, they are big.')

(4-156) [*Noni   **nena** wau*]NP *'e   mae.*
       person   DEM.DIST   3SG   be.dead
       'That person died.' or 'That person is dead.'

(4-157) [*Mera **'ai'e***]NP   *mera   nau.*
       child DEM.PROX   child 1SG.POSS
       'This child is mine.'

(4-158) *Hua=a   mai   [kapu **ta'auru**   na*]NP*!*
       bring=3OBJ   VENT cup   above   DET
       'Bring the cup (that is) up/above (the hearer or other person).'

(4-159) *Na   reesi=a   mane   ne   'e   'oni*
       1SG   see=3OBJ   man   REL   3SG   stay

       *rao-na   [nima   **wau'e**   na*]NP.
       IN-PRS   house   DEM.DIST   DET
       'I saw the man who lives in the house over there.'

The locative demonstratives also function as predicates (4-160) – (4-162):

(4-160) [*Mera nau   na*]NP ***'ai'e.***
       child 1SG.POSS   DET   DEM.PROX
       'This is my child.'

(4-161) [*Pita*]NP   ***waiwau***.
       Peter   DEM.DIST
       'Peter is (over) there.'

(4-162) [*Nima ne   Pita   'e   to'i=a   na*]NP ***'ene***.
       house REL   Peter 3SG   build=3OBJ   DET   DEM.PROX
       'This is Peter's house.' or 'Peter's house is over here.'

4.3.2.3.3 Situational demonstrative adverbs

The situational demonstrative adverbs are demonstrative elements that function at the clausal level, they always appear in the clause-final position. Their function is to assert or affirm that the state of affairs is as stated. They may appear together with other intensifiers. Most commonly, *nena* is used in this function:

(4-163) *Hanara*   *'e*   *mae*   ***nena.***
        food   3SG   be.dead   SIT.DEM
        'The food **is** dead' (it doesn't have any nutritional value).

(4-164) *Ii'o*   *tisa*   *warita* ***nena?***
        2SG   teacher   be.old   SIT.DEM
        '(Oh) you used to be a teacher?'

(4-165) *Iikiraurua*   *ka*   *raa,*   *ha'e*   *raa*   *no'o*   ***nena.***
        3DU   TAM   go   CONT   go   INTS   SIT.DEM
        'The two of them go, they keep going.'

Occassionaly, speakers used the form *na* for emphasis or to assert the statement. This use however is not frequent in my data.

(4-166) *"Ninikowau,*   *noni*   *ka*   *raa*   *mai*   *poi~poi*
         N.   person TAM   go   VENT   INTS~call

        ma   *iinaia*   *'o=si*   *ta~taha*   *tara-na*   ***na"***
        and   3SG   2SG=NEG.FUT   RDP~open   ?-PRS   SIT.DEM
        'Ninikowau, (if) someone comes calling, **do not** open the door for them.'

4.3.2.4 Interrogative 'utaa ', taihai 'which' and aatei 'whose'

The interrogative *'utaa* is used in various ways. When it modifies a noun, it is best translated into English as 'which'. The utterance in (4-168) comes as a response to the command in (4-167):

(4-167) *Hua=a*   *mai*   *kapu*   *nena!*
        bring=3OBJ   ALL   cup   DEM
        'Bring (me) that cup!'

(4-168) *Kapu*   *'utaa / taihai?*
        cup   INTER
        'Which cup?'

Note that *taihai* also means where, as in *Pita taihai?* 'Where is Peter?' However, it is possible to use it with the meaning 'which', as the cup in question was clearly visible to the speaker asking the question. Similarly, the lexeme *aatei* means 'who' but can be translated as 'whose' when functioning as a noun modifier:

(4-169) *Nima   aatei   nena wau?*
     house who   DEM.DIST
     'Whose house is it over there?'

(4-170) *Kui   aatei   nena?*
     dog   who   DEM
     'Whose dog is this?'

(4-171) *Kui   Tione   nena*.
     dog   John   DEM
     'This is John's dog.'

4.3.2.5 Clausal modifiers

'Are'are does not have an adjectival category. Properties and attributes that are in other languages expressed by adjectives are expressed by reduced relative clauses modifying the verb. The reduced relative clauses are usually headed by intransitive verbs, but can also be headed by a preposition. It is also possible for a full relative clause to modify the head noun.

4.3.2.5.1 Reduced relative clauses headed by verbs

Both stative and active[40] verbs can function as the heads of the reduced relative clause. The reduced relative clause commonly contains only the verb (stative verbs), or the particle *ka* plus the verb (active verbs). The subject marker may be present, but most commonly it is omitted.

(4-172a) [*Mera*   *'e*   ***manata***   *nau*   *na*]   *'e*   *raa*   *hi*
     child   3SG   be.clever   1SG.POSS   DET   3SG   go   to

     sasani.
     school
     'My clever child went to school.'

---

[40] See Chapter 5 for discussion on active and stative verbs.

(4-172b) [*Mera* **manata** *nau* *na*] *'e* *raa* *hi*
        child   be.clever   1SG.POSS   DET   3SG go to

       sasani.
       school
       'My clever child went to school.'

(4-180) [*Mane* **ka** **weo** *na*] *ka* *ma'asu.*
      man   TAM be.tired   DET   TAM sleep
      'The tired man sleeps/the man that is tired sleeps.'

When the modified noun phrase acts as the direct object of a verb, it can also be modified by the reduced relative clause:

(4-181a) *Na* *reesi=a* [*mera* *'e* *manata* *na.*]
      1SG see=3OBJ   child 3SG be.clever   DET
      'I saw the clever child.'

(4-181b) *Na* *reesi=a* [*mera* *manata* *na.*]
      1SG see=3OBJ   child be.clever   DET
      'I saw the clever child.'

Most commonly the reduced relative clauses lack the subject marker:

(4-182) *Tau=a* *ha-ku* *rua* *ma'ima'i* *masika* *na!*
      give=3OBJ REC-1SG.PRS two   basket   be.small   DET
      'Give me the two small baskets!'

(4-183) *Na* *reesi=a* *rua* *nima* *paina* *na.*
      1SG see=3OBJ   two   house be.big DET
      'I saw the two big houses.'

(4-184) *Kui* *masika* *na* *'e* *tahi* *'asia.*
      dog   small   DET   3SG leave away
      'The small dog ran away.'

For more discussion on relative clauses see Chapter 8. For discussion on the lack of adjectives see Chapter 3.

4.3.2.5.2 Reduced relative clauses headed by prepositions

Reduced relative clauses that function as noun modifiers can be also nonverbal, headed by prepositions. Most commonly the subject marker is absent, but its presence is also grammatical:

(4-185a) *Hanara* Ø *rua-na* *teweri* *na* *'e* *rio* *rete*
       food   on.top-PRS   table   DET   3SG   look   be.good
       '(The) food on the table looks nice.' (Lit. The food, it is on top of the table, it looks
         nice.)

(4-186b) *Hanara **'e** rua-na teweri na 'e rio rete.*

(4-187a) *Na=ka* *ko'u* *maani=a* *kapu* Ø *'api-ku* *na.*
       1SG=TAM   drink   ABL=3OBJ   cup   beside-1SG.PRS   DET
       'I am drinking from the cup next to me.'

(4-187b) *Na ka ko'u maania kapu **'e** 'apiku na.*

(4-188a) *Hi* *mane* Ø *rao-na* *nima* *na* *kira=ma* *iiwera.*
       PL   man   IN-PRS   house   DET   3PL=NEG   be.many
       'There are not many men in the house.'

(4-188b) *Hi mane **kira** raona nima na kira ma iiwera.*

4.3.2.5.3 Full relative clauses

Full relative clauses introduced by the relative pronoun *ne* can also act as modifiers of the head noun. The noun phrase can then act as the subject of an intransitive sentence or as the direct object of a transitive verb:

(4-189) [*Mane* *ne* *'e* *manata* *na*] *'e* *ra'au* *no'o.*
       man   REL   3SG   be.clever   DET   3SG   go   PFV
       'The clever man left.' (Lit. The man who is clever left.)

Full relative clauses are discussed in Chapter 8.

5 Verbs and verb phrase

This chapter describes the properties of 'Are'are verbs and the structure of the verb phrase. Whilst a verb phrase may be formed solely by a verb (5-1), commonly there are preverbal and/or postverbal particles present as well (5-2), (5-3). Verb serialisation is also common (5-3).

(5-1) *Kira*   *hu'u.*
      3PL   cough
      'They coughed.'

(5-2) *Pita*   *'e=ka rao*   *hura*   *ra'ahore'e.*
      Peter   3SG=FUT   arrive   tomorrow
      'Peter will arrive tomorrow.'

(5-3) *Aai,*   *'o*   *kuki*   *rete*   *ra'o!*
      EXCM   2SG   cook   be.good   AFF
      'Ah, you do cook well (indeed)!'

The structure of the present chapter is as follows. Section 5.1. lays out the properties of verbs and the various verb-forming processes. Classification of verbs and the valency changing devices are discussed in section 5.2. Section 5.3 deals with the verb phrase.

5.1 Verbs

Verbs in 'Are'are do not carry any inflectional morphology. The verbs do not show any agreement with the subject, and tense is expressed through preverbal particles rather than through verbal inflections. Nominal and pronominal subjects are expressed by a noun phrase and independent pronouns respectively, optionally followed by the relevant subject marker. In the following examples, the subject noun phrases are in bold:

(5-4) ***Kui***   ***na***   *'e*   *tahi*   *'asia.*
      dog   DET   3SG   leave   away
      'The dog ran away.'

(5-5) ***Iikira***   *kira*   *to'i=a*   *rua*   *nima*   *na.*
      3PL   3PL   build=3OBJ   two   house   DET
      'They built two houses.'

It is also possible for the subject to be expressed solely by the subject marker, normally when the object is pronominal and the strong pronoun is not needed[41].

(5-6) ***Kira***   *hu'u.*
    3PL   cough
    'They coughed.'

(5-7) ***'E***   *raa*   *hi*   *aano.*
    3SG   go   to   garden
    'He/she went to (the) garden.'

The subject markers are independent forms and not verbal prefixes. Evidence can be drawn from the fact that other elements can intervene between the subject marker and the verb (subject markers are shown in bold):

(5-8) ***'Au****=ka*   *kiru.*
    2PL=TAM   be.sick
    'You are sick.

(5-9) *Pita*   ***'e****=ma*   *rae=a*   *Tione.*
    Peter   3SG=NEG   know=3OBJ   John
    'Peter does not know John.'

As illustrated in the above example in (5-9), objects are referenced on the verb by an object marking clitic. This clitic is obligatorily present for lexical objects, both singular and plural (but see section 5.2.1.2.2 below) and optionally present for pronominal objects expressed by strong pronouns. Object clitics are discussed in section 5.2.1.2.

Many 'Are'are verbs are not morphologically distinguished from other lexical categories and it is not uncommon for the same form to be able to function as a head of a verbal predicate (5-10) as well as, for example, a noun phrase (5-11).[42]

(5-10) *Kahu*   *na=ka*   ***aahe****.*
    river   DET=TAM   flood
    'The river is flooding (e.g. after rain).'

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[41] When the strong pronoun and the weak form functioning as the subject marker are used together, they usually mark an emphasis or contrast. See section 4.2 in Chapter 4.

[42] For more discussion about the same lexeme belonging to several different lexical categories see Chapter 3.

(5-11) ***Aahe***   *'e*   *waeri=a*   *nima*   *na.*
        flood   3SG   destroy=3OBJ   house DET
        '(The) flood destroyed the house.'

The intransitive verbs in 'Are'are are for the most part mono-morphemic; they do not carry any inflectional morphology. The verb does not show any agreement with the subject and is not inflected for tense (5-12), (5-13).

(5-12) *Na /*   *'o /*   *'e /*   *kura /*   *'au /*   *kira*   ***hura***   *no'o.*
        1SG   2SG   3SG   1DU.INCL   2PL   3PL   arrive PFV
        'I / you (sg) / he / we / you (pl) / they have arrived.'

(5-13) *Na /*   *'o /*   *'e /*   *kura /*   *'au /*   *kira=ka rao* ***hura*** *ra'ahore'e*
        1SG   2SG   3SG   1DU.INCL   2PL   3PL=FUT   arrive tomorrow
        'I / you (sg) / he / we / you (pl) / they will arrive tomorrow.'

The verb stem is directly followed by an object clitic when the object of a bare transitive verb is expressed by a 3rd person nominal (5-14) or strong pronoun (5-15).

(5-14) *Pita*   *'e*   *aa'o=**a***   *marika*   *na.*
        Peter   3SG   fish=3OBJ   fish   DET
        'Peter caught the fish.'

(5-15) *Pita*   *'e*   *rae=**a***   *iinaia.*
        Peter   3SG   know=3OBJ   3SG
        'Peter knows him/her.'

In short and long transitive verbs, the object clitic is preceded by a short (5-16) or a long transitive suffix (5-17). The stem may be preceded by the causative prefix *ha'a-* (5-18).

(5-16) *Kira*   *siri-hi=a*   *ma'asu*   *nena wau.*
        3PL   go.through-TR=3OBJ bush   DEM.DIST
        'They have crept into that bush.'

(5-17) *Pita*   *'e*   *teke-ra'ani=a niu*   *na.*
        Peter   3SG   fall-TR=3OBJ   coconut   DET
        'Peter dropped the coconut.'

(5-18) *Mane* *'e*   *ha'a-tahi-si=a*   *wau*   *kui.*
        man   3SG   CAUS-leave-TR=3OBJ PL   dog
        'A man chased away the dogs.'

5.1.1 Verb-forming processes

5.1.1.1 Suffixation with -'a

A particular class of intransitive verbs denoting properties contains verbs derived from nouns and verbs by means of the suffix –'a. Following Lichtenberk, I call these verbs proprietive verbs (2008).

These verbs may have a range of meanings relating in some way to the meaning of the base. When the suffix attaches to a noun, the resulting verb may have several different meanings, depending on the nature of the noun.

a) The suffixed verb indicates 'having the property of N', 'be like N':

(5-19)

a) *aasi*	'sea'	*aasi'a'*	'be salty'
b) *rato*	'sun'	*rato'a*	'be sunny (of weather)'
c) *sisiho*	'wind'	*sisiho'a*	'be windy (of weather)'
d) *iira*	'mountain'	*iira'a*	'be mountainous'

b) The suffixed verb indicates 'having a large number or amount of N', 'the property of N is more pronounced than is usual':

(5-20)

a) *susuri*	'bone'	*susuri'a*	'be bony (e.g. very bony fish)'
b) *noni*	'person'	*noni'a*	'be full of people, crowded (place)'
c) *hau*	'stone'	*hau'a*	'be stony, full of stones'
d) *makae*	'mud'	*make'a*	'be muddy (more than usual)'
e) *iihihu*	'hair'	*iihihu'a*	'be (very) hairy'
f) *kahu*	'water'	*kahu'a*	'contain plenty of water'

It appears that some of the suffixed verbs express a quality that is not normally associated with the referent, for example *makae'a* 'be muddy' can be used to describe the condition of clothes which are not normally stained with mud or a path in the forest that is exceedingly muddy after rain.

When the nominal base is a count noun, the suffixed verb expresses an increase in number whilst when the base is a mass noun, the derived verb denotes an increase in intensity. When the verb is derived from a noun referring to items that normally occur in a particular number only, the suffix indicates an abnormally high number, and the verb can only be used in specific contexts:

(5-21)

roroa   'ear'   *roroa'a*   'having more than two ears'

In some verbs the base and the derived form seem to have the same meaning; in other cases the suffix signals increase in intensity:

(5-22)

a) *nama*   'be full (of liquid)'   *nama'a*   'be full to the brim (of liquid)'
b) *marohi*   'be willing'   *marohi'a*   'be very willing'

The base to which the *-a* suffix attaches can also be a verb, either stative or non-stative:

(5-23)

a) *'ate'ate*   'be dry'   *'ate'a*   'be very dry'
b) *'e'ewa*   'be tall'   *'ewa'a*   'be very tall'
c) *rokoroko*   'be.dark'   *rokoroko'a*   'be completely dark'

d) *hane*   'climb'   *hane'a*   'be steep, requiring climbing (of hill)'

In other instances, the suffix –*'a* attaches to a noun derived from a verb:

(5-24)

a) *kiru*   'be sick'
b) *kiru-ha*   'sickness'
c) *kiru-ha-'a* 'be sick (long term)'

For some verbs the grammatical category of the base is difficult to determine as they seldom or never occur independently. In the example (5-25) below, only the suffixed verb *pisu'a* 'be wet' seems to occur independently:

(5-25) *Kareko na   'e   pisu'a / *pisu.*
      clothes DET   3SG   be.wet
      'The clothes are wet.'

Conclusions about the possible lexical category of the base can be made based on the morphological and distributional evidence. *Pisu* occurs with causative prefix and transitive suffix, which are typically found with verbs:

(5-26)
a) *ha'a-pisu-hi=a*   'make wet'
b) *ha'a-pisu-'a=a*   'make wet'
c) *ha'a-pisu-'a-i=a*   'make wet'

There was only one instance of the base *pisu* without any affixation occuring in my data. In (5-27), it seems to function as the modifying verb in a serial verb construction:

(5-27) *Tanu   pisu   mai!*
      bail[43]   ?   VENT
      'Splash the water at me!'

Given that the ventive *mai* does not normally occur after objects, the sequence *tanu pisu* is more likely to be a serial verb than a sequence of a verb and its object.

Geerts (1970:123) lists a similar construction[44]:

(5-28) *tarupisu-a*
      'to water with the hands'

Based on the above data, I conclude that *pisu* belongs to the lexical category of verbs.
There are also some proprietive verbs where it is not possible to separate the original base and the suffix today, possibly because the meaning of the noun has been lost.

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[43] Geerts (1970) lists the lexeme *tanu* as a verb meaning 'to draw or bail water'. I suggest that it is a variant of another listing found in this dictionary *taru* 'draw, dip water'.
[44] The example was left in its original form as it appears in the dictionary.

(5-29)

a) *rahu'a*   'be old'

b) *sisiu'a*   'be cold'

c) *pi'a*   'be fat'

d) *hi'a*   'be heavy'

A verb suffixed with *-'a* can itself form a base for further derivation:

(5-30)

a) *rokoroko*   'be dark'

b) *rokoroko'a*   'be (completely?) dark'

c) *rokoroko-'a-ha*   'darkness'

5.1.1.2 Suffixation with *-hi'a*

The morpheme *hi'a* can also be a component in derived verbs, the resulting verb being a stative proprietive verb. The morpheme *hi'a* is present in some stative verbs, especially in those denoting colours:

(5-31)

a) *'e'ewahi'a*   'be tall'

b) *nonorohi'a*   'be red'

c) *pupuruhi'a*   'be black, also *purupuruhi'a*, *purupuru'a* (Geerts, 1970:93)

d) *paparahi'a*   'be white', also *parapara'a* (Geerts, 1970:85), *paraparahia* (Geerts, 1970:85)

Some of the morphemes forming a base for the suffix *-hi'a* can stand by themselves (5-32), (5-33), (5-34):

(5-32)

a) *'e'ewa*   'be tall'

b) *purupuru*   'star (noun)'

c) *parapara*   'be white (Geerts)'

(5-33) *Hua=a*   *mai* *hau* **para**   *nena wau!*
   bring=3OBJ VENT stone be.white   DEM.DIST
   'Bring me that white stone!'

(5-34) *Maa* **noro**[45] *ka* *rauni='o.*
   eye   be.red TAM control=2SG
   '(The) red eye (conjunctivitis) is affecting you.'

Whilst many colour terms contain the morpheme *hi'a*, there are exceptions:

(5-35)

a) *mamarawa'a*   'be green'

b) *koko'ara*   'be yellow' also *ko'ako'ara*

5.1.1.3 Compounding

Although the examples are not numerous in my data, there is evidence that verbs can be formed by compounding. The compounds may involve a verb plus a noun (5-36) or a verb plus a bound morpheme (5-37).

(5-36)
hau   'stone'
toto   'to sink'
hau-toto   'to bury at sea, by weighing down the body with stones (for animals)'

(5-37)
hai   'component in locatives and directionals, such as *tai-hai* 'where', *hii-hai* 'where
     to', *maani-hai* 'where from'
'ero-a   'order, command (Geerts, 1970:17)'
hai-'ero   'to send (a child to carry out a task)'

Both examples illustrate endocentric compounding; I am unable to provide evidence for exocentric verbal compounds in 'Are'are at this time, but this possibility cannot be excluded.

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[45] It is also possible that *maanoro* is a nominal compound.

5.1.1.4 Object incorporation

A special case of compounding common in Oceanic languages is object incorporation, where the verb and its direct object are juxtaposed and form a tight bond (Mithun, 1984). As Mithun states, incorporated objects are non-referential and object incorporation constructions generally describe "activities or events whose patients are neither specific nor countable-e.g. habitual, ongoing…" (1984:850). Object incorporation is thus characterized by a generic object being incorporated into the verb phrase, where the noun does not have a syntactic status as an argument and the verb is intransitive and appears without the pronominal object marker (Lynch et al., 2002; Mithun, 1984).

Examples below illustrate object incorporation in a syntactically intransitive predicate (5-38a), (5-39a). Examples (5-38b) and (5-39b) show transitive predicates where the verb appears with the pronominal object marker. Note that whilst the object NPs in the (b) examples are specific, the nouns incorporated in the (a) examples are generic and non-specific.

(5-38a) *Pita   'e   tapo-marike.*
        Peter   3SG   catch-fish
        'Peter caught fish.'

(5-38b) *Pita   'e   tapo=a   marike   na.*
        Peter   3SG   catch=3OBJ   fish   DET
        'Peter caught the fish.'

(5-39a) *Hanari-poo!*
        feed-pig
        'Feed pigs!'

(5-39b) *Hanari=a   poo na!*
        feed=3OBJ   pig DET
        'Feed the pig!'

After the object has been incorporated, it is possible to apply a further derivational process (suffixation) to the resulting form:

(5-40)

rae	'to know'
'are	'thing'
rae-'are	'to be knowledgeable'
rae'-are-'a	'to be knowledgeable' (more intense?)

5.1.1.5 Reduplication

Some stative verbs appear in the reduplicated form when simple stative and in non-reduplicated form when they carry the proprietive suffix *-'a* (5-41 a, b).

(5-41)

a) *'ate'a*   'be dry'   *'ate'ate*   'be dry'   **'ate'ate'a*

b) *'ewa'a*   'be tall'   *'e'ewa*   'be tall'   **'e'ewa'a*

It is not clear why the forms marked by an asterisk in (5-42) are ungrammatical as reduplication is found in other verbs suffixed with *-'a*:

(5-42)

a) *sisiho*   'be windy'   *sisiho'a*   'be windy'

b) *rokoroko*   'be dark'   *rokoroko'a*   'be (completely) dark'

It is also possible to attach the suffix *-hi'a* to the reduplicated verb:

(5-43)

'e'ewahi'a   'to be tall'

Reduplication seems to have different function when applied to verbs expressing states and events. In verbs denoting actions or events it indicates aspect: habitual, durative, iterative, continuative.

(5-44)

a) *ho'o*   'to bark'   *ho'oho'o*   'to bark for a length of time or often'

b) *hura*   'to arrive'   *hurahura*   'to arrive periodically'

c) *pe'a*   'to dance'   *pe'ape'a*   'to dance for a length of time or often'

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(5-45) *Kui   'e=ka   **ho'o~ho'o**   te haru   horo'a ke.*
       dog   3SG=TAM   CONT~bark   QUANT   time   EMPH
       '(The) dog is barking often, the dog is barking all the time.'

(5-46) *Pita   'e=ka   **hura~hura**   aa-na   rikimana   kirisimas.*
       Peter   3SG=TAM   ITR~arrive   OBL-PRS   every   Christmas
       'Peter comes every Christmas."

(5-47) *Keni   nena wau   'e=ka   **pe'a~pe'a**.*
       woman   DEM.DIST   3SG=TAM   CONT~dance
       'The woman over there is dancing.'

Reduplication can also be used for emphasis. In a situation when an adult wishes a child to go on an errand, and the child lingers, the adult will say to the child:

(5-48) *Raa~raa!*
       INTS~go
       'Go!' or 'Go on now!'

In verbs expressing states and properties, reduplication possibly signals intensity, duration of the state or change of state (combined with the particle *ka*):

(5-49)

a) *'eno*   'be in a state of   *'eno'eno*   'be in a state of lying down' (for a time)
                lying down[46]'

b) *mae*   'be dead'   *maemae*   'to be dying' (with *ka*)

c) *mahea*   'be hungry'   *mahemahea*   'to be very hungry' (with modifier)

d) *paina*   'be big'   *paipaina*   'to grow' (with *ka*)

e) *'oni*   'to be, to stay'   *'oni'oni*   'to live (somewhere)'

Often the base forms may be used in the same context as the reduplicated forms without an apparent change to the meaning:

(5-50) *Kui   na   'e   'eno /   **'eno~'eno**.*
       dog   DET   3SG   lie /   CONT~lie
       'The dog is lying down.' (state)

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[46] When occurring without the particle *ka*, *'eno* means 'be in a state of lying down' rather than 'get into a lying position'. This is also the case with similar verbs such as *uuro* 'stand', *pooruuru* 'kneel', *to'oru* 'sit'.

(5-51) *Pita*   *'e=ka*   *mae /* **mae~mae**   *no'o.*
　　　Peter   3SG=TAM   die/   CONT~die   now
　　　'Peter is dying now.'

However, on closer examination it appears that at least for some verbs the distribution of the base and reduplicated forms differs:

(5-52a) *Na=ka*   *mahea.*
　　　1SG=TAM   be.hungry
　　　'I'm hungry.'

(5-52b) **Na ka mahe~mahea.*
　　　　'I am hungry.'

The reduplicated form *mahe~mahea* is not grammatical in the example above, but it is permissible when it is modified by *rika'a* 'be very':

(5-53a) *Na=ka*   **mahe~mahea**   *rika'a.*
　　　1SG=TAM   INTS~be.hungry   very
　　　'I am very hungry.'

Note that the base form of the verb is also grammatical with the modifier:

(5-53b) *Na=ka*   *mahea*   *rika'a.*
　　　1SG=TAM   be.hungry   very
　　　'I am very hungry.'

Both forms are grammatical when the particle *no'o* follows:

(5-53c) *Na=ka*   *mahea /*   **mahe~mahea**   *no'o.*
　　　1SG=TAM   be.hungry   INTS~be.hungry   now
　　　'I am hungry now.'

In (4-53c), the lexeme *no'o* 'now' indicates that the state of affairs obtains in the present moment, but it also seems to function as a discourse marker emphasising that the speaker is indeed hungry now. The presence of *no'o* makes the use of the reduplicated form *mahe~mahea* acceptable, as opposed to the example in (5-52b).

The reduplicated forms of verbs expressing states are normally grammatical only when used together with the particle *ka*. In this context they indicate a change of state, usually still in progress:

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(5-54a) *Poo   nena   'e   paina.*
   pig DEM 3SG be.big
   'That pig is big.'

(5-54b) **Poo nena 'e **pai~paina**.*
    'That pig is big.'

The following would be said about a particular breed of pig, known for its fast rate of growth:

(5-55) *Poo=ka*   **pai~paina** *rawahia* *nena!*
   pig=TAM   CONT~be.big be.fast SIT.DEM
   'That (kind of) pig grows fast!'

5.2 Overview of Are'are verb types and valency-changing operations

This section is structured as follows. Section 5.2.1. provides an overall overview of 'Are'are verb types, and section 5.2.2. discusses the various valency-changing operations applicable to 'Are'are verbs.

5.2.1 'Are'are verb types

'Are'are verbs can be classified according to several criteria. The most obvious distinction is based on transitivity:

- strictly intransitive
- strictly transitive
- ambitransitive

It is very common for verbs in Oceanic languages to be unmarked when used intransitively and have their transitive forms marked by an object marker and/or valency-increasing device (Evans, 2003). In 'Are'are, these verbs form the majority. There are also verbs that are strictly intransitive as well as verbs that are strictly transitive. The small class of strictly intransitive verbs contains verbs that cannot be directly transitivized by any of the valency-increasing devices. The strictly transitive verbs are verbs that only ever appear as transitive[47]. Further distinctions may be made within the intransitive and transitive categories.

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[47] Even a strictly transitive verb may appear without the transitive suffix and object clitic in a SVC. See section 8.3.2.1 in Chapter 8.

Intransitive verbs in 'Are'are may be divided into two subcategories based on the nature of their subject:

- A-type verbs
- U-type verbs

The A-type verbs have Actor subjects and correspond to unergative verbs. They typically express processes and actions instigated by the subject. The U-type verbs have Undergoer subjects and correspond to unaccusative verbs. Typically these verbs express states and changes of states that the subject undergoes. The nature of the intransitive subject is relevant in regard to the valency-increasing devices available to the verb.

The intransitive verbs can be further subcategorised into:

- stative
- active

Whilst all A-type verbs fall into the active category, U-type verbs can be active or stative. Among the U-type stative verbs, another distinction can be made between individual-level and stage-level verbs. Individual-level stative verbs are verbs that express a permanent property or an attribute whilst stage-level stative verbs express a temporary state or a change of state.

The ambitransitive verbs can be further divided into subgroups according to how they are marked for increased valency:

- verbs taking the object marker (enclitic) directly
- verbs taking the short transitive suffix -(C)*i*, followed by the object marker
- verbs taking the long transitive suffix -C*a'ani*/-C*a'ini*, followed by the object marker
- verbs taking the causative prefix *ha'a-*

A significant proportion of verbs can employ more than one strategy to increase their valency, which often results in different semantics of the derived verbs.

5.2.1.1 Intransitive verbs

Verbs used intransitively do not carry any inflectional morphology:

(5-52) *Na*   **hura**   *no'o.*
      1SG   arrive PFV
      'I have (already) arrived.'

(5-53) *Hi*   *mera* *na*   *kira* *ka*   **haitatapa**.
      PL   child DET   3PL   TAM   play
      'The children are playing.'

Often an oblique object can be introduced by a preposition:

(5-54) *Pita*   *'e*   **haiotoi**   *ha'ani=a*   *Tione.*
      Peter 3SG   meet   with=3OBJ   John
      'Peter met John.'

Only a small number of verbs in 'Are'are are strictly intransitive. Many verbs used intransitively can be transitivised by one or more of the valency-increasing devices; see sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 for discussion.

5.2.1.1.1 -'i verbs

In my data, there is a relatively small group of intransitive verbs distinguished from other intransitive by the ending -*'i*.

haata'i	'reveal (oneself)'
hatara'i	'float'
mouta'i	'differ'
po'ota'i	'turn (oneself)'
ta'era'i	'stand up'
wa'i	'hurt'

At least some of the above verbs are also used transitively:

haata'ani=a	'show'
hatara'ini=a, hatara'a-ni=a	'float (e.g. canoe)'
po'ota'ani=a	'turn around'

It is not clear where the morpheme boundaries are. One possible analysis is that the -'*i* is a derivational suffix creating intransitive verbs as all the -'*i* verbs are intransitive. The transitive forms would seem to be derived by a transitive suffix -C*i* following the derivational suffix -'*i*. The alternation in vowel could possibly be explained by dialectal variation.

Another possibility is that the morpheme boundaries are at *haata-*, *hatara-*, *po'o-*. This seems plausible as at least some of these have an idenfiable meaning: *po'o* means 'side' (of body). The forms *-ta'ani / ta'ini* and *-ra'ani / -ra'ini* could be plausibly analysed as the long transitive suffixes (see section 5.2.2.2. in this chapter). The problematic question here is why all verbs that seem to contain the long transitive suffix do not have intransitive -'*i* forms:

hote-ra'ani=a	'paddle (a canoe)	*hote*	'paddle'
teke-ra'ani=a	'drop (something)'	*teke*	'fall'

This issue remains unresolved at this point. There are not enough tokens in my data to prove either hypothesis. Whilst Geerts (1970) lists a number of forms that seem to be related to the forms found in my data, there are numerous differences in meaning between the dictionary listings and my data. I am thus hesitant to draw any conclusions based on Geerts's data untill there is an opportunity to verify the meaning and clarify the differences, which may be dialectal.

5.2.1.2 Transitive verbs: object markers

Verbs used transitively reference their object with an object marker. This marker has the form of weak pronouns, with the exception of the third person singular. The pronominal object markers tend to appear as enclitics on the verb, especially the monosyllabic ones.

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 Inclusive		*kura*	*koru*
1 Exclusive	=*nau*	*'erua*	*'ami*
2	=*'o*	*'aurua*	=*'au*
3	=*a*	*kiraurua/*	*kira*
	=*'i*	*kirarua*	=*'i*

Table 5.1 Object referencing clitics

(5-55) *Kui   na   'e   ke'e=**nau**.*
　　　 dog   DET   3SG   bite=1SG
　　　 'The dog bit me.'

(5-56) *Pita   'e   rae   **kirarua**.*
　　　 Peter   3SG   know   3DU
　　　 'Peter knows (the two of) them.'

(5-57) *Pita=ka   hara=**a**   kumara   na.*
　　　 Peter=TAM   wash=3OBJ   kumara   DET
　　　 'Peter is washing the kumara.'

5.2.1.2.1 The object marker =*a*

The object marker =*a*[48] is used in several contexts. It references third person lexical objects, expressed by common or proper nouns:

(5-58) *Na   reesi=a   kui   na /   Pita*
　　　 1SG   see=3OBJ   dog   DET   Peter
　　　 'I saw the dog / Peter.'

It is possible to omit the lexical object if it is known from the context as the clitic =*a* is sufficient to reference the object:

(5-59a) *'O   reesi=a   Pita?*
　　　　 2SG   see=3OBJ   Peter
　　　　 'Did you see Peter?'

(5-59b) *Aa'a,   na   reesi=a.*
　　　　 yes   1SG   see=3OBJ
　　　　 'Yes, I did.' (Lit. 'Yes, I saw him.')

It is also possible to use the clitic =*a* to mark plural objects:

(5-60) *Na   reesi=**a**   hi   niu   na.*
　　　 1SG   see=3OBJ   PL   coconut   DET
　　　 'I saw the coconuts.'

Whilst the object marking clitic =*a* is not used with the weak pronouns, it may optionally be used when the direct object is expressed by a strong pronoun[49]. Both forms are grammatical:

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[48] I have opted to treat =*a* as a clitic in this work although I realize that I have not provided any compelling evidence that it is not a suffix. It is an issue that requires further investigation. I wish to thank Frank Lichtenberk (personal communication) for drawing my attention to this.

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(5-61) *Na*   *reesi=**a**   **iikira/ *kira.**
     1SG   see=3OBJ   3PL   3PL
     'I saw them.'

(5-62) *Na*   *reesi*   *iikira/* *kira.*
     1SG   see   3PL   3PL
     'I saw them.'

The object marking clitic is also used when the object is a coordinated noun phrase:

(5-63) *Na*   *reesi=**a**   *Tione* *ma*   *ii'o*[50].
     1SG   see=3OBJ   John   and   2SG
     'I saw John and you.'

In cases where the the object is expressed by a pronoun modified by an appositive NP, the object marker is optional:

(5-64a) *Na*   *reesi / reesi=**a**   **kira** *Tione* *ma*   *Mery.*
     1SG   see / see=3OBJ   3PL   John   and   Mary
     'I saw John and Mary.'

(5-64b) *Na*   *reesi / reesi=**a**   **iikira** *Tione* *ma*   *Mery.*
     1SG   see / see=3OBJ   3PL   John   and   Mary
     'I saw John and Mary.'

5.2.1.2.2 The object marker *='i*

It appears that whilst the object marker *=a* is grammatical for both singular and plural objects, in some cases it is possible to use the marker *='i* as well:

(5-65a) *Pita*   *'e*   *to'i=**a***   *hi*   *nima* *na.*
     Peter 3SG   build=3OBJ   PL   house DET
     'Peter built the houses.'

(5-65b) *Pita*   *'e*   *to'i-=**'i***   *hi*   *nima* *na.*
     Peter 3SG   build=3OBJ   PL   house DET
     'Peter built the houses.'

---

[49] I suggest that a possible explanation may lie in the nature of the strong pronouns. The morpheme *ii-* seems to be a reflex of a Proto-Oceanic personal article. Thus the strong pronouns have some noun-like qualities and can be referenced in the same way as nouns. It has been observed that independent (disjunctive) pronouns function like proper nouns in many Oceanic languages (Malcolm Ross, 2004).

[50] Only the strong forms of pronouns are grammatical in a coordinated noun phrase. See section 4.2.2 in Chapter 4.

The same options are available when the object is dislocated:

(5-66a) *Hi   nima   na,   Pita   'e   to'i=**a**.*
      PL   house DET   Peter 3SG   build=3OBJ
      'Those houses, Peter built them.'

(5-66b) *Hi   nima   na,   Pita   'e   to'i=**'i**.*
      PL   house DET   Peter 3SG   build=3OBJ
      'Those houses, Peter built them.'

It is also possible to leave the lexical object out, providing it is known from the context, such as when pointing to the referent or when the referent was spoken about before:

(5-67b) *Pita   'e   to'i=**a**.*
      Peter 3SG   build=3OBJ
      'Peter built it/them. '

(5-67a) *Pita   'e   to'i=**'i**.*
      Peter 3SG   build=3OBJ
      'Peter built them.'

It appears that the marker =*'i* is optionally used for plural objects[51]. It is possible that in the past =*'i* was the regular plural object marker that is being progressively replaced by the marker =*a*. However, this is merely a hypothesis which is yet to be tested.

5.2.1.3 Transitive and intransitive counterparts

A large proportion of 'Are'are verbs can be used either intransitively or transitively. The various valency-increasing devices available to different types of verbs are discussed in the following section.

Whilst it is common that the same verb is used intransitively as well as transitively, I have come across one instance of suppletion, where the intransitive and transitive forms are different lexemes:

(5-68) *'E   'ani=a   hanara   'e   ta'aa.*
     3SG eat=3OBJ   food   3SG   be.bad
     'He ate bad food.'

Compare with the suppletive intransitive form:

---

[51] There is a pronominal anaphoric element –*'i* (or –*i*) that can appear with the noun-like prepositions and is used for both singular and plural referents. See section 6.2.10 in Chapter 6.

(5-69) *'Au   hana   no'o?*
      2PL   eat   PFV
      'Have you eaten already?'

5.2.2 Overview of valency-increasing devices

Changing of valency of 'Are'are verbs involves for the most part an increase in valency.[52] This process adds one argument to the verb. The valency-increasing devices are the short and long transitive suffixes[53] and the causative prefix *ha'a-*.

5.2.2.1 Short transitive suffixes

These seem to be reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic transitive suffix reconstructed as *-i* (Evans, 2003; Lynch et al., 2002). In modern 'Are'are they have the form -(C)*i* where C stands for a variable thematic consonant. The short transitive suffixes increase the valency of the verb by one. The derived suffixed verb normally also takes the object enclitic (5-70a, b):

(5-70a) *Weewee=ka   susu.*
       baby=TAM   nurse
       'Baby is nursing.'

(5-70b) *Teetee=ka   susu-**hi**=a   weewee.*
       mother=TAM   nurse-TR=3OBJ   baby
       'Mother is nursing / breastfeeding baby.'

There are six thematic consonants in modern 'Are'are that form part of the short transitive suffix: /m, n, r, s, h, ʔ/.

(5-71) *iisu*   'count'   *iisu-**mi**=a*   'count someone/something'

       ma'u   'be afraid'   *ma'u-**ni**=a*   'fear someone/something'

       hana   'eat'   *hana-**ri**=a*   'feed someone'

       tahi   'run away'   *tahi-**si**=a*   'run away from someone/sth.'

       susu   'breastfeed'   *susu-**hi**=a*   'breastfeed someone'

       hane   'climb'   *hane-'**i**=a*   'climb something'

---

[52] There seems to be a reflex of a valency-decreasing prefix *ma-* or *na-* in the language:
pota-ri=a   'to break' (transitive)
na-pota   'be broken'
The same pattern is noted by Keesing (1985) in Kwaio, where the prefix *ma-* is still productive. However, as this prefix is no longer productive in the language and due to insufficient number of tokens it will not be discussed here.
[53] In the literature these are also called *close* and *remote*, respectively (Lynch et al., 2002)

A diachronic analysis may explain the occurrence of variable consonants in the transitive suffix. The POC transitive suffix *-i* occurred in verbs with consonant-final and *-a*-final stems, but not with other vowel-final stems (Evans, 2003; Lynch et al., 2002). Reconstructions of Proto-Oceanic suggest that originally the thematic consonants were part of the verbal stem. At some post-Proto Oceanic stage the stem-final consonants were eroded and surfaced only in the transitive forms where they were followed by the suffix *-i*. This analysis is also supported by data from modern 'Are'are.

The proprietive verbs are derived by the suffix *-'a*, which follows the root of the verb. The derived verbs can be transitivised by means of the short transitive suffix:

(5-72) *haoru'a*   'be new, young'   *haoru'a-**i**=a*   'renew something'

      morimori'a   'be round'   *ha'a-morimori'a-**i**=a* 'make something round'

      papare'a   'be clean'   *ha'a-papare'a-**i**=a*   'make something clean'

In the above verbs, the transitive suffix has the form *-i* and not the expected –C*i* and is attached to the derivational suffix and not to the stem. I suggest this is because the derivational suffix –*'a* intervenes between the verbal stem and the transitive suffix, effectively preventing the historical stem-final consonant to surface.

In many modern Oceanic languages the whole sequence -C*i* has been reanalysed as the transitive suffix morpheme (Pawley, 1973). This seems to be the case of 'Are'are. I believe that a synchronic analysis may reveal that some consonants functioning as the onset of the short transitive suffixes are innovations and do not reflect the original stem-final consonants. Furthermore, I suggest that some of the transitive suffixes and possibly the thematic consonants themselves may contribute to the semantics of the derived verb.

It appears that at least some of the thematic consonants may have come to have a particular semantics associated with them. This is most salient with the short transitive suffix –*hi*, with the derived transitives having an applicative reading for both A-type and U-type verbs:

(5-73) *musu*	'spit'	*musu-**h**i=a*	'spit at someone/something'
ooro	'run'	*ooro-**h**i=a*	'run towards or at someone/something'
pora	'jump'	*pora-**h**i=a*	'jump at someone'
pe'a	'dance'	*pe'a-**h**i=a*	'dance at a location'
pusu	'burst'	*pusu-**h**i=a*	'burst at someone/something'
teke	'fall'	*teke-**h**i=a*	'fall all over someone/something'
raa	'go'	*raa-**h**i=a*	'go to or into something'
siri	'go through'	*siri-**h**i=a*	'go through something'

Many verbs taking the short transitive suffix with the thematic consonant /h/ express action directed at or towards someone or something, in other words they seem to express path or a goal and in the case of *pe'ahi=a* a location where the action takes place. This is by no means a rule extending to all transitive verbs derived with the suffix –*hi*, merely a strong tendency. It appears to be a curious coincidence at the least that this suffix is homonymous with the preposition *hi* meaning 'to'[54].

Research suggests a possible link between the thematic consonants and the meaning of the transitive verb in other Oceanic languages. See for example Lichtenberk (1978) and (2008) for discussion of this matter in Manam and Toqabaqita, respectively, and Ashley (2012) for an in-depth study of thematic consonants in Sa'a.

5.2.2.2 Long transitive suffixes

The long transitive suffixes in 'Are'are occur in my data with significantly lower frequency than the short ones. They are reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic suffix reconstructed as **-akin* (Pawley, 1973) and take the forms -*ra'ini*, -*ra'ani*, -*ta'ini* or -*ta'ani*. I think it likely that these forms will prove to be dialectal variants. As with the short transitive suffixes, the long transitive suffixes increase the valency of a verb by one and are followed by the relevant object enclitic (5-74a, b).

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[54] This preposition is used with place names and common nouns referring to locations and objects that can be entered, such as villages and houses, but is not used in the sense of 'towards' as in 'towards Peter'.

(5-74a) *Na=ka*   *hote*.
    1SG=TAM   paddle.
    'I am paddling.'

(5-74b) *Na=ka*   *hote-**ra'ani**=a*   *iirora na*.
    1SG=TAM   paddle-TR=3OBJ   canoe DET
    'I am paddling the canoe.'

Only some of the consonantal phonemes in 'Are'are function as thematic consonants in the transitive suffixes. Out of the total ten consonantal phonemes in the 'Are'are phonemic inventory, only six can function as the onset of the short transitive suffix, and only two appear as the onset of the long transitive suffix.

Consonant	p	t	k	m	n	ɾ	s	h	ʔ
short TS				+	+	+	+	+	+
long TS		+				+			

Table 5.2 Thematic consonants in the short and long transitive suffies

The fact that only /t/ and /ɾ/ (which may prove to be dialectal variants) can be part of the long transitive suffix suggests that possibly the consonants appearing in the onset of this suffix have a different status from the thematic consonants in the short transitive suffixes.

5.2.2.3 Causative prefix ha'a-

The causative prefix *ha'a-* in 'Are'are is a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic **paka*. Usually, *ha'a-* increases the valency by one and can co-occur with the short transitive suffixes[55]. The derived verb appears with the object enclitic (5-75a, b).

(5-75a) *Wawataha*   *na*   *'e*   *aaroka*.
    hole   DET   3SG   be.wide
    'The hole is wide.'

(5-75b) ***Ha'a**-aaroka=a*   *wawataha*   *na!*
    CAUS-be.wide=3OBJ hole   DET
    'Widen the hole!'

---

[55] Even if both of these devices are present, the valency is still only increased by one.

5.2.3 Valency-increasing devices with U-type and A-type verbs

Different verb types differ in what valency-increasing devices are available to them and what reading the resulting transitive verbs have.

5.2.3.1 Valency-increasing devices with U-type verbs

For U-type verbs, the most common valency-increasing device is the causative prefix *ha'a-*, which adds an external causer. The transitive verb also takes the relevant object clitic.

(5-76) *'ewa*   'be tall, long'   **ha'a**-*'ewa=a*   'make long'

       'okira   'be strong'   **ha'a**-*'okira=a* 'make strong'

       'uru   'be blind'   **ha'a**-*'uru=a*   'blind, make blind'

In some instances, the causative prefix gives the derived verb somewhat unexpected, metaphorical meaning:

(5-77) *ootooto* 'be straight (e.g. road)'   **ha'a**-*ootooto=a*   'give advice to young people, teach them to follow the straight path'

Less commonly some U-type verbs employ the combination of the causative prefix *ha'a-* and one of the short transitive suffixes:

(5-77) *makata* 'be bright'   **ha'a**-*makata*-**ri**=*a*   'brighten'

      aakiu   'sink'   **ha'a**-*aakiu*-**si**=*a*   'sink something'

Very few Undergoer subject verbs also have transitive forms without the causative prefix *ha'a-* but with the short transitive suffix:

(5-78) *aakiu*   'sink'   *aakiu*-**si**=*a*   'sink something'

      kapa   'be empty, be extinguished'   *kapa*-**si**=*a*   'extinguish'

The derived verbs have a causative reading where an external Agent causes the Undergoer to be in a state or to enter a change of state.

5.2.3.2 Valency-increasing devices with A-type verbs

There are several valency-increasing strategies available to A-type verbs. A significant proportion of these verbs is marked for increased valency only by the presence of the object enclitic:

(5-79) *nuu*   'sing'   *nuu=a*   'sing something'

      uuro   'shout'   *uuro=a*   'shout at someone'

      hahi   'cook in earth oven'   *hahi=a*   'cook something in earth oven'

Other A-type verbs use one of the short transitive suffixes, followed by the object enclitic:

(5-80) *'oto*   'throw a spear (intr)'   *'oto-**mi**=a*   'spear someone/something'

      iisu   'count'   *iisu-**mi**=a*   'count someone/something'

      uuku   'pull'   *uuku-**mi**=a*   'pull someone/something '

      aaripono   'forget (intr)'   *aaripono-**si**=a* 'forget someone/ something'

The valency-increasing operations by means of the short transitive suffixes introduce a new internal argument.

It is also possible to use the causative prefix *ha'a-* with A-type verbs which results in a causative reading. The derived verb often means that the Agent is persuading, encouraging or teaching the object do to something:

(5-81) *na'a*   'talk'   ***ha'a**-na'a=a*   'make someone talk'

      haitatapa   'play'   ***ha'a**-haitatapa=a*   'incite to play'

      aarahu   'give a speach'   ***ha'a**-aarahu=a*   'encourage to give a speech'

      para'au   'swim'   ***ha'a**-para'au=a*   'teach someone to swim'

The A-type verbs derived with the prefix *ha'a-* can have a meaning which is related to their intransitive counterparts but not entirely predictable:

(5-82) *rio*   'look'   ***ha'a**-rio=a*   'wake someone up'

In rare instances, the presence of the prefix *ha'a-* does not increase the valency:

(5-83) *masi*   'laugh'   *ha'a-masi*   'make fun, behave in a

                     funny way'

Compare the two following examples:

(5-84a) *Tione=ka*   **ha'a**-*masi.*
   John=TAM   CAUS-laugh
   'John is being funny.'

(5-84b) *Tione=ka*   **ha'a**-*masi=**a***   *Pita.*
   John=TAM   CAUS-laugh=3OBJ Peter
   'John is making Peter laugh.'

5.2.3.3 Verbs employing several valency-increasing strategies

It is rather common for the same verb to use more than one valency-increasing device. The derived verbs often differ in meaning but not always[56].

(5-85) *aahe*   'flow'

   *aahe-**si**=a*   'flood something'

   ha'a-*aahe=a*   'cause someone/something to float away'

   ha'a-*aahe-**si**=a* 'cause someone/something to float away'

(5-86) *kae*   'lie'

   *kae-**si**=a*   'lie to someone'

   ha'a-*kae-**si**=a*   'trick someone'

(5-87) *ma'u*   'be afraid'

   *ma'u-**ni**=a*   'fear something'

   ha'a-*ma'u=a*   'scare, cause someone to be afraid'

   ha'a-*ma'u-**ni**=a* 'scare, cause someone to be afraid'

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[56] It is possible that the translation equivalents given by the consultants do not reflect the precise meaning in 'Are'are or that a different discourse / elicitation technique is needed to reveal the differences.

(5-88) *rakaraka*   'be hot'

    *raka-**hi**=a*   'heat up (transfer heat directly, only fire)'

    ***ha'a**-raka-**hi**=a*   'cause to be hot (can be done by people)'

(5-89) *nara*   'cry'

    *nara-**si**=a*   'cry for or after someone'

    ***ha'a**-nara-**si**=a*   'make someone cry'

(5-90) *musu*   'spit'

    *musu-**hi**=a*   'spit at someone'

    *musu-**ra'ani**=a*   'spit something out'

In many verbs whose transitive forms alternate between those derived with one of the short transitive suffixes and those taking directly the object enclitic the difference in meaning expresses whether the subject affects the object directly or indirectly:

 (5-91) *weo*   'be tired'

    ***ha'a**-weo-**si**=a*   'tire someone, possibly by a lot of talking or other action'

    ***ha'a**-weo=a*   'tire someone, cause to be tired'

Ha'aweo=a indicates that the object was made tired as a direct result of, for example, hard work. *Ha'aweosi=a*, on the other hand, can mean that the tiredness was the result of some less direct action, for example someone talking for too long and making thus the object tired by prolonged listening. Whilst the subject of *ha'aweo=a* can be animate, such as a person, and inanimate, such as hard work, the subject of *ha'aweosi=a* is likely to be only a person.

Some verbs may use the same transitivising strategy but achieve the different meanings by using different thematic consonants:

(5-92a) *teke*   'fall'

    *teke-**ra'ani**=a* 'drop something' (from one's hand onto the ground)

    *teke-**hi**=a*   'fall all over something/someone' (e.g. juice splashing over someone)

    *teke-**si**=a*   'drop something' (e.g. a pole which then falls flat onto the ground)

(5-92b) *ko'u*   'drink'

    *ko'u-**h**i=a*   'drink something'

    ko'u-si=a   'sink something'

The fact that the same stem may occur with two different thematic consonants in the onset of the transitive suffix suggests that, unless we want to postulate two different original bases, one of these consonants is an innovation that does not reflect the original consonant in the stem. This notion is further supported by the fact that the same stem may appear with the short or long transitive suffix, each of them again having a different consonant in its onset as shown by the examples in (5-90), (5-92a) and (5-92b). These examples also suggest that at least some thematic consonants may be possibly associated with particular semantics. However, it is not possible to draw any clear conclusions without a dedicated in-depth study of this matter.[57]

5.3   Verb phrase

The verb phrase in 'Are'are may be formed solely by a verb:

(5-93) *Rio!*
    Look!

More commonly the verb phrase contains particles which mark tense, aspect, negation and other features. In the Oceanic literature, the verb plus preverbal and postverbal particles are generaly referred to as verb complex (Lynch, 1998). However, the term verb complex does not necessarily denote a syntactic unit (Lichtenberk, 2008).

5.3.1   Preverbal particles

The preverbal particles are subject markers (see below), the particle *ka* (5.3.1.1), the future marker *ka rao* (5.3.1.3), negative markers *ma*, *man(i)* and *si* (5.3.1.4), immediate past marker *pi'i* (5.3.1.5), continuative particle *ha'e* (5.3.1.6), temporary *maata'i* (5.3.1.7) and attenuative *te* (5.3.1.8).

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[57] For a discussion on the semantics of the transitive suffixes in Sa'a see Ashley, 2012.

5.3.1.1 Subject markers

Subject markers index the subject in verbal as well as in verbless clauses. For this reason they are discussed in Chapter 7 which deals with clauses. Subject markers are also mentioned in Chapter 3 and in section 5.1 of this chapter.

5.3.1.2 The particle *ka*

The particle *ka* fulfils several functions in 'Are'are. Most commonly *ka* is used to mark imperfective (also progressive) aspect in active verbs (5-94). It also occurs with a stage-level predicates (and when it occurs with an individual-level predicate, it induces a stage-level reading) (5-98). *Ka* tends to cliticise to the preceding element, especially to monosyllabic elements such as weak pronouns.

(5-94) *Na=ka*   *hura*   *no'o*[58].
      1SG=TAM   arrive   now
      'I am arriving now.'

Compare with completed past:

(5-95) *Na*   *hura*   *no'o.*
      1SG   arrive   PFV
      'I have arrived.'

The particle *ka* is used with active verbs to mark imperfective aspect in non-past clauses, but it is not used in the same way with stative verbs:

(5-96) *Na=ka*   *raa*   *hi*   *Wairokai.*
      1SG =TAM   go   to   W.
      'I am going to Wairokai.'

Compare

(5-97) *Na*   *rae=a*   *Tione.*
      1SG   know=3OBJ   John
      'I know John.'

It is possible to use *ka* with stative verbs, but the use of *ka* induces a change of state erading. That is, it functions as an inchoative marker:

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[58] The form *no'o* functions in several different ways. In (5-94) it expresses the current time whilst in (5-95) it functions as a perfective marker.

(5-98) *'Are   nena=**ka**   paina.*
     thing   DEM=TAM   be.big
     'That thing is getting big.'

Compare with state:

(5-100) *Nima nau   na   'e   paina.*
     house 1SG.POSS   DET   3SG   be.big
     'My house is big.'

The function of *ka* in marking a stage-level predicate is also clearly illustrated in the following pairs of sentences where the presence of the particle *ka* signals motion, as opposed to a position.

(5-101) *Pita   'e=**ka**   to'oru rua-na   mako.*
     Peter   3SG=TAM   sit   on-PRS   ground
     'Peter is sitting down on the ground (motion).'

(5-102) *Pita   'e   to'oru rua-na   mako   no'o.*
     Peter   3SG   sit   on-PRS   ground   now
     'Peter is sitting on the ground (position).'

Ka occurs frequently in narratives where the narrated events are presented in historical past. See (5-18) and (5-109) below.

Whilst normally the particle ka occurs only in clauses expressing present, in conditionals it can occur also in clauses expressing past. Compare the two examples below. The sentence in (5-103) is a simple conditional indicating that whilst the events are possible, they have not happened (yet). The sentence in (5-104) is a counterfactual conditional implying that the situation expressed by the matrix (staying with sister) did not obtain because the condition expressed by the embedded clause (going to Honiara) was not satisfied. In both cases, the particle ka is present in the matrix clause as well as in the embedded clause:

(5-103) *'Aremara   na=**ka**   raa   hi   Honiara,*
      if   1SG=TAM   go   to   H.

     *ma   na=**ka**   'oni   ha'ani=a   hahone-ku   na.*
     and   1SG=TAM   stay   with=3OBJ   sister-1SG.POSS   DET
     'If I go to Honiara, I will stay with my sister.'

(5-104) *'Aremara*   *na=**ka***   *raa*   *hi*   *Honiara,*
          if   1SG=TAM   go   to   H.

          ha'araa   *na=**ka***   *'oni*   *ha'ani=a*   *hahone-ku*   *na.*
          CNTF   1SG=TAM   stay   with=3OBJ   sister-1SG.POSS   DET
          'If I went to Honiara, I would have stayed with my sister.'

The underlying form is *ka*, but when used with a 2sg subject, the surface form is *ko*. This is a progressive assimilation as the form of the 2sg pronoun / subject marker is *'o*. The particle cliticises to the subject marker when present (5-105) or to other initial element (5-106).[59] *Ka* may also fuse with the subject marker[60], as in the case of *koru= ka* which is often realized as *kou=ka*, or *kira=ka,* which may be realized as *ki=ka* (5-107).

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 Inclusive	*na=ka*	*kura=ka*	*koru=ka*
			kou=ka
1 Exclusive		*'erua=ka*	*'ami=ka*
2	*'o=ko*	*'aurua=ka*	*'au=ka*
3	*'e=ka*	*kiraurua=ka*	*kira=ka*
			ki=ka

Table 5.3 The particle *ka* with subject markers

(5-105) *Na=**ka***   *noro-nuu.*
          1SG=TAM   listen-song
          'I am listening to a song.'

(5-106) *Mane=**ka***   *iiri=a*   *sisihora.*
          man=TAM   tell=3OBJ   story
          '(A) man is telling a story.'

(5-107) *Pita*   *ma*   *John*   *ki=**ka***   *poi*   *no'o.*
          Peter   and   John   3PL=TAM   shout   now
          'Peter and John are shouting now.'

Ka can also occur as a clause-initial free-standing element, especially in narratives when the subject is known from the preceding clause(s).

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[59] Because the particle does not compulsorily cliticize in all environments, it is shown as a clitic on the relevant examples here.

[60] There is some variation among the speakers, only the most common forms are listed here.

(5-108) …*ma*   *tete-na*   *'e*   *uura,*
    and   mother-3SG.POSS   3SG   stand

    ka   *ha~ha'a-susu-hi=a*   *ke*   *nena.*
    TAM   RDP~CAUS-breast-TR=3OBJ   EMPH   SIT.DEM
    '…and her mother stands, she is breastfeeding (the baby).'

The narrative continues with repetition of the sentence:

(5-109) ***Ka***   *ha~ha'a-susu-hi=a*   *nena ma …*
    TAM   RDP~CAUS-breast-TR=3OBJ   and then
    'She breastfed (the baby) and then…'

In negative clauses, the negative particle *ma* may cliticize to *ka*. If these particles are preceded by a monosyllabic subject marker, the three morphemes may be realized as a single phonological word:

(5-110) *Na=ka=ma*   *hana.*
    1SG=TAM=NEG   eat
    'I am not eating.'

(5-111) *Mane*   *'ewau*   *'e=ka=ma*   *weo.*
    man   DEM.DIST   3SG=TAM=NEG   be.tired
    'That man (over there) is not tired.'

The morpheme ka is found in some other Malaitan languages. *Ka* functions as a sequential marker in Lau (Featherstone-Santosuosso, 2011), as a sequential subject marker in Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk, 2008). The fact that in 'Are'are *ka* may appear together with any of the pronominal subject markers indicates that it does not normally function in this way in this language. However, during the transcription of the stories, such as the one from which the above examples were taken, the consultant commented that the *ka* refers to the subject (the mother). This suggests that perhaps there is a change in progress regarding *ka* and that in some cases it can refer to the subject, although this seems to be restricted only to third person singular subjects in a narrative context where the subject is known from previous clause(s). Also, this phenomenon is restricted to verbs that normally appear with *ka*.

5.3.1.3 The future *ka rao*

The marker *ka rao*[61] is used for all verbs to express future. Some speakers used the variant *ka raro* (5-116).

(5-112) *Pita   'e=**ka rao**   raa   hi   Wairokai.*
       Peter   3SG=FUT   go   to   W.
       'Peter will go to Wairokai.'

(5-113) *Hi   mera   kira=**ka rao**   hura   ra'ahore'e.*
       PL   child   3PL=FUT   arrive   tomorrow
       'The children will arrive tomorrow.'

It is possible that apart from the future/non-future tense distinction, the difference between using *ka* and *ka rao* lies in the degree of realis. *Ka rao* is used for less certain or more distant future, whilst *ka* expresses a high level of certainty that the state of affairs is indeed going to obtain:

(5-114) *Kou=**ka rao**   raa   horo'a Pita   ka   hura.*
       1PL.INC=FUT   go   when Peter   TAM   arrive
       'We will go when Peter arrives.'

Compare

(5-115) *Na=**ka**   raa   ra'ahore'e.*
       1SG=TAM   go   tomorrow
       'I am going tomorrow (for sure).'

The particle *ka rao* can also be used in conditionals. Although most commonly both the matrix and the embedded clauses contain the particle *ka*, some instances of conditionals in my data contain *ka rao* in the matrix clause. This is usually the case when the event expressed in the main clause is seen as happening subsequentially to the event expressed in the embedded clause. In other words, the point in time when the state of affairs expressed in the matrix clause will obtain is further from the present than the state of affairs or event expressed in the conditional clause:

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[61] One speaker also produced the variant *ka raro*.

(5-116) *'Aremara*   ***ka=ma***   *uuta*   *rawahia*
      if   TAM =NEG   rain   quickly

      ma   *'ai*   *'ene*   ***'e=ka raro***   *mae.*
      and   tree   DEM.PROX   3SG=FUT   die
      'If it doesn't rain soon, these trees will die.'

5.3.1.4 Negative markers ma, man(i), si

The negative markers *ma*, *man(i)* or *si* precede the verb in negative sentences. *Ma* is used to negate sentences in non-future tense (5-117) - (5-120), *man(i)* is used to negate imperatives (5-124) and *si* is used for future negation (5-121), (5-122) and in prohibitives (5-123). These particles occur as enclitics on the subject. The exception is *man(i)* which can be clause initial.

(5-117) *Pita*   *'e=**ma***   *kiru*   *naapon.*
      Peter 3SG=NEG   be.sick   yesterday
      'Peter wasn't sick yesterday.'

(5-118) *Pita*   *'e=**ma***   *roto*   *naapon.*
      Peter 3SG=NEG   swim   yesterday
      'Peter didn't swim yesterday.'

(5-119) *Na=**ma***   *rae=a.*
      1SG=NEG   know=3OBJ
      'I don't know.'

(5-120) *Pita*   *ka=**ma***   *hahi=a*   *poo*.
      Peter TAM= NEG   cook=3OBJ   pig
      'Peter is not cooking the pig now.'

(5-121) *Mane 'ewau*   *'e=**si***   *weo.*
      man DEM.PROX   3SG=NEG.FUT be.tired
      'This man won't be tired.'

(5-122) *Pita*   *'e=**si***   *na'a*   *ra'ahore'e.*
      Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT talk   tomorrow
      'Peter won't talk tomorrow.'

(5-123) *'O=**si***   *tau=a!*
      2SG NEG.FUT do=3OBJ
      'Don't do it!'

(5-124) **Man** *ooro!*
     NEG   run
     'Stop running!'

These particles are also discussed in Chapter 7.

5.3.1.5   Immediate past pi'i

The marker *pi'i* signals that an event or an action has occurred immediately before the reporting time. Its best translation equivalent in English is 'just'.

(5-125) *Pita*   *'e*   *pi'i*   *hura.*
     Peter 3SG   IM   arrive
     'Peter just arrived.'

It can also be used to show that an event is going to immediately follow another event or action:

(5-126) *Kou=ka*   *hana*   *sii*   *ta'a*   *kou*   *pi'i*   *raa*   *hi*   *Rutorea.*
     1PL=TAM   eat   PREC SEQ   1PL   IM   go   to   R.
     'We eat first, and then we go to R.'

5.3.1.6   Continuative ha'e

The particle *ha'e* frequently occurs in narratives. It may signal an ongoing action, and often the following verb appears in its reduplicated form:

(5-127) *Ka*   *raa*   ***ha'e***   *raa~raa*   *ke.*
     TAM   go   CONT CONT~go   EMPH
     'He kept going.'

(5-128) *Kukui* *nena*   *'e=ka*   ***ha'e***   *sisi'ini*   *so'o-na*   *hepehepe.*
     doggie DEM   3SG=TAM   CONT go.after   after-3PRS   butterfly
     'The doggie keeps on following the butterfly .'

(5-129) *Ka*   ***ha'e***   *naa~nara*   *no'o*   *ha'i*   *raa-ha.*
     TAM   CONT CONT~cry   now   with   go-NMLZ
     'She keeps on crying as she walks."

In other cases *ha'e* may be used to link two simultaneous actions:

(5-130) *Kiraurua*   *raa*   *so'o-na*   *kahu,*
3DU   go   after-PRS   river

kou=ka   **ha'e** *ri'ohi=a*   *uura*
1PL.EXCL=TAM   CONT look.for=3OBJ crayfish
'The two of them were following (the) river, we are looking for crayfish.'[62]

(5-131) *…ma* *nari puru*   *so'o-na*   *rooti* *na,*
  and nut   after-PRS   road DET

'o=ko   **ha'e** *'ani=a*   *nena.*
2SG=TAM   CONT eat=3OBJ   SIT.DEM
'…and (if there is) nari puru (kind of nut) next to the road, then you eat it.'

5.3.1.7 Temporary maata'i

Maata'i translates roughly as 'for a bit, quickly' and is used in situations where the speaker wishes to express that an action will be carried out for a limited period of time, temporarily, often before some other action.

(5-132) *Ha-na=ka*   **maata'i** *susu,*   *ta'a* *ha'ania 'o*
PURP-PRS=TAM   TEMP   breastfeed   SEQ DM 2SG

raa~raa   *ru'u.*
CONT~go   again
'So that (the baby) quickly feeds, then you go again.'

(Used in a narrative where a daughter is asking her mother to wait a bit so that her baby can be quickly breastfed before the mother continues her journey.)

(5-133) *Na=ka*   *maata'i*   *iisu* *kane.*
1SG=TAM   TEMP   read yet
'I'm going to read for a bit (before sleeping).'

5.3.1.8 Attenuative te

This particle has an attenuative function: it indicates a low degree of a state, 'a bit'.

(5-134) *Na=ka*   **te** *mahea.*
1SG=TAM   ATTN be.hungry
'I am (getting) a bit hungry.'

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[62] Here the narrator switched from describing the events as an observer into narrating it as one of the characters.

(5-135) *Kahu   na   'e=ka   **te**   sisiu'a   ke.*
       water DET   3SG=TAM   ATTN be.cold   EMPH
       'The water is cooling down a bit.'

Te seems to contrast with the postverbal particle *tee*, which is used as an intensifier.

5.3.2   Postverbal particles

Postverbal particles in 'Are'are include the intensifier *tee* (5.3.2.1), the precedentive *sii* (5.3.2.2), the emphatic/intensifier *ke* (5.3.2.3), the perfective *no'o* (5.3.2.4), the ventive *mai* (5.3.2.5), the andative *wau* (5.3.2.6), the additive *ru'u* (5.3.2.7), the completive *ri'i* (5.3.2.8) and the affirmative *ra'o* (5.3.2.9).

5.3.2.1 Intensifier tee

This particle expresses a high degree of a state or a high intensity of an event:

(5-136) *'E   hana   **tee**   ra'o!*
       3SG   eat   INTS   AFF
       'He ate a lot!'

(5-137) *Na=ka   mahea   **tee**   rika'a.*
       1SG=TAM   be.hungry   INTS   very
       'I am so hungry.' or 'I am very hungry.'

5.3.2.2 Precedentive sii

This particle signals that one event preceded another one or that a state of affairs used to be true in the past:

(5-138) *Pita   'e   roha   **sii**   ri'i   'e   pi'i   nuuhi puri.*
       Peter 3SG   dance   PREC   COMPL 3SG   IMM   sing? after
       'Peter danced first and then he sang.'

(5-139) *Na   rae=a   wa'a-mu   ne   'e*
       1SG   know=3OBJ   brother-2SG.POSS   REL   3SG

       *huta   **sii**   na.*
       be.born   PREC   DET
       'I know your older brother.' (Lit. I know your brother who was born first.)

(5-140) *Mama-ku*   *iinaia*   *haha'ausurina*   ***sii***   *nena.*
         father-1SG.POSS   3SG   teacher   PREC   SIT.DEM
         'My father used to be a teacher (before now).'

5.3.2.3 Completive ri'i

This particle signals that one action was completed before another began:

(5-141) *Pita*   *'e*   *roha*   ***ri'i***   *'e*   *pi'i*   *nuu.*
         Peter   3SG   dance   COMPL   3SG   IMM   sing
         'Peter danced and then sang.'

(5-142) *Pita*   *'e*   *ti~tisa*   ***ri'i***   *'e*   *to'i*   *aa-na*   *kaapenta.*
         Peter   3SG   RDP-teach   COMPL   3SG   work   OBL-PRS   carpenter
         'Peter used to be a teacher before he became a carpenter.' (Lit: Peter used to teach
          before he worked as a carpenter.)

Although *ri'i* may be used in some contexts instead of the precedentive *sii*, these two particles have a different meaning:

(5-143) *Pita*   *'e*   *nuu*   *sii,*   *puri-'a-i*   ***ri'i***   *'e*   *pe'a.*
         Peter   3SG   sing   PREC   after-OBL-OBJ   COMPL   3SG   dance
         'Peter sang first and then danced.' (Lit: Peter sang first, after completing he danced.)

5.3.2.4 Emphatic / intensifier ke

The intensifier *ke* serves to emphasise the statement made by the speaker:

(5-144) *Na=ka rao*   *'ewa*   ***ke****.*
         1SG=FUT   be.tall   EMPH
         'I **will** be tall.' (maybe a little child says that)

(5-145) *Suna*   *na*   *'e*   *kapa*   *maraa-na*   ***ke****.*
         fire   DET   3SG   be.extinguished   by.self-3PRS   EMPH
         'The fire went out by **itself**.'

(5-146) *Na*   *rete*   ***ke****.*
         1SG   be.good   EMPH
         'I am **fine**.'

5.3.2.5 The particle no'o

The particle *no'o* can be used in several very different ways. Whilst some uses are clear, others are harder to pin down.

One of its main functions is to mark perfectivity. In this context it does not co-occur with the particle *ka*. In many cases, it can be translated as 'already':

(5-147) *'Arai   'e   mata **no'o**.*
          mango   3SG   be.ripe PFV
          'The mango has (already) ripened.'

(5-148) *Pita=ka   rao   hura   **no'o** ta   kou   raa.*
          Peter=FUT   arrive PFV   SEQ   1PL.INCL   go
          'After Peter arrives we will go.' (Lit. 'After Peter has arrived, we go.')

(5-149) *'E=ma   uuta   'ewa'a **no'o** ma   'ai   na   ka rao*
          3SG=NEG   rain   be.long PFV   and   tree   DET   FUT

          mae   nena.
          die   SIT.DEM
          'It hasn't rained for a long time, and the tree(s) will die.'

(5-150) *Na   rio*[63]   *no'o.*
          1SG   look   now
          'I am awake now.'

(5-151) *'Au   hana   **no'o**?*
          2PL   eat   already
          'Have you eaten already?'

No'o is also commonly used to express present or current time, now. In this context *no'o* commonly co-occurs with the particle *ka* in clauses with active verbs. Compare (5-151) above with (5-152) below:

(5-152) *'Au=ka   hana   **no'o**?*
          2PL=TAM   eat   now
          'Are you eating now?'

(5-153) *Pita   ('e)=ka   pe'a   **no'o**.*
          Peter   (3SG)=TAM   dance now
          'Peter is dancing now.'

The co-occurrence of *no'o* with verbs expressing states may suggest that a change of state has taken place:

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[63] This verb normally means 'look', as in : *Rio mai*! 'Look here/this way!'. If the particle ka was present in the above sentence, the meaning would be 'I am waking up.' *Na ka rio no'o.*

(5-154) *'O=ko*   *rakaraka*   ***no'o?***
       2SG=TAM   be.hot   already
       'Are you hot already?'

(5-155) *Na=ka*   *moro'u*   ***no'o.***
       1SG=TAM   be.weak.with.hunger now
       'I am weak with hunger now.

Apart from the more straightforward uses described above, *no'o* has other meanings that are not so transparent. In some cases, it can be translated as 'now' without the temporal meaning. Its function is plausibly more one of a discourse marker in these contexts. Note that it can occupy different position in the clause in these contexts:

(5-156) *Pita* ***no'o***   *ne*   *'e*   *'ewa*   *rika'a.*
       Peter ?   REL   3SG   be.tall very
       'Peter is the tallest.' (Now Peter, he is the tallest.')

In the following example (5-157), *no'o* seems to emphasise that it is impossible for Peter to get any taller than he is since Peter is an adult:

(5-157) *Pita*   *'e=si*   *'ewa*   ***no'o.***
       Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT be.tall   INTS
       'Peter **won't** be tall.'

In (5-158), *no'o* is used to highlight the fact that the mother was the only one doing the work and she was doing all the tasks all by herself. *No'o* is pronounced with an emphasis and the intonation results in the second vowel having a longer duration than in other environments.

(5-158) *Iinaia* *ha-na*   *raa-ha*   *hi*   *aano*   ***no'o,***
       3SG   PURP-PRS   go-NMLZ   to   garden   INTS

       iinaia *ha-na*   *kuki-ha*   ***no'o*…**
       3SG   PUPR-PRS   cook-NMLZ   INTS
       'She was going to the garden, she was cooking… (all by herself, nobody helped her).'

5.3.2.6 The particle kane

The particle *kane* is used most commonly in the sense of 'yet' or 'still'. It applies to actions, events or states before now or the specified reference time:

(5-159) *Pita*   *'e=ka=ma*   *pe'a* ***kane.***
       Peter 3SG=TAM=NEG   dance yet
       'Peter is not dancing yet.'

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(5-160) *'O   rae-para'au-ha   no'o?*
         2SG   know-swim-NMLZ   already
         'Can you swim already?' (if asking a small child)

answer:

(5-161) *Na=ka[64]=ma   rae   para'au-ha   **kane**.*
         1SG=TAM   know   swim-NMLZ   yet
         'I can't swim yet.'

Although *kane* seems to be more common in negative sentences, it is not restricted to negative clauses:

(5-162) *Na'o-ha-na   koru=ka   raa   hi   Rutorea,*
         before-OBL-PRS   1PL.INCL=TAM   go   to   R.

         *koru=ka   hana   sii   **kane**.*
         1PL.INCL=TAM   eat   first yet
         'Before we go to Rutorea, we'll eat first.'

(5-163) *Kahu   na   'e=ka   sisiu'a   **kane**.*
         water DET   3SG=TAM   be.cold   still
         'The water is (still) cooling down.'

Although in the majority of instances of *kane* in my data the particle *ka* is also present, this does not seem to be compulsory:

 (5-164) *Pita   'e=ma   hura   kane.*
          Peter 3SG=NEG   arrive yet
          'Peter hasn't arrived yet.'

(5-165) *Pita   'e=ma   hahi=a   poo   na   kane.*
         Peter 3SG=NEG   cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ   pig   DET   yet
         'Peter hasn't cooked the pig yet.'

5.3.2.7 Intensifier ru'u
The literal meaning of *ru'u* is 'again', but it is commonly used for emphasis:

(5-166) *Wera masika   na   ka   nara   ke   **ru'u**.*
         child be.small   DET   TAM   cry   EMPH   again
         'The small child was crying again.' (historical present in a narrative)

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[64] *Rae* 'kow' normally does not occur with the particle *ka*. It appears that in this context the *ka* is necessary to signal that the state of affairs is temporary and may change.

(5-167) *'Aru   'on~'on   **ru'u**,   na=ka   raa   no'.*
       2PL   RDP~stay   INTS   1SG=TAM   go   now
       'You stay (here); I am going now.'

In the examples below, *ru'u* seems to reaffirm the statement:

(5-168) *Pita   'e=ma   rau   ha-na   tisa   **ru'u**.*
       Peter   3SG=NEG   become   PURP-PRS   teacher   INTS
       'Peter **didn't** become a teacher.'

(5-169) *Ha-na   kou   suai=a   **ru'u**   ma   Pita   'e   rae*
       PURP-PRS   1PL   ask=3OBJ   INTS   and   Peter   3SG   going.to

       'oni-ha   ke.
       stay-NMLZ   EMPH
       'If we ask him (Peter), he will stay.'

Ru'u also has an additive function and can be translated as 'again'.

(5-170) *Wera   masika   na   ka   nara   ke   ru'u.*
       child   be.small   DET   TAM   cry   EMPH   again
       'The small child is crying again.'

(5-171) *Te   horo'a Hai'ae'ae   ka   hura   ru'u.*
       IDF   time   H.   TAM   arrive   again
       'One day, Hai'ae'ae arrives again.'

5.3.2.8 Affirmative *ra'o*

The particle *ra'o* expresses an affirmation of the state of affairs reported as being indeed true:

(5-172) *Aai,   'o   kuki   rete   **ra'o**!*
       EXCM   2SG   cook   be.good   AFF
       'You cook (really) well!'

Ra'o is also found as a component in a compound interjection *'aira'o* used as a reaction to a statement or a situation. This interjection seems to express a surprise and can be best translated as 'really'. The following utterance appears in a story where mother is leaving home after having instructed her children not to follow her. After hearing someone calling, she turns around and sees her children following her. Then she says:

(5-173) *Aai! 'Aira'o rua wera   nau   na*
         EXCM truly two children   1SG.POSS   DET

        ka   iisiisu=nau   ke!
        TAM   follow=1SG   EMPH
        'Oi! My two children are following me!'

5.3.2.9 Ventive *mai* and andative *wau*

The status of *mai* and *wau* in respect to their lexical categories is not exactly clear. They seem to be multipurpose morphemes, being able to function in a number of ways in the language. *Mai* and *wau* can be both used as verbs, but this seems to be rather rare. The ventive *mai* serves to express a direction towards the speaker, or towards a destination mentioned in the discourse or a location close to the speaker. The andative *wau* expresses a direction of motion away from the speaker or a point in space specified in the discourse. The deictic centre is commonly but not always the speaker. It can be a character or a place in a narrative, or a place specified in the discourse. Compare the following two examples:

(5-174) *Na=ka   mai.*
        1SG=TAM   VENT
        'I am coming (to the interlocutor or to a specified destination)'

(5-175) *Na=ka   wau.*
        1SG=TAM   AND
        'I am going (away).'

Both sentences can be uttered in exactly the same situation by the same speaker. Whilst the first indicates that the motion is in the direction towards someone or something, the second focuses on the fact that the speaker is leaving, going away from someone or something. Whilst the above sentences were produced by a native speaker, more commonly *mai* and *wau* would co-occur with the verb *raa* 'go' in these contexts.

Mai and *wau* are commonly found in compound proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively, and they can possibly also function as prepositions. These functions are discussed in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and Chapter 6. The examples below illustrate the use of *mai* and *wau* as postverbal particles, although in (5-176) *mai* could be possibly analysed as a preposition.

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(5-176) *'Au   rio   **mai**!*
      2PL   look   VENT
      'Look here!'

(5-177) *Pita   'e   raa   **mai**   maani taihai?*
      Peter 3SG   go   VENT   ABL   where.LOC
      'Where did Peter come from?'

The sense of 'towards' can refer to an position not identical with the position of the speaker:

(5-178) *Eeta-na   mera   'e   hura   **mai**   sasaan   siri'in.*
      one-ORD   child 3SG   arrive VENT school   today
      'The first child (that) arrived at school today.'

There is evidence that cases such as (5-177) are not serial verb constructions (SVCs). In transitive SVCs, the object clitic attaches always to the second verb. This is not the case in (5-178):

(5-179) *Hua=a   **mai**   hau   para   nena wau!*
      bring=3OBJ VENT   stone be.white   DEM.DIST
      'Bring here that white stone!'

The andative *wau* is used in same way as *mai*, with the opposite meaning:

(5-180) *Raa   wau!*
      go   AND
      'Go away!'

6 Prepositional phrase

According to Payne, adpositions historically derive from nouns or verbs (1997:87). All 'Are'are adpositions are prepositions and the majority of them display behaviour linking them to their nominal or verbal origin. They can be divided into three categories, according to whether they index their objects and how.

- **Verb-like prepositions** index their objects by means of pronominal clitics in a similar way to how transitive verbs mark their direct objects.
- **Noun-like prepositions**, including the etymons 'a-, aa- and ha-, index their objects by means of personal suffix identical to possessive suffixes marking inalienable possession on nouns.
- **True** (or bare) **prepositions** do not index their objects in any way.

Each of these categories will be discussed in turn in the following sections, including an examination of the features that distinguish the verb-like and the noun-like prepositions from verbs and nouns respectively.

Different elements may function as the complement of a preposition: a noun phrase (6-1) or only the pronominal suffix (6-2), a PP (6-3) or a clause (6-4). The heads of the PPs are in bold:

(6-1) ***so'o****-na*   *nima*
     about-PRS   house
     'about a house'

(6-2) ***so'o****-ku*
     about-1SG.PRS
     'about me'

(6-3) ***hi***   *rao-na*   *nima*
     in   IN-PRS   house
     'into the house'

(6-4) …*ko'e*   *na*   *'e*   *pora*   ***tama****-na*   *'e*   *reesi=a*   *simi*   *ne…*
     frog   DET   3SG   jump   REAS-PRS   3sg   see=3OBJ   fly   DET
     ' … the frog jumped because it saw the fly…

Some verbs combine with prepositions to express a particular meaning, in a similar way to English phrasal verbs. The meaning of the verb + preposition unit is to a large extent predictable from the meaning of its individual components, but not always. The examples below illustrate the combination of verbs and prepositions. The equal sign signals a clitic attaching to a verb-like preposition whilst the dash signals a suffix taken by a noun-like preposition:

na'a ha'ani=a	'talk with'
na'a tare=a	'talk to'
na'a so'o-na	'talk about'
raa tare=a	'go towards'
raa so'o-na	'go after, follow'
ni'irae so'o-na	'think about'
ni'irae aa-na	'remember'
ni'irae ha-na	'want'
ni'irae tare=a	'like'
nunumasi tare=a	'smile at'
masi tama-na	'laugh at'
ma'u tama-na	'be afraid because of'
rio so'o-na	'look after'

6.1 *Verb-like prepositions*

It has been suggested that the verb-like prepositions in Oceanic languages originated as verbs, most likely as manner components in serial verb constructions, and over a time have been reanalysed into adpositional elements[65](Durie, 1988). This view is adopted here. The verb-like prepositions in 'Are'are resemble transitive verbs in the way they mark their objects. When the object is a weak pronoun, it usually appears as an enclitic on the verb although the weak pronouns that have two or more syllables tend not to cliticise. When the object is a strong pronoun, the verb may optionally take the enclitic =*a*. See table 6.2 below for an overview of the relevant pronominal forms. When the object of the preposition is a noun

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[65] These forms are also discussed as prepositional verbs, e.g. Pawley (1973).

phrase, either singular or plural, the clitic =*a* is always present. Since the object referencing is identical to the one found on verbs, the objects of verb-like prepositions are glossed in the same way as direct objects of verbs.

Another link between the verb-like prepositions and transitive verbs can be seen in morphology. The stems of all the verb-like prepositions end in -*i*. The form *-*i* has been reconstructed by Pawley as a transitive suffix in Proto-Oceanic (1973). Reflexes of this transitive suffix can be seen in the short transitive suffixes taken by one class of modern 'Are'are verbs which take the form -*(C)i*, see section 5.2.2.1 in Chapter 5. It seems unlikely that this similarity would be a coincidence.

6.1.1 Evidence for verb-like prepositions

Although the verb-like prepositions most likely originated as modifying verbs in serial verb constructions, in modern 'Are'are their distribution differs from the distribution of verbs. The serial verb constructions have different properties from sequences of verbs and verb-like prepositions.[66] The main difference is that in SVCs no elements are allowed to come between the two verbs, but in a sequence of a verb and a verb-like preposition intervening elements are common.

As the example (6-5) below illustrates, in a serial verb construction nothing comes between the two verbs. The verbs are shown in bold:

(6-5) *'O=ko*   **'*oni*   **maasi=a**   *maamaa-mu*   *no'o!*
      2SG=TAM   stay   wait.for=3OBJ   father=2SG.POSS   now
      'You stay (and) wait for your father!'

If the verb-like prepositions were in fact verbs, the following sentences would not be grammatical. The verbs and the prepositions are shown in bold:

In (6-6), the object of the verb *suna na* 'the fire' comes between *haua* and *'ohi'o* 'around you.'

(6-6) **Hau=a**   *suna*   *na*   **'ohi='o***!
      light=3OBJ   fire   DET   around=2SG
      'Light the fire around you! (so that it keeps you warm)'

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[66] For a more in-depth discussion on serial verb constructions see Chapter 8.

In (6-7), two words intervene between the verb *poi* 'call' and *tarea* 'towards (her)':

(6-7) *Ka*   ***poi***   *'ara'a*   *ru'u*   ***tare=a***   *teetee…*
       TAM   call   up   again   ALL=3OBJ   mum
       'She calls up to the mum again…'

In (6-8a), the noun phrase *waru uura nau na* 'my crayfish' intervenes between the verb *to'onia* 'pour' and the preposition *ha'ania* 'with'. Also, the lexeme *ke* intervenes between the verb *tahi* 'leave' and the preposition *maania* 'from':

(6-8a) *'E*   ***to'oni=a***   *waru*   *uura*   *nau*   *na*   ***ha'ani=a***
       he   pour=3OBJ   QUANT crayfish   1SG.POSS   DET   with=3OBJ

       uura   *naia*   *ma*   *'e*   ***tahi***   *ke*   ***maani=nau***
       crayfish   3SG.POSS   and   3SG   leave   EMPH   ABL=1SG
       'He poured my crayfish with his crayfish and ran away from me.'

Distribution also supports the analysis that these lexemes function as prepositions. The verb-like preposition can appear in the same position as the noun-like prepositions. Compare *ha'ania* 'with' in the sentence (6-8a) above with *raona* 'in' in (6-8b) below:

(6-8b) *'E*   ***to'oni=a***   *waru*   *uura*   *Ninikowau*   *na*
       3SG   pour=3OBJ   QUANT   crayfish   N.   DET

       rao-na   *kakato naia*   *na*   *ke.*
       IN-PRS   basket 3SG.POSS   DET   EMPH
       'He poured Ninikowau's crayfish into his basket.'

In both examples, the prepositions come after the direct object of the verb. Both prepositions are in turn followed by their own objects, *uura naia* 'his crayfish' and *kakato naia* 'his basket'. If *ha'ania* still functioned as a verb, it would be unexpected to find it in the same position as the noun-like preposition.

Verbs functioning as modifiers of the head verbs in serial verb constructions can still function independently as verbs (see Chapter 8). The verb-like prepositions do not have the ability; they can only appear as a modifier in a verbal clause:[67]

(6-9a) *Pita*   *'e*   *raa*   *tare=a*   *iinaia.*
       Peter   3SG   go   ALL=3OBJ   3SG
       'Peter went towards him/her.'

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[67] The verb-like prepositions cannot be heads of predicates, but the noun-like prepositions can, see Chapter 7.

(6-9b) *Pita 'e tarea iinaia.

I suggest that the final difference between the modifying verbs in an SVC and the verb-like prepositions is in that in transitive SVCs, the object referencing clitic appears on the second verb only, never on the first one or on both:

(6-10) *Pita   'e   na'a   waeri=**a**   John.*
       Peter   3SG   speak   destroy=3OBJ   John
       'Peter spoke badly about John.' (and made him angry)

In the example (6-11) below, both *iiria* 'tell' and *taria* 'to' appear with the object clitic:

(6-11) *Pita   'e   iiri=**a**   sisihora   tari=**a**   John.*
       Peter   3SG   tell=3OBJ   story   to=3OBJ   John
       'Peter told a story to John.'

As prepositional phrases do not normally directly follow transitive verbs, it is problematic to illustrate the difference on a construction where no elements intervene between the verb and the verb-like preposition. The following example was found in my data, where both *ni'irae* and *taria* appear with the object clitic:

(6-12) *'E   ma   ni'irae=**a**   tari=**a**   kato-ni   uura…*
       3SG   NEG   think=3OBJ   of=3OBJ   basket-AS   crayfish
       'He didn't think of the basket of the crayfish.'

Admittedly, there are not many instances of *ni'irae* 'think of' 'remember' taking the object clitic in my data. This may be caused by the nature of the verb: *ni'irae* is a prepositional verb taking oblique objects (PPs) rather than a strictly transitive verb taking direct nominal objects. In most cases, PPs that follow a clearly transitive verb are headed by noun-like prepositions.

Table 6.1. lists the verb-like prepositions found in my data:

Preposition	Meaning or function
ha'ani	with
tare, tari	towards, of
'ohi	around
haahi	above
maani	from
tarariu, riuni	compared with

Table 6.1 The verb-like prepositions in 'Are'are

Table 6.2 below lists the pronominal forms, either clitics or free-standing, used by the verb-like prepositions to mark their objects. Note that for the objects expressed by strong pronouns, the clitic =*a* is not compulsory but very common. The use of the clitic =*a* with the weak pronouns is ungrammatical, see (6-14), with one exception. The weak form of 3sg is *'e*, which, unlike the other weak forms, can be used only in subject position. The 3sg object is marked by the clitic =*a* instead.

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Weak	**Strong**	**Weak**	**Strong**	**Weak**	**Strong**
1 incl			*ha'ani kura*	*ha'ani=**a** iikura*	*ha'ani koru*	*ha'ani=**a** iikoru*
1 excl	*ha'ani=nau*	*ha'ani=**a** iinau*	*ha'ani 'erua*	*ha'ani=**a** ii'erua*	*ha'ani 'ami*	*ha'ani=**a** ii'ami*
2	*ha'ani='o*	*ha'ani=**a** ii'o*	*ha'ani 'aurua*	*ha'ani=**a** ii'aurua*	*ha'ani='au*	*ha'ani=**a** ii'au*
3	*ha'ani=**a***	*ha'ani=**a** iinaia*	*ha'ani kiraurua*	*ha'ani=**a** iikiraurua*	*ha'ani kira*	*ha'ani=**a** iikira*

Table 6.2 Object referencing by the verb-like prepositions

6.1.2 *Ha'ani* additive, 'with'

Ha'ani[68] has an additive function and is used in many contexts as the English 'with'. The following examples illustrate the use of this particular preposition as well as the indexing of the complement by the verb-like prepositions in general.

(6-13) *keni*   **ha'ani=a**   *ma'ima'i*   *na*
       woman   with=3OBJ   basket   DET
       'a woman with the basket'

(6-14) *Pita*   *'e*   *raa*   **ha'ani=a**   *iinau / * nau.*
       Peter   3SG   go   with=3OBJ   1SG /   1SG
       'Peter went with me.'

(6-15) *Pita*   *'e*   *haiotoi*   **ha'ani=a**   *Tione.*
       Peter   3SG   meet   with=3OBJ   John
       'Peter met (with) Tom.'

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[68] One speaker produced the form *ha'i* for *ha'ania*.

(6-16) *Pita   'e   na'a   rete   **ha'ani**='o /   ii'oo*
Peter   3SG   talk   be.good   with=2SG   2SG
'Peter praised you.'

This preposition can also be used to coordinate multiple objects:

(6-17) *Pita   'e   rae=nau   **ha'ani=a**   John / iinaia.*
Peter   3SG   know=1SG   with=3OBJ   John   3SG
'Peter knows me and John / him.'

(6-18) *Na   rae=a   Tione   **ha'ani** kira.*
1SG   know=3OBJ   John   with   3PL
'Peter knows John and them.'

In some contexts, *ha'ani* can be used interchangeably with *ma* 'and':

(6-19) *Na   rae=a   Tione   ma/   **ha'ani=a**   iikira.*
1SG   know=3OBJ   John   and /   with=3OBJ   3PL
'Peter knows John and them.'

Ha'ania also functions as a discourse marker, a kind of filler, in a similar way to the English discourse marker 'like'. See section 7.3.5. in Chapter 7.

6.1.3   *Tare / tari* allative 'to', 'towards', 'of'

The preposition *tare* has the general meaning 'to' 'towards,' but this meaning changes when the preposition appears with different verbs. Therefore, the gloss for *tarea* differs according to its meaning in a given context:

(6-20) *Rio   **tare**=nau!*
look   ALL =1SG
'Look at me!'

(6-21) *Pita   'e   raa   **tare=a**   iinaia.*
Peter   3SG   go   ALL=3OBJ   3SG
'Peter went towards him/her.'

(6-22) *Pita   'e=ka   na'a   **tare=a**.*
Peter   3SG=TAM   talk   ALL=3OBJ
'Peter is talking to him/her.'

Note that as (6-22) above illustrates, it is possible to express third person singular object of the verb-like prepositions solely by means of the object clitic. The same behaviour has been

observed in transitive verbs and also the noun-like prepositions can reference their third person singular objects solely by the relevant suffix –na.

(6-23) *Pita   'e=ka   uuro   **tare=a**   Tione.*
       Peter   3SG=TAM   shout ALL=3OBJ   John
       'Peter is shouting at John.'

Other combinations attested in my data are *iiria tare* 'tell to', *poi tare* 'call to', *ooro tare* 'run to' and *ni'irae tare* 'remember'. Note that this preposition is not used with places and place names - the preposition *hi* would be used in this context (see section 6.3.).

Most of my consultants also produced the form *tari* at times. It is possibly a variant of *tare*, as their meaning seems to be identical in most cases:

(6-24) *Pita   'e   iiri=a   sisihora   **tari=a**   John.*
       Peter   3SG   tell=3OBJ   story   ALL=3OBJ   John
       'Peter told John a story.' or 'Peter told a story to John.'

(6-25) *Pita   'e   iiri=a   sisihora   **tari='o /**   kira.*
       Peter   3SG   tell=3OBJ   story   ALL=2SG   3PL
       'Peter told you / them a story.'

The preposition *taria* appeared only with the verbs *raa* 'go', *iiria* 'tell', *sisihora* 'story-tell', *ni'irae* 'think' or 'remember', and thus its distribution was somewhat narrower than the distribution of *tarea*.

However, there were two contexts where the meaning of *tari* versus *tare* was different. When *tari* is combined with the verb *raa* 'go', the meaning is 'meet':

(6-26) *Pita   'e   raa   **tari=a**   Tione.*
       Peter   3SG   go   ?=3OBJ   John
       'Peter met John.'

The sequence *raa tarea* means 'go towards'. That this combination has a different meaning from *raa taria* is obvious from the example below:

(6-27) *Pita*   *'e*   *raa*   **tare=a**   *Tione* *nena ma*   *'e raa*   **tari=a**
      Peter   3SG   go   ALL=3OBJ   John   and then   3SG go   ?=3OBJ

      Tione   *wau*   *koru-na*   *haho* *ke.*
      John   PREP   top-AS   reef   EMPH
      'Peter went to John (John's place), and then he met him on top of the reef.'

This sentence could be uttered to comment that Peter went to John's house, but John was not there, and Peter was going and then met John at another place, on top of the reef.

When combined with the verb *tau* 'do', the meaning is 'find':

(6-28) *'O*   *tau*   **tari=a**   *Pita?*
      2SG   do   ?=3OBJ   Peter
      'Did you find Peter?'

Only the form *tari* is grammatical in this context.

On the one hand, the forms *tare* and *tari* seem to be interchangeable most of the time and thus could be variants of the same lexeme. However, the fact that in some environments only one of them is grammatical suggests that possibly these are two different lexemes. It is also noteworthy that there exists a transitive verb *tari=* in 'Are'are which means 'to acquire', to gain', 'to earn'. It is not clear whether or how this verb may be related to the prepositional *tari*.

6.1.4 *'Ohi* locative 'around'

This preposition can mean 'around' or 'over'. So for example, when talking to a child, one could say:

(6-29) *Hui=a*   *kahu*   *na*   **'ohi='o!**
      pour=3OBJ   water   DET   around=2SG
      'Pour / splash the water (all) over you!'

The sentence could be interpreted in two ways. The first interpretation would be to splash the water about one's person, as in washing. The second interpretation, if child wants to be smart, would be to pour the water on the ground in the circle around themselves.

6.1.5 *Haahi* locative 'above'

Haahi is used to indicate a location 'above':

(6-27) *Pita   'e   **haahi** kura.*
Peter   3SG   above 1DU.INCL
'Peter is above us.'

(6-28) *Pita   'e   **haahi /**   **haahi=a**   iikura.*
Peter   3SG   above /   above=3OBJ   1DU.INCL
'Peter is above us.'

(6-29) *Hua=a   mai   kapu   ta'auru   **haahi='o**   na!*
bring=3OBJ   VENT   cup   up   above=2SG   DET
'Bring me the cup above you!'

The above command could be used in a scenario when the speaker requests a specific cup that is located above the hearer, such as on the shelf under which the hearer is sitting. The location of the cup is specified twice - once by the true preposition *ta'auru* (expressing absolute location 'up') and the second time by a specific reference to its location as related to the hearer.

6.1.6 *Maani* ablative 'from'

The meaning of the preposition *maani* is 'from':

(6-30) *Taihai   'o   raa   **maani=a**   na?*
where.DIR   2SG   go   ABL=3OBJ   DET
'Where did you come from?'

It is also possible to express the question in the following manner:

(6-31) *'O   raa   **maani-hai**?*
2SG   go   ABL-where.DIR
'Where did you come from?'

(6-32) *'E   pora **maani=a**   paketi nena ma…*
3SG   jump   ABL=3OBJ   packet and then…
'It jumped out of the packet and then…'

(6-33) *Pita   'e   ooro   **maani**=nau.*
Peter   3SG   run   ABL=1SG
'Peter ran away from me.'

(6-34) *Rasu   ka   raa~raa   **maani=a**   rika'a.*
  smoke TAM   CONT~go   ABL=3OBJ   very
  'The fire is smoking a lot.' (Lit.: The smoke is going from it (the firepit) a lot.'

6.1.7 *Tarariu* 'compared to'

The lexeme *tarariu* is used for comparative but not superlative constructions:

(6-34) *Pita   'e   'ewa   **tarariu=a**   John.*
  Peter 3SG   be.tall compared.to=3OBJ   John
  'Peter is taller than John.'

(6-35) *Pita=ka   raa~raa   rawahia   **tarariu=a**   John.*
  Peter=TAM   HAB~go   fast   compared.to=3OBJ   John
  'Peter walks faster than John.'

(6-36) *Keni   waiwau   'e   kuki   rete   **tarariu=nau.***
  woman DEM.DIST   3SG   cook   be.good   compared.to=1SG
  'That woman cooks better than me.'

(6-37) *Na   tapo=a   marika   iiwera   **tarariu='o.***
  1SG   catch=3OBJ   fish   be.many   compared.to=2SG
  'I caught more fish than you.'

The dialectal variant[69] *riuni* is used by some speakers. Also in the below sentence, the variant *uuwera* 'be many' is used, as oposed to the more usual *iiwera*:

(6-38) *Pita   'e   hua=a   marika uuwera   riuni=a   John.*
  Peter 3SG   catch=3OBJ   fish   be.many   compared.to=3OBJ   John
  'Peter caught more fish than John.'

6.2 *Noun-like prepositions*

Many but not all prepositions in this category express a location of a person or an object in relation to another person or object (personal locatives). The noun-like prepositions behave like nouns in that they index their objects by means of personal suffixes. These suffixes are identical to possessive suffixes taken by nouns to express (direct) inalienable possession. They are glossed PRS for personal here, to distinguish them from the strictly possessive constructions.

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[69] In both variants there is the component *riu*, which is likely to carry the comparative function. In this example, the speaker also used the dialectal variant *uuwera* instead of *iiwera*.

6.2.1 Evidence for noun-like prepositions

The main feature distinguishing the noun-like prepositions from nouns is their distribution. Even though they may have nominal origins, unlike nouns, the noun-like prepositions cannot function as the subject of a sentence:

(6-39) *Rape-ku*   *ka*   *wa'i.*
       body-1SG.POSS   TAM   hurt
       'My body hurts.'

(6-40) **Rao-ku ka wa'i.*[70]
       If *rao* was a noun, a possible interpretation that would make sense semantically could be 'My insides hurt.'

The noun-like prepositions can appear as a modifier of the head noun in the subject noun phrase, but cannot themselves function as the head of a subject noun phrase:

(6-41) *Mane*   *'api-mu*   *na*   *'e*   *'ewa.*
       man   next.to-2SG.PRS   DET   3SG   be.tall
       'The man next to you is tall.'

(6-42) *****'Api-mu*** *na 'e 'ewa.*
       Intended meaning '(The one) next to you is tall.'

The noun-like prepositions cannot function as the direct object of a transitive verb:

(6-41) *Na*   *reesi=a*   *nunu-ku*
       1SG   see=3OBJ   image-1SG.POSS
       'I saw my image (in the mirror).'

(6-42) ** Na reesi=a **'api-ku***.
       Intended meaning 'I saw (the one) beside me.'

Noun-like prepositions normally cannot appear with a quantifier (6-44) or a determiner (6-42 above) unless the noun they modify is present:

(6-43) *rua*   *wa'a-ku*
       two   brother-1SG.POSS
       'my two brothers'

(6-44) **rua **'api-ku***
       intended meaning 'my two sides'

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[70] It is however possible to say *Popo-ku ka wa'i.* 'My side (of body) hurts.' See comment below.

Semantically the noun-like prepositions differ from nouns in that they are not referential; they tend to express a relation between two entities: *'api-* 'beside', *rua-* 'on top', *rao-* 'inside' etc. These prepositions commonly head PPs that appear with prepositional verbs (6-45), or function as adverbial adjuncts of intransitive verbs (6-46):

(6-45) *Na=ka   ni'irae so'o-na   Tione.*
        1SG=TAM   think   about-PRS   John
        'I am thinking about John.'

(6-46) *Hi   mera   na   kira=ka   haitatapa   popo-na   nima.*
        PL   child DET   3PL=TAM   play   beside-PRS   house
        'The children are playing next to (the) house.'

The only exception among the noun-like prepositions is the form *popo-*, which functions as a preposition as well as a noun meaning 'side (of one's body)'.

Table 6.3 below lists the noun-like prepositions in 'Are'are.

Preposition	Meaning
'api-na	next to, to
matora-na	between
popo-na	next to
rao-na	in
rua-na	on top
so'o-na	after
tama-na	reason
'a-na	benefactive/recipient
aa-na	general, benefactive, possessive, instrumental, oblique
ha-na	purpose, recipient

Table 6.3 The noun-like prepositions

When the object of the noun-like preposition is first person singular or second person singular pronoun, the preposition will take the relevant suffix for that person, that is *-ku* for 1sg and *-mu* for 2sg. For all other persons the preposition takes the suffix *-na*, which is followed by the relevant personal pronoun in dual and plural. Third person singular pronominal object is

referenced solely by the suffix *–na*. When the object is expressed by a strong pronoun, the prepositions take the suffix *-na* for all persons. This suffix is also present for nominal complements, both singular and plural. Table 6.4 below shows an overview of the personal suffixes taken by the noun-like prepositions for each person like *so'o* 'after'. Compare with Table 4.5 in section 4.2.3.

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Weak	**Strong**	**Weak**	**Strong**	**Weak**	**Strong**
1 incl			*so'o-**na** kura*	*so'o-**na** iikura*	*so'o-**na** koru*	*so'o-**na** iikoru*
1 excl	*so'o-**ku***	*so'o-**na** iinau*	*so'o-**na** 'erua*	*so'o-**na** ii'erua*	*so'o-**na** 'ami*	*so'o-**na** ii'ami*
2	*so'o-**mu***	*so'o-**na** ii'o*	*so'o-**na** 'aurua*	*so'o-**na** ii'aurua*	*so'o-**na** 'au*	*so'o-**na** ii'au*
3	*so'o-**na***	*so'o-**na** iinaia*	*so'o-**na** kiraurua*	*so'o-**na** iikiraurua*	*so'o-**na** kira*	*so'o-**na** iikira*

Table 6.4 Personal suffixes used with the noun-like prepositions

6.2.2 *'Api-na* - allative, locative, possessive

This preposition can be used in a range of contexts. One of its functions is allative, meaning 'to', 'towards':

(6-47) *Na'a*   ***'api-ku****!*
      talk   to-1SG.PRS
      'Talk to me!'

(6-48) *Sisihora*   ***'api-na*** *koru!*
      storytell   to-PRS   1PL.INCL
      'Tell us a story!'

It also expresses a location next to someone or something:

(6-49) *kapu*   ***'api-mu***   *na*
      cup   next.to-2SG.PRS   DET
      'the cup next to you'

This preposition can also be used to express a temporary possession, similar to English 'have something on one's person':

(6-50) *'Are*   ***'api-mu****?*
      thing   on-2SG.PRS
      'Do you have (betelnut)?'

6.2.3 *Matora-na* - locative 'between'

This preposition denotes the position 'between':

(6-51) *Pita   'e   uura   **matora-na**   iinau   ma   ii'o.*
      Peter   3SG   stand   between-PRS   1SG   and   2SG
      'Peter stood between me and you.'

(6-52) *Pita   'e   uura   **matora-ku**   ma   panipani   na.*
      Peter   3SG   stand   between-1SG.PRS   and   wall   DET
      'Peter stood between me and the wall.'

6.2.4 *Popo-na* - locative, 'on the side'

Popo-na expresses a location or direction 'on the side' or 'beside' somene or something. The bound morpheme *popo* is used in expressions such as *popomauri* 'right hand side'.

(6-53) *'Eno   **popo-ku**!*
      lie   side-1SG.PRS
      'Lie next to me!'

(6-54) *Raa   **popo-na**   pani   'ai'ewau!*
      go   side-PRS   wall   DEM.DIST
      'Go next to that wall!'

(6-55) *Mane   **popo-mu**   na   'e   'ewa.*
      man   side-2SG.PRS   DET   3SG   be.tall
      'The man next to you is tall.'

6.2.5 *Rao-na* - inessive 'in', 'inside'

This preposition is used to indicate a location of 'in' or 'inside':

(6-56) *Pita   'e   **rao-na** nima na.*
      Peter   3SG   IN-PRS   house DET
      'Peter is inside the house.'

(6-57) *Pita   'e   'ewa   rika'a **rao-na** komu.*
      Peter   3SG   be.tall   very   IN-PRS village
      'Peter is the tallest from the village.'

(6-59) *Te   'are   'e   ma   'oni   **rao-na** manata-ku.*
      IDF   thing   3SG   NEG   stay   IN-PRS   mind-1SG.POSS
      'I don't know anything.' (Lit.: There is nothing inside my mind.)

(6-60) *Rikimana   manu **rao-na** ma'asu na   kira   ka   nuu~nuu.*
      all   bird   IN-PRS forest DET   3PL   TAM   CONT~sing
      'All the birds in the forest are singing.'

6.2.6 *Rua-na* - locative, 'on top'

This preposition indicates a location or direction of 'on top' of a surface:

(6-61) *Kato   na   'e   'oni   **rua-na**   mako.*
      basket DET 3SG   stay on.top-PRS   ground
      'The basket is on the ground.'

(6-62) *Ha'a-to'oru-si=a   ketoro na   **rua-na**   suna!*
      CAUS-sit-TR=3OBJ   kettle DET   on.top   fire
      'Put the kettle on the fire!'

6.2.7 *So'o-na* - 'about', 'of', 'after'

So'o-na corresponds to several English translation equivalents. It is used to indicate a content of a narrative, in the same way as the English 'about' would be used in this context.

(6-63) *Haia,   te   aarasihora   koru   'e   **so'o-na**   ha'ania*
      okay   IDF   story   1PL.INCL   3SG   about-PRS   DM

      huka   ma   poro.
      wife   and   husband
      'Okay, our story is about a wife and a husband.'

(6-64) *Pita   'e   na'a   **so'o-na**   iikira.*
      Peter   3SG   talk   about-PRS   3PL
      'Peter talked about them.'

So'o-na can also be translated as 'of':

(6-65) *Na=ka   ni'irae **so'o-na**   Tione.*
      1SG=TAM   think of-PRS   John
      'I am thinking of John.'

Another meaning of *so'o-na* is 'after' (not in the temporal sense):

(6-66) *Rio*   ***so'o-na***   *kira!*
     look   after-PRS   3PL
     'Look after them!'

(6-67) *Na*   *raa*   ***so'o-mu***.
     1SG   go   after-2SG.PRS
     'I followed you.' (Lit. 'I went after you.')

6.2.8 *Tama-na* - reason 'because'

Tama-na is the preposition of reason. It can be used in declarative sentences as 'because' and in interrogative sentences with the meaning 'why':

(6-68) *'Arai*   *na*   *'e*   *kasu*   ***tama-na***   *rakaraka-ha.*
     mango DET   3SG   be.rotten   REAS-PRS   be.hot-NMLZ
     'The mango rotted because of the heat.'

(6-69) *Hanara* *'e*   *'ehu* ***tama-na***   *suna*   *'e*   *rakaraka.*
     food   3SG   burn   REAS-PRS   fire   3SG   be.hot
     'The food burned because the fire was hot.'

(6-70) ***Tama-na***   *'aitaa* *'e*   *mae*   *na?*
     REAS-PRS   what   3SG   die   DET
     'Why did he die?' or 'What did he die of?' (Lit.: Because of what did he die?)

In other contexts the preposition *tama-na* corresponds with the English 'at':

(6-71) *Pita=ka*   *masi* ***tama-ku.***
     Peter=TAM   laugh REAS-1SG.PRS
     'Peter is laughing at me.' (I did something that made Peter laugh.)

6.2.9 The prepositions *'a-, aa-* and *ha-*

Among the noun-like prepositions there are three etymons that are especially common in particular contexts and co-occur with particular verbs: *'a-, aa-, ha-*. These etymons reference their objects in the same way as other noun-like prepositions. Their functions are however broader; therefore, they are discussed here separately.

6.2.9.1 'A-na

This preposition is mostly used to express a recipient:

(6-72) *Pita   'e   wate=a   hanara **'a-na** 'au.*
      Peter   3SG   give=3OBJ   food   REC-PRS 2PL
      'Peter gave you food.'

(6-73) *Pita   'e=ka   na'a   **'a-na** 'au.*
      Peter   3SG=TAM   talk   REC-PRS 2PL
      'Peter is talking to you (giving you advice)'

The meaning 'talk to' can also be expressed with the preposition *'api-na*. I am not sure whether the different possibilities are just due to the speaker's choice or whether there is a significant difference in meaning. Since *'api-na* can also express a temporary possession, it seems plausible that it can be used with a similar meaning to *'a-na*, that is to reference a recipient.

The preposition *'a-na* is unusual in that, unlike the other noun-like prepositions, there is an additional morpheme for first and second person singular objects. I analyse this morpheme *=a* as a clitic. The preposition thus takes the form *'a-ku=a* and *'a-mu=a* for 1sg and 2sg respectively:

(6-74) *Pita   'e=ka   na'a   **'a-ku=a**.*
      Peter   3SG=TAM   talk   REC-1SG.PRS=?
      'Peter is giving me advice.

(6-75) *Pita   'e   wate=a   hanara   **'a-mu=a**.*
      Peter   3SG   give=3OBJ   food   REC-2SG.PRS=?
      'Peter gave you food.'

This clitic may be realised as *='i*:

(6-76) *Pita   'e   wate=a   hanara   **'a-mu='i**.*
      Peter   3SG   give=3OBJ   food   REC-1SG.PRS=?
      'Peter gave you food.'

It is not clear what the function of these clitics is, and how they differ from each other. Whilst there is a suffix *–'i* that may appear with the other noun-like prepositions, it is not used together with the regular personal suffixes. See section 6.2.10. below.

6.2.9.2 Aa-na

This etymon is used in a range of contexts: marking possession, in expressing like/dislike, benefactive/recipient constructions, as an instrumental preposition. Commonly, this preposition is used to introduce an oblique argument.

a) Possessive constructions and ownership

(6-77) *Nima   paina   'e   aa-ku*.
      house   be.big   3SG   POSS-1SG.PRS
      '(The) big house is mine. '

(6-78) *Nima   paina   'e   aa-na   Pita.*
      house   be.big 3SG   POSS-PRS   Peter
      'The big house is Peter's.'

When used together with the verb *to'o*, the unit *to'o aa-na* has the meaning 'to own' or 'to be married to':

(6-79) *Pita   'e   to'o   aa-na   'aikarua.*
      Peter   3SG   own   POSS-PRS   canoe
      'Peter owns a canoe.'

(6-80) *Pita   'e   to'o   keni,   Pita   'e   to'o   aa-na   Jane.*
      Peter   3SG   marry   woman   Peter   3SG   marry   POSS-PRS   Jane
      'Peter married (a woman), Peter is married to Jane.'

b) Expressing likes and dislikes

When combined with the lexeme *rae-na* 'his/her being', the unit *to'o aa-na* acquires a different meaning from the one described above. When the *rae-na* is the subject, the construction expresses likes or, when negated, dislikes:

(6-81) *Pita,   rae-na   'e   ma   to'o aa-na   John.*
      Peter   being-POSS   3SG   NEG   like-PRS   John
      'Peter doesn't like John.'

(6-82) *Rae-ku   'e   to'o aa-na   to'i   aa-na   kara piakau.*
      being-1SG.POSS 3SG   like-PRS   make   OBL-PRS   cassava pudding
      'I like making cassava pudding.'

b) Benefactive / recipient constructions

In benefactive or recipient constructions, all three of the etymons *'a-na*, *aa-na* and *ha-na* may be used. It is not entirely clear what is the difference between these. Whilst some speakers indicated that possibly some constructions refer merely to the recipient whilst others implied that the recepient also benefited from the item given, this distinction was not made by all speakers in all contexts.

(6-83) *Pita   'e   wate=a   hanara   **aa-na**   John.*
      Peter   3SG   give=3OBJ   food   REC-PRS   John
      'Peter gave John food.'

(6-84) *'Au   rae   were=a   kahu   **aa-na**   koru!*
      2PL   go.to   fetch=3OBJ   water   REC-PRS   1PL.INCL
      'Go fetch water for us!'

(6-85) *…rua   mera   ka   huta   **aa-na**   kirarua   no'o.*
      two   child   TAM   be.born   REC-PRS   3DU   PFV
      …two children are born to them.

b) Instrumental preposition

(6-86) *Mane   waiwou   'e   'ui=nau   **aa-na**   hau.*
      man   DEM.DIST   3SG   throw=1SG   INS-PRS   stone
      'The man over there threw a stone at me. (Lit. That man he threw me with a stone.')

(6-87) *Mane   'e   aapi=a   niu   **aa-na**   hakesi.*
      man   3SG   split=3OBJ   coconut   INS-PRS   axe
      '(The) man split coconut with an axe.'

(6-88) *Na   ka   ra'au   **aana**   haka.*
      1SG   TAM   go   INS-PRS   boat
      'I am going by boat.'

b) Obligue objects / prepositional objects

Aa-na is used with some verbs that require prepositional objects:

(6-89) *Pita   'e   ha'a'uni=a   John   **aa-na**   poo.*
      Peter   3SG   promise=3OBJ   John   OBL-PRS   pig
      'Peter promised John a pig.'

(6-90) *Na   noro=a   wara **aa-na**   Pita.*
       1SG   hear=3OBJ   news OBL-PRS   Peter
       'I heard (the) news from Peter.'

(6-91) *Iinau, na=ka   mauri **aa-na**   ma'asu   he'eta.*
       1SG   1SG=TAM   live   OBL-PRS   vegetables   only
       'I live only on vegetables.' (I am a vegetarian)

(6-92) *Pita   'e   rete   **aa-na**   roto-ha.*
       Peter   3SG   be.good   OBL-PRS   swim-NMLZ
       'Peter is good at swimming.'

This preposition is also used in the sense 'out of' when identifying a member(s) of a group:

(6-93) *te haru   mane **aa-na**   kira*
       QUANT.SUB   man   OBL-PRS   3PL
       'some men out of them'

Aa-na can be used to express the equivalents of English 'of':

(6-94) *Pita   'e   mae   **aa-na**   to'i-ha.*
       Peter   3SG   die   OBL-PRS   work-NMLZ
       'Peter died of (over)work.'

(6-95) *To'i   rete   **aa-ku***!
        hold   be.good   OBL-1SG.PRS
       'Hold me firmly (so that I don't fall)!'

Aa-na is used to identify a place in space or in time:

(6-96) *'Ami=ka rao   hurai 'o   **aa-na**   rihi   ne*
       1PL.EXCL=FUT meet   2SG   OBL-PRS   place   REL

       nima Pita   'e   'on'~oni   aa-i   na.
       house Peter 3SG   HAB~live   OBL-OBJ   DET
       'We will meet you where Peter's old house used to be.'

(6-97) *'Ami=ka rao   ra'au **aa-na**   horo'a*
       1PL.EXCL=FUT go   OBL-PRS   time

       Pita=ka   hura taha   mai.
       Peter=TAM   arrive come.in.sight VENT
       'We will go when Peter gets here.'

6.2.9.2.1 Combination of verb plus *aa-*

Whilst in most instances *aa-na* functions as a head of a PP, phonologically independent on the verb, in certain contexts the sequence of verb plus *aa-na* seems to be undergoing a reanalysis. For at least some of my consultants, the verb + *aa-na* sequences in the below examples have been reanalysed as one pholonogical word where it is no longer possible to separate the individual components. The resultant word form seems to be a kind of gerund with the meaning 'v-ing of':

(6-98) *Rae-ku*   *to'o aa-na*   ***to'iana***   *nima.*
      being-1SG.POSS   like   making.of?   house
      'I like making houses.'

Compare

(6-99) *Rae-ku*   *to'o aa-na*   ***to'i-ha***
      being-1SG.POSS   like   work-NMLZ
      'I like work.'

The lexemes *hahiana* and *to'iana* in the below examples plausibly originated as *hahi aa-na* and *to'i aa-na*:

(6-100) *Hi*   *keni*   *na*   *kira*   *hao=a*   *hahita*   *na*   *no'o*
      PL   woman   DET   3PL   prepare=3OBJ earth.oven   DET   PFV

      ha-na   ***hahiana***   *poo*   *na.*
      PURP-PRS   ovening.of?   pig   DET
      'The women prepared the hot stones to oven the pig.'

(6-101) *Hi*   *mane*   *na*   *kira*   *eepa=a*   *ma'asu*   *na*   *ha-na*
      PL   man   DET   3PL   clear=3OBJ   forest   DET   PURP-PRS

      to'iana   *nima.*
      building.of   house
      'The men cleared the forest to build the house.'

The forms in (6-100) and (6-101) differ from the normal forms of the verbs. Compare with the following examples:

(6-102) *Hi*   *keni*   *na*   *kira*   ***hahi=a***   *poo*   *na.*
      PL   woman   DET   3PL   cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ   pig   DET
      'The women cooked (ovened) the pig.'

(6-103) *Mane* *'e* **to'i=a** *nima.*
man 3SG build=3obj house
'A man built a house.'

There is evidence that the fused sequence of verb plus *aa-na* has the properties of nouns. In the example below, *kuraana* 'curing of' functions as the subject of the sentence:

(6-104) *Kuraana* *Tione* *ka* *rau.*
curing.of? John TAM happen
'Curing of John must happen'

There are not many examples of this construction attested in my data. Whilst it appears that there is a possible change in progress regarding (some) verbs plus *aa-na*, it will be necessary to test this hypothesis by more data from a number of speakers before a conclusion can be made.

6.2.9.3 Ha-na

Ha-na most commonly carries the meaning of purpose, but it is also used in benefactive/recipient constructions and in constructions expressing a wish. *Ha-na* can take nominal or clausal complements.

a) Purpose

(6-105) *John=ka* *rorosu* **ha-na** *to'oru-ha.*
John=TAM bend PURP-PRS sit-NMLZ
'John is bending in order to sit.'

(6-106) *Kou=ka* *roko* **ha-na** *kou=ka* *hana.*
1PL.INCL.TAM gather PURP-PRS 1PL.INCL=TAM eat
'Let's get together so that we can eat.'

b) Benefactive/recipient constructions

(6-107) *Pita* *'e* *haata'ani=a* *nima* *na* **ha-mu**.
Peter 3SG show=3OBJ house DET REC-2SG.PRS
'Peter showed the house to you.' or 'Peter showed you the house.'

(6-108) *Tau=a* **ha-ku** *ma'ima'i* *masika* *na!*
give=3OBJ REC-1SG.PRS basket be.small DET
'Give me the small basket!'

c) *Ha-na* can be used to express likes, in combination with *rae-na*:

(6-109) *John   rae-na   ha-na   to'oru-ha.*
        John   being-3SG.POSS   OBL-PRS   sit-NMLZ
        'John would like to sit.'

When combined with the verb *ni'irae* 'think', *ha-na* is used to express a wish or a desire:

(6-110) *Mane   'e   ni'irae ha-na   i-phone.*
        man   3SG   think   OBL-PRS   i-phone
        '(That) man wants an i-phone.'

d) Periphrastic causatives are expressed by the combination of *tau* and *ha-na*:

(6-111) ***Tau=a   ha-na   'e   ma'ahini!***
        do=3OBJ   PURP-PRS   3SG   scratch
        'Make it scratch!'

Note that in the above example the sequence of *taua hana* has a different meaning from the sentence below, where *tau* is used as a synonym of *wate* 'give':

(6-112) *Pita   'e   tau=a   ha-na   John.*
        Peter   3SG   give=3OBJ   REC-PRS   John
        'Peter gave (it) to John.'

e) *Ha-na* can be used to express an equivalent of English 'for':

(6-112) *Pita   ('e)=ka   aa'o   ha-na   marika.*
        Peter   (3SG)=TAM   fish   PURP-PRS   fish
        'Peter is fishing for fish (as opposed to fishing for crabs).'

(6-113) *Na=ka   rio   ha-na   kui   'e   tahi   'asia   na.*
        1SG=TAM   look   OBL-PRS   dog   3SG   leave   away   DET
        'I am looking for the dog that ran away.'

f) Other uses of *ha-na*:

(6-114) *Pita   'e=ma   rau   ha-na   tisa   ru'u.*
        Peter   3SG=NEG   happen   OBL-PRS   teacher   INTS
        'Peter didn't become a teacher.'

(6-115) *Mane 'e   rika'a, mane ha-na   ko'u-ha   no'o.*
        man 3SG   ?   man   OBL-PRS   drink-NMLZ   INTS
        '(That) man is nuts, he drinks a lot.' (repeated example (3-47b)

(6-116) Pita   'e   rae   mano   **ha-na**   John.
       Peter 3SG   being ?   OBL-PRS   John
       'Peter praised John.'

6.2.10 Objects expressed by the suffix –na, -'i / -i only

When the object of a noun-like preposition is third person singular, it is possible to reference it solely by the –na suffix without the need for an overt pronominal or nominal object, provided enough detail is provided in the context:

(6-117) Pita   'e   wate=a   hanara   'a-**na**.
       Peter 3SG   give=3OBJ   food   REC-PRS
       'Peter gave **him/her** food.'

(6-118) Pita   'e=ka   na'a   so'o-**na**.
       Peter 3SG=TAM   talk   about-PRS
       'Peter is talking about **him/her/it**.'

(6-119) Tione=ka   ha'amarisi   nena ma   Pita=ka   masi   tama-**na.**
       John=TAM   make.fun   and then   Peter=TAM   laugh   REAS-PRS
       'John is making fun, and then Peter is laughing at **it**.'

It is also possible for the object to be referenced by a pronominal anaphoric element -'i. This is the case when the complement is understood from the context, such as when it has been spoken about before or is being pointed to. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

(6-120) Pita   'e   wate=a   hanara   '**a-ku-a**.
       Peter 3SG   give=3OBJ   food   REC-1SG.PRS-OBJ
       'Peter gave you food.'

(6-121) Pita   'e   wate=a   hanara   '**a-ku-'i**.
       Peter 3SG   give=3OBJ   food   REC-1SG.PRS-OBJ
       'Peter gave me food.'

(6-122) Raa   popo-**na**   pani   'ai'ewau!
       go   next.to-PRS   wall   DEM.DIST
       'Go next to the wall over there!'

(6-123) To'oru   popo-'**i!**
       sit   next.to-OBJ
       'Sit next to **it**!'

(6-124) *Hanara* *'e* *rua-**na***   *rahara.*
   food   3SG on.top-PRS table
   'The food is on the table.'

(6-125) *Raa* *rua-**'i**!*
   go   on.top-OBJ
   'Go on top of **it**!' (pointing at a house)

(6-126) *Pita* *'e* *rao-**na***   *nima* *na.*
   Peter 3SG IN-PRS   house DET
   'Peter is in the house.'

(6-127) *Raa* *rao-**'i**!*
   go   IN-OBJ
   'Go inside!' (pointing at a house)

(6-128) *'E* *mae* *tama-**na***   *hanara.*
   3SG die REAS-PRS   food
   'He/she died because of food.'

(6-129) *Na=ka*   *ma'u* *tama-**'i**.*
   1SG=TAM   fear REAS-OBJ
   'I am afraid because of **that**.' (Because of what just happened.)

Some speakers realize this element as *-i* in some contexts:

(6-130) *Raa* *so'o-**i**!*
   go   after-OBJ
   'Go after him/her, follow him/her!'

6.3 True/bare prepositions

The last group contains prepositions that do not index their objects in any way. Unlike the verb-like and noun-like prepositions, they often stand alone, without any object at all. With the exception of *hi*, the true prepositions may be used to modify nouns, either in their bare form or combined with other morphemes into compounds. Table 6.5 lists the true prepositions in 'Are'are, together with their meaning.

Preposition	Meaning
hi	to, at, in
ta'au, ta'auru	up
taita'au	in front of or above (the speaker)
hiuru	up (direction of motion)
hu'a	down
haihau	behind or below (the speaker)
mai	general location, ventive
wau	general location, andative

Table 6.5 True prepositions

6.3.1   *Hi* 'to'

The general directional preposition *hi* is used with place names and nouns designating location, such as *nima* 'house', *aano* 'garden' but not with persons.

(6-131) *Pita   'e=si   raa   **hi**   Wairokai.*
       Peter   3SG=NEG.FUT   go   to   Wairokai.
       'Peter will not go to Wairokai.'

(6-132) *Na=ka   raa   **hi**   nima   no'o.*
       1SG=TAM   go   to   house now
       'I am going to (a) house / home now.'

It is possible for the preposition *hi* to be used together with other prepositions. *Hi* may either precede (6-133) or follow (6-135) another preposition:

(6-133) *'E   raa   **hi**   rao-na   paak.*
       3SG   go   to   IN-PRS   park
       'He went to a park.'

6.3.2   *Ta'au, ta'auru* 'up'

The preposition *ta'au* expresses a location perceived as high:

(6-134) *Rato   'e   rao-na   raraaa   **ta'au**.*
       sun   3SG   IN-PRS   sky   up
       '(The) sun is up in the sky.'

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It can also refer to a location positioned higher in terms of landscape, for example, to a house built on a hill:

(6-135) *Raa* ***ta'au*** *hi* *nima!*
 go up to house!
 'Go up to the house!'

Ta'au and *ta'auru* may be used in a slightly different sense, similar to English 'up the street'. The village Rutorea may not necessarily be elevated compared to the speaker's location:

(6-136) *Ooho-ta* *ka* *rau* ***ta'auru*** *Rutorea.*
 fight-NMLZ TAM happen up R.
 'There is a fighting happening up in Rutorea.'

6.3.3 *Taita'au, taita'auru* 'in front of' or 'above'

The preposition *taita'au* refers to a location that may be above the speaker (6-137) but also in front of the speaker (6-138):

(6-137) *Manu* *koko'ara* ***taita'auru***.
 bird be.yellow up
 'There is a yellow bird up there (in the trees).'

(6-138) *Noni* ***taita'au***[71] *'e* *rio* *rete.*
 person in front 3SG look be.good
 '(The) person in front looks nice / pretty.'

This preposition is likely a compound *tai* 'place' and *ta'au* 'up, above'.

6.3.4 *Hiuru* 'upwards'

Hiuru refers to a direction upwards. Note that unlike *ta'au* and *taita'au*, *hiuru* does not refer to a location relative to the speaker:

(6-139) *'E=ka* *ta'e=a* *korosi-na* ***hiuru***.
 3SG=TAM lift=3OBJ skirt-3SG.POSS upwards
 'It is lifting up her skirt.' (In a narrative where a man's fishing rod accidentaly catches a woman's skirt.)

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[71] This is possibly a reduced relative clause with a prepositional predicate.

6.3.5 *Hu'a* 'down'

According to my consultants, the morpheme *hu'a* has the meaning 'down' or 'here'. It is more commonly used as a part in compound lexemes that function as noun modifiers, such as *'ai'ehu'a* 'this here'. See Chapter 4.

(6-140) *nima   hauhu'a*
     house down.there
     '(the) house down there'

6.3.6 *Haihau* 'behind' or 'below'

The morpheme *haihau* refers to a location behind or below the speaker.

(6-141) *nima   haihau*
     house behind
     '(the) house over there (behind the speaker)'

6.3.7 *Mai* ventive

The morpheme *mai* has many functions in different contexts, as a component in compound nouns (*mai-hoe*, *mai-hana*), adverbial (*raa mai*) and as a prepositional element with the meaning 'close to (the speaker or another point of reference)' or 'towards (the speaker or another point of reference).'

(6-142) *Koru=ka*   *'oni*   ***mai*** *komu moa* *koru=ka*   *raa*
     1PL.INCL=TAM   stay VENT village or   1PL.INCL=TAM   go

     hi   Rutorea.
     to   Rutorea
     'Either we stay here in the village or we go to Rutorea.'

(6-143) *Eeta-na*   *mera 'e*   *hura* ***mai*** *sasaani*   *siri'ini.*
     one-ORD   child 3SG   arrive VENT school   today
     'The first child arrived to school today.'

6.3.8 *Wau*[72] general location

The preposition *wau* expresses a location or a direction away from the speaker or another point of reference.

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[72] The word form *wau* is used by some speakers as a plural marker. Interestingly, the preposition *hi* also has the same form as the regular plural marker used by most speakers. See Chapter 4.

(6-144) *Na   'oni   **wau**   Honiara.*
      1SG   live   PREP   H.
      'I live in Honiara.' (Honiara is far from here.)

When expressing a direction, *wau* can be used together with the preposition *hi*:

(6-145) *'E=ka   sisiho   **wau**   hi   aasi.*
      3SG=TAM   descend   PREP   to   sea
      'She is going down to the sea.' (away from her previous location)

(6-146) *'E   hura   **wau**   nima…*
      3SG   go   PREP   house
      'He arrived at the house…' (From another location)

(6-147) *Ho'ita'i   **wau**!*
      turn   PREP
      'Turn (yourself) that way!' (pointing)

(6-148) *Hua=a   mai   kapu   **wau**   kiseni   na!*
      bring=3OBJ   VENT   cup   AND   kitchen   DET
      'Bring me the cup from the kitchen!'

The morpheme *wau* has a similar range of uses as *mai*. It can function as a component in compound demonstratives (*wau'ee*), see Chapter 4.

The location/direction expressed by *mai* and *wau* is relative and depends not only on the speaker's location but also on the intended meaning. In the sentence below, both *mai* and *wau* may be used to indicate that the speaker is on his way home:

(6-149) *Na=ka   raa   mai /   wau   nima.*
      1SG=TAM   go   VENT   AND   house
      'I am coming / going home.'

Mai would be used to indicate that the speaker is approaching the house, whilst *wau* emphasises the speaker's leaving their current destination. So the primary difference is that whilst *mai* refers to coming 'to', *wau* indicates leaving 'from (another destination)'. Similar distinction is illustrated by the example (6-150), where *mai* or *wau* would be used depending on whether the speaker wishes to say 'here in the village' or 'over there in the village'.

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(8-150) *Pita*   *rae-na*   *ha-na*   *raa-ha*   *hi*   *Honiara*   ***ta'a***

        Peter   being-POSS   PURP-PRS   go-NMLZ   to   H.   but

        Tione   *rae-na*   *ha-na*   *'oni-ha*   *mai/wau*   *hanua.*

        John   being-POSS   PURP-PRS   stay-NMLZ   PREP   village

        'Peter wanted to go to Honiara but John wanted to stay in the village.'

6.4 Prepositional compounds

There are several prepositional etymons expressing (usually) a location of one entity in relation to another entity. Unlike the noun-like prepositions, these etymons do not take the personal suffixes themselves but are directly followed by one of the prepositions *'a-* or *ha-* which in turn take the relevant suffix. I am not entirely sure about the status of these etymons; whilst they have an identifiable meaning, they seem to be able to function only as bound morphemes as they usually do not occur as independent forms in my data.

Preposition	Meaning
waru-ha-na	below
kao-'a-na	in the middle
na'o-ha-na	in front, before
puri-'a-na	behind, after
'uri-ha-na	like, as

Table 6.6 Prepositional compounds

(6-151) *Pita*   *'e*   ***waru-ha-mu**.*

        Peter   3SG   below-OBL-2SG

        'Peter is below you.'

(6-152) *Pita*   *'e*   ***waru-ha-na***   *'ami.*

        Peter   3SG   below-OBL-PRS   1PL.EXCL

        'Peter is below us.'

(6-153) *Pita*   *'e*   *uura*   ***kao-'a-na***   *'aikarua*   *na.*

        Peter   3SG   stand   in.middle-OBL-PRS   canoe   DET

        'Peter stood in the middle of the canoe.'

(6-154) *Pita*   *'e*   *uura*   ***kao-'a-na***   *'ami.*

        Peter   3SG   stand   in.middle-OBL-PRS   1PL.EXCL

        'Peter stood in the middle of us.'

(6-155) *Pita   'e   musu-hi   **na'o-ha-na**   John.*
      Peter 3SG   spit-TR   in.front-OBL-PRS   John
      'Peter spat in front of John.' (in J. direction)

(6-156) *Pita   'e   uura   **puri-'a-ku**.*
      Peter 3SG   stand behind-OBL-1SG.PRS
      'Peter stood behind me.'

The morphemes *na'o* and *puri* can be used in locational as well as in temporal manner, see section 8.2.2.1. There is one instance of *puri* occuring independently in my data, see example (5-138) in Chapter 5. In one case this etymon appears in the form *ha'apuri*, meaning 'from behind', see example (7-20) in Chapter 7.

'Uri commonly appears in the form *'uria* which is used in polar interrogatives and to introduce embedded questions. I suggest that in those instances *'uria* is possibly a verb meaning 'be so', 'be like'. When it occurs with the noun-like preposition *ha-na*, the meaning is also related to 'like'. The form *'uri* does not seem to be able to function by itself.[73]

(6-157) *'Oki'~okira-ha*   *kui   na   'e   **'uri-ha-na**   laione.*
      INTS~be.strong-NMLZ   dog   DET   3SG   like-OBL-PRS lion
      'The dog is strong as a lion.'

(6-158) *'O=ko*   *tau   **'uri-ha-ku**!*
      2SG=TAM   do   like-OBL-1SG.PRS
      'Do it like me!

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[73] It also appears in the demonstrative compounds *'uriwau* 'over there' and *'ure'ee* 'like this', see section 3.3.3.

7 Clauses

This chapter outlines the structure of the clause in 'Are'are. In my analysis, I follow Dryer's terminology. Dryer (2007) distinguishes between verbal and non-verbal clauses, and between verbal and non-verbal predicates. Verbal clauses contain a verb, either a lexical one or a copula. Non-verbal clauses do not contain any verbal element at all. Verbal and non-verbal clauses are not to be confused with verbal and non-verbal predicates. A verbal clause which contains a lexical verb has a verbal predicate; a verbal clause containing a copular verb has a non-verbal predicate, as the copula is not part of the predicate. A non-verbal clause contains a non-verbal predicate without the copula.

Whilst clauses with verbal predicates are the most common type of clause in 'Are'are, clauses with non-verbal predicates are also frequent. 'Are'are allows non-verbal clauses only in non-future tense; in future tense a copular verb is required. This chapter discusses the different kinds of predicates in the following order: section 7.1 discusses the use of subject markers, section 7.2. deals with verbal clauses. Section 7.3. describes non-verbal clauses: 7.3.1. Nominal predicates, 7.3.2. Locative predicates, 7.3.3. Other non-verbal predicates. Section 7.4. discusses pragmatically marked structures: 7.4.1. Negation, 7.4.2. Interrogatives, 7.4.3. Imperatives, 7.4.4. Topicalisation, 7.4.5. Discourse markers.

7.1 Subject and subject markers

In all 'Are'are clauses the subject precedes the predicate. Commonly, the subject (which can be either an NP or a clause) appears as the clause-initial element (7-1) to (7-3). In the examples below, the subjects are enclosed in square brackets.

(7-1) [*Na*]=*ka*   *moro'u*   *no'o.*
     1SG=TAM   be.weak.with.hunger now
     'I am weak with hunger now.'

(7-2) [*To'i*   *aa-na*   *nima na*]   *'e*   *siko* *no'o.*
     build   OBL-PRS   house DET 3SG   finish PFV
     'The building of the house has finished.'

(7-3) [*Ha-na*   *tau*   *aa-na*   *hausuu piakau*]   *'e*   *'ewa'a rika'a.*
     PURP-PRS   make   OBL-PRS   cassava pudding   3SG   be.longvery
     'To make a cassava pudding takes a very long time.'

The subject NP can be followed by a subject marker that agrees in number and person with the subject (7-4), also (7-2), (7-3).

(7-4) [*Hi*   *mane*   *'ewau*]   **kira=ka**   *weo.*
     PL   man   DEM.DIST   3PL=TAM   be.tired
     'The men over there are tired.'

In verbal clauses, the subject markers are followed by the verb (see examples above), in non-verbal clauses they are followed by the non-verbal predicate (predicate in square brackets) (7-5).

(7-5) *Pita*   *'e*   [*ha'itau*].
     Peter   3SG   far
     'Peter is far.'

The subject marker is commonly omitted, especially when the subject is third person singular. The most common environment where the subject markers are omitted is in clauses with 3sg subjects which contain the particle *ka* or the future marker *ka rao*:

(7-6a) *Mane*   *'e=ka*   *iiri=a*   *sisihora*   *na.*
     man   3SG=TAM   tell=3OBJ   story   DET
     '(The) man is telling the story.'

(7-6b) *Mane Ø ka iiri=a sisihora na.*
     '(The) man is telling the story.'

(7-7a) *Pita*   *'e=ka rao*   *to'o*   *aa-na*   *iiora.*
     Peter   3SG=FUT   own   OBL-PRS   canoe
     'Peter will have a canoe.'

(7-7b) *Pita*   Ø   *ka rao pe'a*   *ra'ahore'e.*
     Peter   FUT   dance   tomorrow
     'Peter will dance tomorrow.'

It is possible to omit the subject marker with other TAM markers, such as the negative future particle *si*. The omission is not restricted to singular:

(7-8a) *Pita*   **'e**=*si*   *raa*   *hi*   *Wairokai*   *ra'ahore'e.*
         Peter   3SG=NEG.FUT   go   to   W.   tomorrow
         'Peter won't go to Wairokai tomorrow.'

(7-8b) *Pita Ø si raa hi wairokai ra'ahore'e.*
         'Peter won't go to Wairokai tomorrow.'

(7-9a) *Hi*   *mera*   *na*   **kira**=*si*   *raa*   *hi*   *Wairokai*   *ra'ahore'e.*
         PL   child   DET   3PL=NEG.FUT   go   to   W.   tomorrow
         'The children won't go to Wairokai tomorrow.'

(7-9b) *Hi mera na Ø si raa hi Wairokai ra'ahore'e.*
         'The children won't go to Wairokai tomorrow.'

As the example (7-10b) below illustrates, the subject marker can be omitted even in the absence of the TAM markers, although this is less common in my data.

(7-10a) *John*   **'e**   *aariponosi=a*   *sisihora*   *na.*
         John   3SG   forget=3OBJ   story   DET
         'John forgot the story.'

(7-10b) *John Ø aariponosi=a sisihora na.*
         'John forgot the story.'

Subject markers with names

There is one environment attested in my data where the presence of the subject marker is not permitted, and that is when giving someone's name:

(7-11) *Rata-na*   *Ø*   *Pita.*
         name-POSS   Peter
         'His name is Peter.'

(7-12) *Rata-na*   *mane*   *'ai'ee*   *Ø*   *Pita.*
         name-POSS   man   DEM.PROX   Peter
         'This man's name is Peter.'

compare

(7-13) * *Rata-na* **'e** *Pita.*
         'His name is Peter.'

(7-14) * *Rata-na mane 'ai'ee 'e Pita.*
'This man's name is Peter.'

This exclusion is valid for the nominal predicate with names only. When the predicate is verbal, the subject marker is present:

(7-15) *Rata-na 'e 'ewa / 'e'ewa.*
   name-POSS 3SG be.long
   'His name is (quite) long.'

When talking about names, it is sometimes possible to omit the subject marker, but the meaning will be changed. Compare the two following examples:

(7-16a) *Rata-na 'e koko'osu.*
    name-POSS 3SG be.short
    'His name is short.'

(7-16b) *Rata-na Ø Koko'osu.*
    'His name is Koko'osu.'

7.2 Verbal clauses/predicates

The basic word order of constituents in a verbal clause is SV(X) for intransitive clauses, where S stands for the subject, V for the verb and X for another element which may be a verbal or a clausal modifier. For transitive clauses, the typical word order is SVO(X), where the O stands for a direct object.

The basic structure of a verbal clause may be represented in a linear way as follows:

(Temporal expression)[74]

(Subject) (Subject marker) (TAM) Verb (DO) (IO) (Place Adverbial) (Manner/time adv)

(Discourse markers)/(Situational demonstrative adverbs)

The core constituents of intransitive clauses are the verb complex and the subject (7-17),   (7-18).

(7-17) *Pita 'e=ka aa'o.*
   Peter 3SG=TAM fish
   'Peter is fishing.'

---

[74] Temporal expressions such as *rikimana horo'a* 'every day, often' may occupy different positions in the clause.

(7-18) *Kui   na   'e=si   mae.*
     dog   DET   3SG=FUT.NEG die
     'The dog won't die.'

7.2.1.1 The verb complex and the subject markers

The verb complex is the only truly necessary component of the clause as the subject and/or the subject marker may be omitted. This is especially common when the subject is 3sg and the clause contains a TAM marker. If the subject can be inferred from the context, it does not have to be overtly expressed and the clause can contain only the subject marker but not the subject NP (7-19).

(7-19) *'E   mae   naaponi.*
     3SG   die   yesterday
     'He/she died yesterday.'

It is also possible for both the overt subject and the subject marker to be omitted, most commonly in the presence of *ka*. This is especially common in narratives when the topic subject expressed by a NP in the first clause may be omitted in subsequent clauses (7-20).

(7-20) *Teetee-na   Ø   ka   na~nara,   Ø   ka   noro   ha'apuri,*
     mother-POSS   TAM   RDP~cry   TAM   hear   from.behind

     Ø   ka   rio   keke,   aai!
        TAM   look   sideways   oh
     'Her mother is crying, she hears (something) from behind, she looks sideways and oh!'

After the topic is introduced in a clause, subsequent clauses may contain only the subject marker (7-21), both the subject marker and the TAM marker (7-22) or the TAM marker without the subject marker (7-23).

(7-21) *Ko'e   na   'e   pora   ke,   'e   pora   maani=a   paketi ne.*
     frog   DET   3SG   jump   EMPH   3SG   jump   ABL=3OBJ   parcel DET
     'The frog jumped, it jumped out from the parcel.'

(7-22) *Rikimana   horo'a neke-na   ka   raa   hi   aano…*
     every   day   mother-POSS   TAM   go   to   garden…
     'Every day his mother goes to (the) garden'

     …ma 'e=ka   to'i~to'i   'are   'a-na   Ninikowau   he'eta.
      and 3SG=TAM   HAB~work   thing   BEN-PRS   Ninikowau   always
     'and she always makes things for Ninikowau.'

(7-23) **Ka**   *tautau* *aakau aa-na*   *hanara*   *ha-na*   *mera na.*
       TAM   prepare   BEN-PRS   food   PURP-PRS   child DET
       '(She) prepares food for the child.'

Often speakers would repeat part of the preceding clause before continuing with the story, and the subject is usually omitted in the repeated clause, as in (7-24).

(7-24) *Rikimana*   *horo'a mera keni*   *nena 'e=ka*   *pahe~pahe*
      every   time child woman   DEM 3SG=TAM   HAB~walk

      rao   *ma'asu.*
      IN   forest
      'Always this girl walked in the forest.'

      Ka   *pahe~pahe*   *rao*   *ma'asu.*
      TAM   HAB~walk   IN   forest
      '(She) walked in the forest.

Properties and forms of the pronouns functioning as subject markers are discussed in Chapter 4.

7.2.1.2 Direct and indirect object

Direct objects, nominal and pronominal, directly follow the verb. For discussion on referencing of direct objects see section 5.2.1.2 in Chapter 5.

(7-25) *Pita*   *'e*   *teke-ra'ani=a* [*niu*   *na*].
       Peter   3SG   fall-TR=3OBJ coconut   DET
       'Peter dropped the coconut.'

(7-26) *John*   *'e*   *aariponosi*   [*kira*].
       John   3SG   forget   3PL
       'John forgot them.'

In clauses with ditransitive verbs, the direct object usually occupies the slot directly after the verb and is followed by the indirect object. The indirect objects are expressed by a PP.

(7-27) *Pita*   *'e*   *ka*   *haata'ani=a* [*nima naia*]   [*ha-na*   *Tione*].
       Peter   3SG   TAM   show=3OBJ   house 3SG.POSS   OBL-PRS   John
       'Peter is showing his house to John.'

However, the order of the constituents may be reversed, and the indirect object may come before the direct one:

(7-28) *Pita*   *'e*   *haata'ani=a*   [*ha-na*   *Tione*] [*nima na*].
      Peter   3SG   show=3OBJ   OBL-PRS   John   house   DET
      'Peter showed John the house.'

If the indirect object is pronominal, it usually follows the direct object:

(7-29) *Pita*   *'e*   *haata'ani=a*   [*nima na*]   [*ha-mu*].
      Peter   3SG   show=3OBJ   house DET   OBL-2SG.POSS
      'Peter showed you the house.'

7.2.1.3 Adverbials

'Are'are clauses may contain place (7-30), time (7-31), manner (7-32) or reason (7-33) adverbials. These typically follow the verb and often occur clause-finally:

(7-30) *Hi*   *mera*   *na*   *kira=ka*   *haitatapa*   [*hau*   *kahu*].
      PL   child   DET   3PL=TAM   play   PREP   water
      'The children are playing near the water (over there).'

(7-31) *Na=ka rao*   *roto*   [*ra'ahore'e*].
      1SG=FUT   swim   tomorrow
      'I will swim tomorrow.'

(7-32) *Ka*   *raa*   [*'uriha-na*   *ka*   *weo*].
      TAM   go   like-PRS   TAM   be.tired
      '(He) walks like he is tired.'

(7-33) *'Arai*   *na*   *'e*   *kasu*   [*tama-na*   *rakaraka-ha*].
      mango   DET   3SG   be.rotten   REAS-PRS   be.hot-NMLZ
      'The mango rotted because of the heat.'

Reason adverbials are more commonly clausal and are discussed in Chapter 8.

The subject may be preceded by a temporal expression such as *karahini* 'soon':

(7-34) **Karahini**,   *na=ka*   *siko*   *no'o*.
      soon   1SG=TAM   finish   DM
      'I am going to finish soon.'

The lexeme *karahini* can be used in two different senses. When occuring clause-initially as in the example (7-34) above, it has a temporal reading. It can also occur as a place adverbial in

the sense of 'close, nearby'. In that case it always occurs in the usual place for adverbials, which is following the verb:

(7-35) *Pita   'e=ma   'oni   **karahini**.*
      Peter   3SG=NEG   stay/live   close
      'Peter is not close.' or 'Peter doesn't live nearby.'

Other temporal expressions may occupy the clause-initial slot. When occurring clause-initially, the temporal expressions serve to ground the event in time:

(7-36) *'O   rae   **naaponi**,   Pita   'e   raa   hi   aano…*
      2SG   know   yesterday   Peter   3SG   go   to   garden
      'You know yesterday, Peter went to (the) garden…'

Compare with a sentence where *naaponi* appears in the usual position for time adverbials:

(7-37) *Mane   'e'ewa 'e   raa   **naapon**.*
      man   be.tall 3SG   go   yesterday
      '(The) tall man left yesterday.'

When the temporal expression occurs clause-initially, it is in a displaced position. This is indicated by a pause between the temporal expression and the subject. There is no pause when the temporal expression occupies its usual position.

7.2.1.4 Negation

In negative verbal clauses, the negative particle *ma* is used for non-future. *Ma* always precedes the verb:

(7-38) *Keni   'ene   'e=**ma**   to'o   aa-na   te   mera*
      woman   DEM   3SG=NEG   own   OBL-PRS   IDF   child
      'This woman doesn't have any children.'

To negate a future tense clause, the preverbal negative particle *si* is used:

(7-39) *Pita   'e=**si**   hahi=a   poo   ra'ahore'e.*
      Peter   3SG=NEG.FUT cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ   pig   tomorrow
      'Peter will not cook a pig in the earth oven tomorrow.'

Negative particles are discussed in section 5.3.1.4. and 7.4.1.

7.2.1.5 Situational demonstrative adverbs

The situational demonstrative adverbs, which serve to assert that the state of affairs is indeed as has been stated by the speaker, occur clause-finally. The most commonly used one is *nena*:

(7-40) *Pita   'e   tisa   warita   **nena**.*
      Peter   3SG   teacher   be.old   SIT.DEM
      'Peter used to be a teacher.'

(7-41) *Sisihora   koru   'e   siko   **nena**.*
      story   1PL.INCL   3SG   finish SIT.DEM
      'Our story is finished.'

Situational demonstratives are also discussed in Chapter 4.

7.2.1.6 Clausal complements

A clause may function as a direct object, in which case it directly follows the transitive verb:

(7-42) *Pita   'e   tau=a   [kuki   na   'e   napota].*
      Peter   3SG   do=3OBJ   pot   DET   3SG   be.broken
      'Peter caused/made the pot to break.'

Complex sentences, including those with clausal complements, are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

7.3   Non-verbal clauses/predicates

Nonverbal clauses, where predicates are simply juxtaposed with their subjects without the presence of any verb, are common in 'Are'are. A nonverbal clause is typically formed by a subject and a nominal, locative, possessive or other prepositional predicate. However, it appears that 'Are'are allows non-verbal predicates only in non-future tense; the predicates must contain a verb for future tense. The future tense clauses then have the usual properties of verbal clauses. Negation can be achieved either by the negative particle *ma* or by means of the negative verb *mao* (Negation is discussed in detail in section 7.3.1.). The particle *ka* is not found in non-verbal clauses.

7.3.1   Nominal predicates

As stated above, in non-verbal clauses the subject is juxtaposed with the predicate. In the examples below, the non-verbal predicates are enclosed in the square brackets:

(7-43) *Rata-ku*   [*Margaret*].
      name-1SG.POSS   Margaret
      'My name is Margaret.'

(7-44) *Na*   [*tisa*].
      1SG   teacher
      'I am a teacher.'

(7-45) *Mane   nena   'e   aaraha   nena.*
      man   DEM   3SG   chief   SIT.DEM
      'This man is a chief.'

Identificational predicates follow the same pattern:

(7-46) *'Aikarua   'ee   **'aikarua**   **Pita**   nena.*
      canoe   DEM   canoe   Peter SIT.DEM
      'This is Peter's canoe.'

As in the verbal clauses, the subject marker may be omitted:

(7-47a) *Maria 'e   keni,   Pita   'e   mane.*
      Mary 3SG   woman   Peter   3SG   man
      'Mary is a girl; Peter is a boy.'

(7-47b) *Maria keni, Pita mane.*
      'Mary is a girl; Peter is a boy.'

A clause with nominal predicate may be negated by the particle *ma* (7-48) or by the negative verb *mao* (7-49):

(7-48) *Maria **ma**   mane, Pita **ma**   keni.*
      Mary NEG   man   Peter NEG   woman
      'Mary isn't a boy; Peter isn't a girl.'

(7-49) *Mane   nena   aaraha   **mao** nena.*
      man   DEM   chief   be.not SIT.DEM
      'This man isn't a chief.'

Whilst the non-future tense is unmarked, future is marked by the marker *ka rao* or *si* in negative. However, in future tense clauses a verb is compulsory, both in positive and negative sentences. The translation of the copula *rau*[75] is closer to 'become' than to 'be'.

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[75] *Rau* normally translates as happen, and its transitive version is *raunia* 'control'.

(7-50) *Na=ka*   *paina ma*   *na=ka rao*   ***rau***   *ha-na*   *namo.*
         1SG=TAM   be.big   and   1SG=FUT   become   PURP-PRS   warrior
         'When I grow up, I will be a warrior.'

(7-51) *Na=ka*   *paina ma*   *na=si*   ***rau***   *ha-na*
         1SG=TAM   be.big   and   1SG=FUT.NEG   become   PURP-PRS

         namo.
         warrior
         'When I grow up, I won't be a warrior.'

7.3.2 Prepositional predicates

Prepositional predicates in 'Are'are can express a possession (section 7.2.2.1.), location (section 7.2.2.2.) or other kind of relation (7.2.2.3.). They are headed either by a preposition taking a complement or by an intransitive preposition not requiring a complement (7-64a), (7-64b), (7-65a) and (7-56b).

7.3.2.1 Possessive

Non-verbal predicates are also used to express possession in 'Are'are. In these predicates, the noun-like preposition *aa-na* is used most often:

(7-52) *Nima*   *paina*   *'e*   [*aa-na*   *Pita*].
         house   be.big   3SG   OBL-PRS   Peter
         'Peter has a big house.'

(7-53) *Nima*   *paina*   *'e*   [*aa-ku*].
         house   be.big   3SG   OBL-1SG.POSS
         'I have a big house.'

Negation is possible using the negative verb *mao*:

(7-54) *Nima*   *paina*   *'e*   ***mao***   *aa-ku.*
         house   be.big   3SG   be.not   OBL-1SG.POSS
         'I don't have a big house.'

The negative particle *ma* was never produced with the noun-like preposition in non-verbal possessive predicates by my field consultants. It was considered ungrammatical by my main language consultant:

(7-55) *Nima paina 'e   **ma**   aa-ku.
      house be.big 3SG   NEG   OBL-1SG.POSS
      'I don't have a big house.'

This suggests that possessives have a slightly different status to other PPs, where both *ma* and *mao* are grammatical modes of negation.

The noun-like preposition *'api-na* can also be used in non-verbal predicates. This preposition also expresses possession, albeit of a slightly different kind. *'Api-na* translates into English as 'with, to/towards', and the possession expressed through this preposition has a temporary character. In the following example, the speaker is enquiring as to whether the hearer currently carries any betelnut:

(7-56) *'Are   'api-mu?*
      thing   with-2SG.POSS
      'Do you have any? (generally meaning betelnut in this context)'

The literal tranlation would be '(Is) the thing with you?' The closest structure of this kind in English would be 'Do you have any (money) on you?'

Negation of this construction is possible with the negative verb *mao*:

(7-57) *Te   'are   mao   ('api-ku).*
      IDF   thing be.not (with-2SG-POSS)
      'I don't (have any on me)'

In the answer, the construction *'apiku* can be omitted. The translation would thus be akin to the English 'I don't (have any)'.

7.3.2.2 Locative

Clauses with locative predicates are also formed by juxtaposition of the subject and the predicate. Since the predicate does not contain a verb, the particle *ka* is not present. The square brackets in the examples below enclose the predicates:

(7-58) *'Aikarua   iiwera   'e*[76] [*rao-na   raera na*].
      canoe   be.many   3SG   IN-PRS   lagoon DET
      'There are many canoes in the lagoon.'

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[76] *'E* is a 3sg subject marker, but it is often used for plural referents, especially if they can be understood to form a group.

(7-59) *Hi   mera   kira   [rao-na   nima].*
PL   child   3PL   IN-PRS   house
'The children are in the house.'

(7-60) *Pita   'e   [wau   nima].*
Peter   3SG   over.there   house
'Peter is in the house (over there).'

Locative predicates may be headed by an intransitive preposition:

(7-61) *Manu   koko'ara   [taita'auru].*
bird   be.yellow   up.there
'There is a yellow bird up there.'

It is also possible to use both the prepostional phrase and the absolute location expression in one predicate:

(7-62) *Rato   'e   [rao-na   raraaa   ta'au].*
sun   3SG   IN-PRS   sky   up
'The sun is up in the sky.'

As in the verbal predicates, non-future is unmarked (7-63), also above.

(7-63) *Pita   'e   [rao-na   nima   naapon].*
Peter   3SG   IN-PRS   house   yesterday
'Peter was in the house yesterday.'

Clauses with locative predicates can be negated by the particle *ma* or the negative verb *mao*. There does not seem to be any difference to the meaning:

(7-64a) *Pita   'e=**ma**   ha'itau.*
Peter   3SG=NEG   far
'Peter is not far.'

(7-64b) *Pita   'e   **mao**   ha'itau.*
Peter   3SG   be.not   far
'Peter is not far.'

(7-65a) *Pita   'e=**ma**   karahini.*
Peter   3SG=NEG   nearby
'Peter is not close.'

(7-65b) *Pita*   *'e*   **mao**   *karahini.*
        Peter   3SG   be.not   nearby
        'Peter is not close.'

(7-66a) *Pita*   *'e=**ma***   *rao-na*   *nima.*
        Peter   3SG=NEG   IN-PRS   house
        'Peter is not in (the) house.'

(7-66b) *Pita*   *'e*   **mao**   *rao-na*   *nima.*
        Peter   3SG   be.not   IN-PRS   house
        'Peter is not in (the) house.'

Similarly to the nominal predicates, locatives require a copular verb for future tense. The verb *'oni* is used with locative predicates. This verb can also function as a full lexical verb with the meaning 'stay' or 'live'. Positive future is marked by the particle *ka rao*, negative future by the particle *si*. Sentences in future tense without a copular verb are ungrammatical (7-70).

(7-67) *Iiora*   *'e=[**ka rao**   *'oni*   *wau*   *kahu*   *ra'ahore'e*].
      canoe   3SG=FUT   stay   over.there   water   tomorrow
      'The canoe will be on/in the water tomorrow.'

(7-68) *Pita=[**ka rao**   *'oni*   *rao-na*   *nima*   *ra'ahore'e*].
      Peter=FUT   stay   IN-PRS   house   tomorrow
      'Peter will be in the house tomorrow.'

(7-69) *Hi*   *mera*   *kira=[**si**   *'oni*   *rao-na*   *nima*   *ra'ahore'e*].
      PL   child   3PL=NEG.FUT   stay   IN-PRS   house   tomorrow
      'The children won't be in the house tomorrow.'

compare

(7-70) **Pita*   *'e=[**si**   Ø   *rao-na*   *nima*   *ra'ahore'e*].
        Peter   3SG=NEG-FUT   IN-PRS   house   tomorrow
        'Peter will not be in the house tomorrow.'

Whilst the language consultants did produce locatives in clauses with non-future tense without any verbal element and the non-verbal clauses with locative predicates were judged perfectly acceptable by the speakers, it seems that there is a strong preference for locative predicates to be verbal rather than non-verbal. While the nominal predicates are only used with a copular verb in future tense, the locative predicates can contain the copula *'oni* in non-future tense as well:

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(7-71) *Wau 'aikarua na kira ['oni rua-na kahu]*.
   PL   canoe   DET 3PL stay on.top-PRS water
   'The canoes are on the water.' (right now)

(7-72) *Iiora 'e ['oni wau kahu naapon]*.
   canoe 3SG stay over.there water yesterday
   'The canoe was on/in the water yesterday.'

(7-73) *Hanara 'e=[ma 'oni rao-na ma'ima'i naaponi]*.
   food   3SG=NEG stay IN-PRS basket yesterday
   'The food was not in the basket yesterday.'

The following examples illustrate the different uses of the verb *'oni*; as a full verb meaning to live or stay (7-74) and as a copula (7-75). Usually, the meaning is clear from the context, although in some cases the sentence allows for an ambiguous interpretation where both 'be' and 'live' are possible candidates (7-76).

(7-74) *'O 'oni taihai?*
   2SG live where
   'Where do you live?' (permanently)

(7-75) *Hanara 'e 'oni ke?*
   food   3SG stay EMPH
   'Is there any food?'

(7-76) *Pita 'e=ma 'oni ha'itau.*
   Peter 3SG=NEG stay far
   'Peter is not far.' or 'Peter doesn't live far.'

7.3.2.3 Other prepositional predicates

Other prepositions, not expressing a location or possession, can also appear as the head of a non-verbal predicate:

(7-77) *Sisihora 'ee 'e [so'o-na Warutahana]*.
   story   DEM 3SG about-PRS Warutahana
   'This story is about Warutahana (an eight-foot long snake spirit).'

Prepositional predicates can be negated using either the negative particle *ma* or the negative verb *mao*:

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(7-78a) *Sisihora*   *'ai'ee*   *'e=**ma***   *so'o-na*   *ko'e,*   *'e*   *so'o-na*
          story   DEM.PROX   3SG=NEG   about-PRS   frog   3SG   about-PRS

          'ao.
          heron
          'This story is not about a frog; it is about a heron.'

(7-78b) *Sisihora*   *'ai'ee*   *'e*   ***mao***   *so'o-na*   *ko'e,*   *'e*   *so'o-na*
          story   DEM.PROX   3SG   be.not   about-PRS   frog   3SG   about-PRS

          'ao.
          heron
          'This story is not about a frog; it is about a heron.'

7.4   Pragmatically marked structures

7.4.1   Clausal negation

'Are'are uses several different negative particles, the use of which reflects the tense distinction future/non-future and also a negative verb. Table 7.1 shows the various negative elements used in 'Are'are:

Function	Form			
	Particles			**Verb**
	ma	*si*	*man(i)*	*mao*
Verbal predicate negation non-future	+			
Verbal predicate negation future		+		
Non-verbal predicate negation non-future	+			+
Negative imperative non-future			+	
Negative imperative future		+		
No!				+

Table 7.1 Negation in 'Are'are

The negative particles always immediately precede the verb and take the form *ma*, *si* or *man(i[77])*. The negative verb *mao* can occupy several positions in the clause, see below.

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[77] It is possible that *man(i)* is a fossilised phrase, perhaps originally a combination of ma and another element, but this is only a speculation at this point.

7.4.1.1 The negative particle *ma*

To negate clauses expressing states, events and actions that happened in the past or are in progress, the negative particle *ma* is used (most commonly with verbal predicates). This particle is used for stative as well as active verbs:

(7-79) *Pita*   *'e=**ma***   *haata'ani=a*   *nima*   *naia*   *ha-na*   *John.*
       Peter   3SG=NEG   show=3OBJ   house   3SG.POSS   PURP-PRS   John
       'Peter didn't show his house to John.'

(7-80) *Mane*   *'ewau*   *'e=ka=**ma***   *weo.*
       man   DEM   3SG=TAM=NEG   be.tired
       'That man is not tired.'

(7-81) *Kahu*   *na*   *'e=ka=**ma***   *sisiu'a.*
       water   DET   3SG=TAM=NEG   be.cold
       'The water isn't cold.'

(7-82) *Pita*   *'e=ka=**ma***   *raa*   *hi*   *Wairokai.*
       Peter   3SG=TAM=NEG   go   to   W.
       'Peter isn't going to Wairokai.'

The particle *ma* can also be used to negate a non-verbal predicate. In that case it also immediately precedes the predicate:

(7-83) *Iinaia*   *'e=**ma***   *hahone-ku.*
       3SG   3SG= NEG   sister-1SG.POSS
       'She is not my sister.'

7.4.1.2 The negative particle *si*

Negation of clauses expressing events that are yet to happen, both declarative and prohibitive, use the particle *si.* This particle occupies the same slot as *ma*, that is immediately preceding the verb:

(7-84) *Hurahura*   *na*   *'e=**si***   *kapa,*   *hurahura*   *mauri*   *nena.*
       spring   DET   3SG=NEG.FUT   dry.up   spring   live   SIT.DEM
       'The spring will not dry up; it is a living spring.'

(7-85) *Na=**si***   *wate=a*   *hanara*   *aa-na*   *John.*
       1SG=NEG.FUT   give=3OBJ   food   OBL-PRS   John
       'I won't give food to John.'

(7-86) *'O=**si***   *tau=a!*
     2SG=NEG.FUT   do=3OBJ
     'Don't do it!'

7.4.1.3 The negative particle man(i)

Non-future prohibitives use the negative *man(i)*. This particle is used in imperatives aiming to stop an action that is already in progress, and occupies the same position as *ma* and *si*, immediately before the verb. The forms *man* and *mani* were produced by the speakers. Since both forms were produced in the same context and without any change of meaning, I conclude that they are allomorphs. This analysis is further supported by the fact that high vowels are commonly deleted in fast speech when occuring word-finally in 'Are'are, especially in function words (see Chapter 2).

(7-87a) *Pita,*   ***man***   *masi!*
     Pita   NEG   laugh
     'Peter, stop laughing!'

(7-87b) *Pita,* ***mani*** *masi!*
     'Peter, stop laughing!'

(7-88a) *Hi*   *mera,* *'au*   ***man***   *roto,* *pa'ewa*   *rao*   *aasi!*
     PL   child 2PL   NEG   swim   shark   IN   sea
     'You kids, stop swimming, there is a shark in the sea!'

(7-88b) *Hi mera, 'au* ***mani*** *roto, pa'ewa rao aasi!*
     'You kids, stop swimming, there is a shark in the sea!'

7.4.1.4 The negative verb mao

Mao is commonly used to negate clauses whose predicates are non-verbal in positive. Unlike the particle *ma*, which always precedes the verb or the non-verbal predicate, *mao* can appear in different positions in the clause. As illustrated by the examples below, *mao* can occupy the position before the non-verbal predicate (7-89), (7-90) or after it (7-91), (7-92).

(7-89) *Iiora*   *'e*   ***mao***   *wau*   *kahu*   *naapon.*
     canoe   3SG   be.not PREP   water   yesterday
     '(The) canoe wasn't on the water yesterday.'

(7-90) *Te   nima   'e   **mao**   aa-ku.*
      IDF   house   3SG   be.not   OBL-1SG.POSS
      'I don't have a house.'

(7-91) *'Aikarua   'ee   'e   'aikarua   Pita   **mao**.*
      canoe   DEM   3SG   canoe   Peter   be.not
      'This isn't Peter's canoe.'

(7-92) *Mane   nena   aaraha   **mao**   nena.*
      man   DEM   chief   be.not   SIT.DEM
      'That man is not a chief.'

When negating locative predicates and possessive predicates formed by the etymon *aa-na*, *mao* precedes the predicate, but when negating nominal predicates and identificational constructions, *mao* follows the predicate second noun phrase.

The negative verb *mao* cannot be used to negate a verbal predicate. Compare the following two examples:

(7-93a) *Hi   mane   iiwera   kira   **ma**   raa.*
      PL   man   be.many   3PL   NEG   go
      'Many people didn't go.'

(7-93b) * *Hi mane iiwera kira raa **mao**.*
      'Many people didn't go.'

Mao, but not *ma*, can function in elliptical constructions:

(7-94a) *'O   ko   mahea?*
      2SG   TAM   be.hungry
      'Are you hungry?'

(7-94b) ***Mao**.*
      be.not
      'No.'

(7-94c) * *Ma.*
      'No'

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(7-95) *'Aikarua*   *na*   *'e*   *rahu'a,*   *mo'are*   *ka rao ko'u*
       canoe   DET   3SG   be.old   either   FUT   sink

     moa   *'e*   **mao**.
     or   3SG   be.not
     'This canoe is old; maybe it will sink or maybe it won't.'

The following table illustrates the distribution of the negative verb *mao* compared with the distribution of the negative particle *ma*.

Type of predicate	Position of *mao*	Example	Possible with *ma*?
Verb	N/A	N/A	Yes, routinely used to negate verbs: *Pita 'e **ma** raa.* 'Peter didn't go.'
Nominal	after predicate	*Mane nena <u>aaraha</u> **mao** nena.* 'That man isn't a chief.'	Yes *Mane nena mane 'e **ma** <u>aaraha</u> nena.* 'That man isn't a chief.'
Locative	before predicate	*Pita 'e **mao** <u>karahini</u>.* 'Peter is not closeby.'	Yes *Pita 'e **ma** <u>karahini</u>.* 'Peter is not closeby.'
Possessive PP	before predicate	*Nima paina 'e **mao** <u>aaku</u>.* 'I don't have a big house.'	No, only verbal: *Na **ma** <u>to'o aana te mera</u>.* 'I don't have any children.' **Nima paina 'e **ma** aaku.* 'I don't have a big house.'
Other PP constructions	before predicate	*Sisihora 'ai'ee 'e **mao** <u>so'ona ko'e</u>.* 'This story is not about a frog.'	Yes *Sisihora 'ai'ee 'e **ma** <u>so'ona ko'e</u>.* 'This story is not about a frog.'
Identificational constructions	after predicate	*'Aikarua 'ee 'e <u>'aikarua Pita</u>* ***mao***. 'That canoe is not Peter's.'	No examples attested in my data
Eliptical constructions		*'O ko mahea?* 'Are you hungry?' *Mao.* 'No.'	No

Table 7.2 Distribution of the negative verb *mao*

7.4.1.5 The identifier te and negation

The identifier *te* is used as a prenominal modifier. It can also correspond to English 'any' in negative sentences. When the negative particle *ma* or *si* or the negative verb *mao* are present, *te* has a negative interpretation:

(7-96) **Te**   *wa'a-mu*   *'e*   ***mao***   *aa-mu.*
       IDF   brother-2SG.POSS   3SG   be.not OBL-2SG.POSS
       'You don't have any brothers.'

(7-97) **Te**   *'are*   *'e=**ma***   *'oni*   *rao-na*   *manata-ku.*
       IDF   thing 3SG=NEG   stay   IN-PRS   mind-1SG.POSS
       'I don't know anything.' (Lit. 'Anything isn't in my mind.')

(7-98) *Na=**ma***   *to'o*   *aa-na*   ***te***   *nima* *warita.*
       1SG=NEG   own   OBL-PRS   IDF   house be.old
       'I didn't own any house / I didn't use to own any house.'

(7-99) *Pita*   *'e=**si***   *tisa*   ***te***   *horo'a* *no'o.*
       Peter   3SG=NEG.FUT teach   IDF   time   DM
       'Peter will not be a teacher.'

7.4.2 Interrogatives

7.4.2.1 Polar interrogatives (yes/no questions)

Polar interrogatives, that is interrogatives to which the answer is yes or no, are distinguished from declaratives only by the rising intonation; there is no change to the word order. Compare the two following examples, where the intonation in (7-100a) is falling, whilst the intonation in (7-100b) is rising. The symbol \ marks falling intonation contour, the raising intonation contour is marked by the sign /:

(7-100a) *Pita*   *'e*   *\'ewa.*
        Peter   3SG   be.tall
        'Peter is tall.'

(7-100b) *Pita*   *'e*   */'ewa?*
        Peter   3SG   be.tall
        'Is Peter tall?'

The lexeme *'uria* can be used to introduce polar interrogatives. I am not sure what lexical category *'uria* is; it is quite possible that it is a verb. Sentences containing a clause-initial *'uria* may be best translated as 'Is it so that…?',

(7-101) *'Uria Pita   'e   'ewa?*
      be.so Peter 3SG   be.tall
      'Is Peter tall?' (Is it that Peter is tall?)

(7-102) *'Uria Pita   tisa   nena?*
      be.so Peter teacher   SIT.DEM
      'Was Peter a teacher?'

The lexeme *'uria* can also introduce an embedded question, see section 8.2.3.1.1 in Chapter 8.

7.4.2.2 Content interrogatives

Several different lexemes act as the counterparts of English *wh*-words and can be used to ask about the identity of a person or an object, place or about a reason. Table 7.3 below lists the interrogative lexemes in 'Are'are.

Interrogative word	Meaning
aatei	who, whose
'aitaa / iitaa	what
tama-na iitaa	why
'utaa	how, which
horo'a 'utaa	when
taihai	where (location)
maanihai	where from
hiihai	where to (direction)
hita	how many

Table 7.3 Interrogative lexemes in 'Are'are

7.4.2.2.1 Aatei

Aatei 'who' can be used enquire about the identity of a person:

(7-103) **Aatei** *'e   to'i=a   'aikarua   na?*
      who 3SG   build=3OBJ   canoe   DET
      'Who made the canoe?'

Answer:

(7-104) *Pita   'e   to'i=a   'aikarua   na.*
       Peter 3SG   build=3OBJ   canoe   DET
       'Peter made the canoe.'

The lexeme *aatei* is also used when enquiring about a possessor:

(7-105) *Nima* **aatei** *nena wau?*
       house who   DEM.DIST
       'Whose house is that?

Answer:

(7-106) *Nima   Pita   nena wau.*
       house Peter   DEM.DIST
       'That's Peter's house over there.'

(7-107) *Rata-mu*   **aatei***?*
       name-2SG.POSS   who
       'What is your name?'

(7-108) **Aatei** *nena?*
       who   DEM
       'Who is it?'

As seen from the above examples, the word order in content interrogatives enquiring about the subject or its possessor is the same as in the corresponding declarative. The main marker of the difference is the question word. However there is a difference in the intonation contour raising in the interrogatives and falling in the declaratives.

7.4.2.2.2   *'Aitaa/iitaa*

'Aitaa, or its dialectal variant *iitaa* 'what', is used to enquire about the identity of an object or an animate other than human. Typically the question word appears clause-initially. Note that the verb still appears with the object clitic.

(7-109a) [**Iitaa**]   *'o   hahi=a   nena?*
        what   2SG   cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ   SIT.DEM
        'What did you cook in the earth oven?'

(7-109b) *Hi   keni   na   kira   hahi=a*   [*poo   na*].
 PL   woman   DET   3PL   cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ   pig   DET
        'The women cooked the pig in the earth oven.'

(7-110a) [*'Aitaa*]   *'au   tau=a   me'etani   na?*
          what   2PL   do=3OBJ   night   DET
          'What did you do at night?'

(7-110b) *'Are   nena   'e   tau=a   ['o=ko   ma'ahini*].
          thing   DEM   3SG   do=3OBJ   2SG=TAM   scratch
          'That thing makes you scratch. (e.g. a skin irritating plant)'

(7-111) *'Aitaa paina-ha   'o   na?*
         what   be.big-NMLZ   2SG   DET
         'What is your rank?' (When asking about a position in a tribe)

The above question could also be expressed as:

(7-112) *Painaha 'o na 'aitaa?*
         'What is your rank?'[78]

7.4.2.2.3 *Tama-na iitaa*

To enquire about a reason, the noun-like preposition *tama-na* is used together with *iitaa* in contexts where English would use 'why':

(7-113) *'E   mae   tama-na   **iitaa**?*
         3SG   die   REAS-PRS   what
         'Why did he die? (Literally: He died because of what?)'

(7-114) *'E   mae   tama-na   hanara.*
         3SG   die   REAS-PRS   food
         'He died because of food (it was bad, off).'

Again, the word order in the interrogative sentence is the same as in the declarative, but with a difference is in the raising (interrogative) versus falling (declarative) intonation contour.

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[78] Note that in both (7-122) and (7-123) the subject marker *'e* may optionally appear, following *'aitaa* and *painaha* respectively.

The lexeme *'utaa* can be translated in different ways, depending on the context:

(7-115) *Manata-mu   'e   'utaa?*
          mind-2SG.POSS   3SG   how/which
          'What do you think? (Lit. How/which is your mind?)'

(7-116) *'Utaa no'o,   hoe-ku?*
           how   now   friend-1SG.POSS
          'How are you, my friend?'

(7-117) *Kapu 'utaa   'o=ko   ko'u   maani=a?*
          cup   which   2SG=TAM   drink   ABL=3OBJ
          'Which cup are you drinking from?'

The examples in (7-115) and (7-116) are structurally different from (7-117), as in (7-117) the lexeme *'utaa* modifies the noun *kapu* 'cup'. It is thus part of the noun phrase *kapu 'utaa* 'which cup' functioning as the subject of the sentence.

7.4.2.2.5 Horo'a 'utaa

The expression *horo'a 'utaa* is used to enquire about time and corresponds to English 'when'. It can occupy a clause-initial (7-118) or a clause-final position (7-119):

(7-118) *Horo'a   'utaa Pita   'e   raa?*
          time   which Peter   3SG   go
          'When did Peter go?'

(7-119) *Pita   'e   raa   horo'a 'utaa?*
          Peter 3SG   go   time   which
          'When did Peter go?'

7.4.2.2.6 Taihai

To enquire about a location of something or somene, the lexeme *taihai* is used. It appears that *taihai* is a compound of *tai* and *hai*, but it is difficult to establish the exact meaning of the individual morphemes at this point. The morpheme *hai* is the one that is present in all interrogative words regarding location/direction.

(7-120) *Hote*   *na*   *'e*   **taihai***?*
    paddle   DET 3SG where
    'Where is the paddle?'

(7-121) **Taihai** *'o* *raa* *maani=a* *na?*
    where   2SG go   ABL=3OBJ DET
    'Where did you come from?'

7.4.2.2.7 Maanihai

Maanihai also seems to be a compound. *Maani-* is a verb-like preposition meaning 'from'. This compound is used to enquire about a location in terms of a starting point of a journey for example:

(7-122) *'O* *raa* **maanihai***?*
    2SG go from.where
    'Where did you come from?'

Note that (7-121) is synonymous with (7-122).

7.4.2.2.8 Hiihai

As the above location/direction question words, *hiihai* is also a compound. Its composition is possibly the locative preposition *hi* and the morpheme *hai*. It is used to enquire about a destination:

(7-123) *'O=ko* *raa* **hiihai***?*
    2SG=TAM go where.to
    'Where are you going?'

7.4.2.2.9 Hita

Hita is used to enquire about the number of referents expressed by a count noun:

(7-124) **Hita** *wa'a-mu* *'e* *aa-mu* *na?*
    how.many brother-2SG.POSS 3SG OBL-2SG.POSS DET
    'How many brothers do you have?'

The use of *hita* is discussed in detail in section 4.3.1.7 in Chapter 4.

7.4.3 Imperatives

Payne (1997:303) describes imperatives as "verb forms or construction types that are used to directly command the adressees to perform some action". In König and Siemund's description, imperative sentences express directive speech acts, such as commands, orders, requests, but also include warnings and advice (2007). Payne as well as König and Siegmund note that imperatives are typically understood to refer to a second person subject.

7.4.3.1 Positive imperatives

Positive imperatives with second singular person subjects are most commonly formed by the verb only:

(7-125) *Na'a!*
       speak
       'Speak'!

(7-126) *Raa   mai!*
       go   AND
       'Come here!'

The presence of the subject pronoun is not ungrammatical; however, usually it appears with overt 2sg subjects only for emphasis or to distinguish an individual from others:

(7-127) *'O   rio   mai!*
       2SG look   AND
       'Look here (you)!'

It is also possible to use imperatives with vocatives:

(7-128) *Pita, pooruru!*
       Peter kneel
       'Peter, kneel down!'

7.4.3.2 Negative imperatives: Prohibitives

Prohibitives are negative imperatives, used to stop actions that are already in progres, or to prevent actions that are about to happen. As stated above in section 7.3.1.2., 'Are'are uses different negative particles for non-future and future tense prohibitives.

To stop action, the negative particle *man(i)* is used:

(7-129) *'Au*   **mani**   *hara=a*   *potete!*
       2PL   NEG   wash=3OBJ   potato
       'Stop washing the potatoes!'

To prevent an action from being carried out, the negative particle *si* is used:

(7-130) *'O=si*   *hanari-poo!*[79]
       2SG=NEG   eat-pork
       'Don't eat pork!'

It is not possible to omit the subject marker when *si* is used in prohibitives, as *si* cannot appear clause-initially. This rule does not apply to *man(i)*:

(7-131) **Man**   *na'a!*
       NEG   talk
       'Stop talking!'

7.4.3.3 Hortatives (first person imperatives)

Hortatives urge or encourage a group that includes the speaker to do something. The verb follows the subject marker and the particle *ka*. The 1pl inclusive subject marker *koru* and the particle *ka* are commonly fused into *kouka*:

(7-132) *Kou=ka*   *'ani=a*   *poo*   *na!*
       1PL.INCL=TAM   eat=3OBJ   pig   DET
       'Let's eat the pig!'

Note that the above sentence in (7-132) could also be translated as 'We are eating the pig.' or 'We are just about to eat the pig.' The various meanings would be distinguished by different intonation patterns.

7.4.4 Topicalisation (left-dislocation)

Dislocation is a term refering to "the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause" (Payne, 1997:273). The dislocated element is adjoined to the clause at a higher level but occupies a constituent structure position (TOPIC) that stands outside of the clause (Payne, 1997). Foley (2007) distinguishes between *left-dislocation*, where there is

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[79] *Hanari=a* is normally a transitive verb that compulsorily occurs with the object clitic *=a*. The absence of the object clitic in this sentence is due to object incorporation. The prohibitive refers to eating pigs in general, i.e. eating pork, as opposed to eating a specific pig. Compare with example (7-132).

a pronominal element in the clause refering to the topic NP, and *topicalisation*, where this pronominal element is not present. The fronted element is however called topic in both cases. In 'Are'are, subject, objects and other elements may occupy the TOPIC position at the left periphery. There is usually a slight pause following the topicalised element. Following Foley's terminology, 'Are'are employs left-dislocation more than topicalisation as in most cases the fronted elements are coreferenced in the clause, either by a pronominal subject marker (7-133) and (7-134), by a pronominal object clitic (7-135) and (7-136) or by a suffix (7-137).

I consider 'Are'are subjects to be default topics. In (7-133), the topic NP *Pita* is followed by the strong subject pronoun:

(7-133) [*Pita*]TOP   *iinaia*   *'e=ma*   *tisa*   *nena.*
           P.   3SG   3SG=NEG   teacher   SIT.DEM
           'Peter is not a teacher.' (Lit. 'Peter, he is not a teacher.')

(7-134) [*Hi keni na*]TOP   *kira*   *hahi=a*   *poo*   *na.*
           PL woman DET   3PL   cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ   pig   DET
           'The women cooked the pig in the earth oven.' (Lit. 'The women, they cooked the pig in the earth oven.')

The object can also be topicalised and dislocated. The verb appears with the object clitic as it would if the object was following the verb:

(7-135) [*Niu*   *na*]TOP   *kira*   *kaka=a*   *aa-na*   *hakesi.*
           coconut   DET   3PL   split=3OBJ   OBL-PRS   axe
           'The coconut, they split it with an axe.'

(7-136) [*'Aikarua*   *na*]TOP   *suna*   *'e*   *'ani=a.*
           canoe   DET   fire   3SG   consume=3OBJ
           'The canoe was consumed by the fire.' (Lit. 'The canoe, fire consumed it.')

Note that in example (7-135), *kira* does not refer to the coconut (which is singular) but to the people who split it. Again, there would be a short pause following the topicalised NP.

Elements other than subjects and objects can be topicalised. In the following example, the dislocated expression *Pita* is coreferential with the object of the oblique preposition.

(7-137) [*Pita*]TOP   *te iiora*   *'e=si*   *'oni*   *aa-na.*
           Peter   IDF canoe   3SG=NEG.FUT stay   OBL-PRS
           'Peter will not have a canoe.' (Lit. Peter, any canoe will not stay with him.)

When the topicalised element is plural, the preposition plus clitic is followed by the relevant plural pronoun:

(7-138) [*Wau mane wau'ee*]TOP   *'aikarua*   ***aa-na***   ***kira.***
   PL   man   DEM.DIST   canoe   OBL-PRS   3PL
   'The men over there have a canoe.'

In (7-139), the topic *ta'aa iiwera* 'many people' is not coreferential with an argument in the clause, but rather with the possessor of a noun:

(7-139) [*Ta'aa*   *iiwera*]TOP   *rae-na*[80] *kira*   *mao*
   people   be.many   being-PRS 3PL   be.not

   ha-na   *mauri-ha*   *wau*   *Honiara.*
   OBL-PRS   live-NMLZ   PREP   H.
   'Many people do not want to live in Honiara.'

Similarly in (7-140), *Pita* is the topic but not coreferential with an argument in the (second) clause:

(7-140) [*Pita*]TOP   *horo'a 'e*   *masika*   *na,*   *rape-na*   *'e*   *ma*
   Peter   time   3SG   be.small   DET   body-POSS   3SG   NEG

   paina.
   be.big
   'When Peter was small/young, his body wasn't big.'

7.4.5 Discourse markers

'Are'are uses a range of discourse markers. Some of the lexemes used as discourse markers have other functions as well. It is also possible to use more than one discourse marker in a sentence. Where there is an English translation equivalent used in a similar situation, an English gloss is used, otherwise the discourse markers are glossed as DM. Table 7.4 shows the discourse markers attested in my data.

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[80] *Rae-na* literally means 'his/her liver', but apart from its literal meaning it is also used to refer to one's essence of being, in expressing for example emotions, in a similar way to 'heart' in English.

Form	Usage
haia	Greetings, okay, so
ha'ania	Used in a similar way to English 'like', filler
'urihana	Used in a similar way to English 'like', filler
nena	Situational demonstrative adverb, used to affirm that the state of affairs is indeed such as stated
nena ma	Endophoric demonstrative, used in narratives as 'and then'
no'o	Intensifier
ru'u	Intensifier

Table 7.4 Discourse markers in 'Are'are

7.4.5.1 Haia

Haia is used in greetings, both when meeting and when parting with someone.

(7-141) *Haia!*
    'Hello!' or 'Goodbye!' or 'Okay'

It is also used as a discourse marker at the beginning of a speech and narratives:

(7-142) ***Haia***, *na=ka*   *iiri=a*   *sisihora*   *'ai'e*   *so'o-na*
     okay   1SG=TAM   tell=3OBJ   story   DEM.PROX   about-PRS

     ko'e.
     frog
     'Okay, I am going to tell this story about a frog. '

(7-143) ***Haia***, ***ha'ania***   *te horo'a*   *maa*   *na*   *'e*   *'oni~'oni*   *ma…*
     so   DM   once   snake   DET   3SG   HAB~live   and
     'So, …once upon a time, there lived the snake and…'

Haia is also frequently used to link different parts of a narrative, in pretty much the same way an English speaker would use 'okay' to mark an end of one part of a narrative before moving onto the next one, or to fill a gap in speech when hesitating or gathering thoughts.

7.4.5.2 Ha'ania

The lexeme *ha'ania* has several different functions in 'Are'are. Commonly it is used as a verb-like preposition meaning 'with'. When used as a discourse marker, *ha'ania* is most often used as a filler, similar to English 'like'. Often there is a short pause before and after *ha'ania*. Speakers differ in how frequently they tend to use *ha'ania* in this context.

(7-144) *Totoraha*   *aa-na*   *'Are'are*   **ha'ania**
         custom   OBL-PRS   'Are'are   …ehm…

         'e   *aapu,* *'e*   *aapu* *ha-na*   *maihana*
         3SG   taboo 3SG   taboo PURP-PRS in-law
         'According to the custom of 'Are'are, it is forbidden…it is forbidden for an inlaw…'

7.4.5.3 'Urihana

'Urihana has the closest translation equivalent in the English 'like'. It can be used in comparison, likening one thing to another:

(7-145) *Oki'okira-ha*   *kui*   *na*   *'e*   **'urihana**   *laione*.
         be.strong-NMLZ   dog   DET   3SG   like   lion
         'The dog is strong as a lion.' (Lit. The dog's strength is like a lion.')

However, *'urihana* is used in contexts where no comparison is mentioned, and clearly has at least one other function. In the following example (7-146), the closest translation is again the English 'like', and *'urihana* is used in a similar way as the English discourse marker 'like'.

(7-146) *Nena ma*   **'urihana**   *'e=ka*   *nara* *no'o* *nena…*
         and then   DM   3SG=TAM   cry   DM   SIT.DEM
         'And then …like…she is crying…'

(7-147) *'E*   *wa'i=a*   *maa*   *na*   *nena ma*   **'urihana**
         3SG   kill=3OBJ   snake DET   and then   DM

         iinaia *'e*   *hua=a*   *no'o* *mera* *naia…*
         3SG 3SG   carry=3OBJ   DM   child 3SG.POSS
         'He killed the snake and then…he, he carried his child….'

Similarly to *ha'ania*, there is a great deal of variation between speakers in frequency of the use of *'urihana* as a discourse marker.

7.4.5.4 No'o

No'o is used in several different functions: a) as a perfective marker (7-148), b) as an adverb meaning 'now' (7-149), including its function as a temporal reference in narratives to refer to a particular point in time in the story when something happens, which could be translated as 'at that time'. (7-150).

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(7-148) *Na   hura   **no'o**.*
      1SG   arrive PFV
      'I have arrived.'

(7-149) *Na=ka   tahi   **no'o**.*
      1SG=TAM   leave now
      'I am leaving now.'

(7-150) *Rua   mera   na   ka   huta   aa-na   kiraurua   **no'o**.*
      two   child DET   TAM   be.born   OBL-PRS   3DU   DM
      'Two children were born to the two of them at that time.'

For more discussion about *no'o* functioning as an adverb, see also Chapter 3.

Apart from being a time adverb, *no'o* has other functions which are not completely understood at this moment.

It is used in a construction meaning 'How are you?', 'How is it going?':

(7-151) *'Utaa   **no'o**?*
      how   DM
      'How are you?'

(7-152) *Raa-ha   'au   nena   'e   'utaa   **no'o**?*
      go-NMLZ   2PL   DEM   3SG   how   DM
      'How was your trip?'

It seems to act as an emphasis marker:

(7-153) *Pita   **no'o**   ne   'e   'ewa   rika'a.*
      Peter DM   DET   3SG   be.tall very
      'Peter is the tallest one.'

Note that this is not the usual expression of superlative.

In the following example, *no'o* serves to stress that the woman is the one doing all the work. This is also emphasised by the use of the strong pronoun *iinaia* instead of the 3sg subject marker *'e* which would be more common in this context. These instances of *no'o* are stressed, and there is a slight pause following them.

(7-154) *Iinaia ha-na*   *tau*   *aa-na*   *rikimana*   *aarau nima* ***no'o***,
            3SG   PURP-PRS   do   OBL-PRS   every   chore? house   DM

            iinaia ha-na   *raa-ha*   *hi*   *aano* ***no'o***
            3SG   PURP-PRS   go-NMLZ   to   garden DM

            iinaia ha-na   *kuki-ha*   ***no'o***   *ma…*
            3SG   PURP-PRS   cook-NMLZ   DM   and…
            'She does all the chores in the house, she goes to the garden, she cooks and…'

The extent of possible uses for *no'o* is not exactly known at this time, and its detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this work.

7.4.5.5 Ru'u

Ru'u literally means 'again' but often it is used in other senses. In the following examples, *ru'u* seems to add emphasis:

(7-155) *Pita*   *'e=ma*   *rau*   *ha-na*   *tisa*   ***ru'u***.
            Peter   3SG=NEG   become   PURP-PRS   teacher   DM
            'Peter didn't become a teacher.'

(7-156) *'Aru*   *'oni~'oni*   ***ru'u***,   *na=ka*   *raa*   *no'o*.
            2PL   INTS~stay   DM   1SG=TAM   go   now
            'You two stay, I am going now.'

8 Complex constructions (clause combinations)

This chapter discusses complex constructions in 'Are'are involving combinations of two verbs. The following scale, adapted from Payne (1997:307), illustrates the different degrees of grammatical integration between the two verbs in various types of complex constructions:

Two separate clauses	Coordi-nation	Relative clauses	Adverbial clauses	Complement clauses	Serial verbs	One clause

No grammatical integration

High grammatical integration
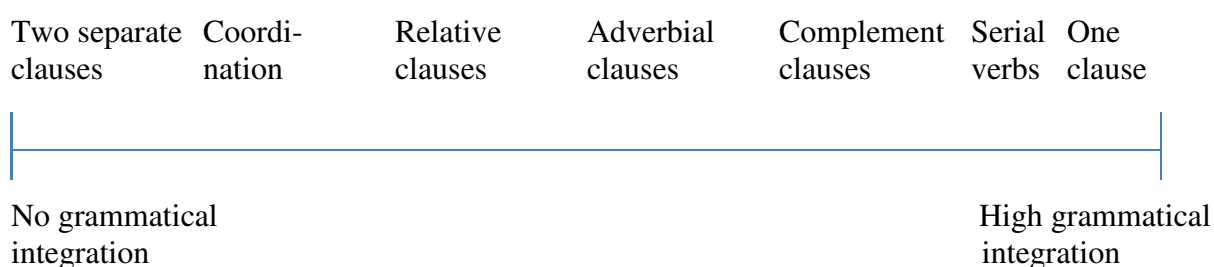
Figure 4 Grammatical integration of verbs

Coordination represents the lowest degree of integration of two verbs in one sentence as it involves two clauses that are not dependent on each other. In serial verb constructions, which are on the opposite end of the scale, the integration between the two verbs is very high as the verbs act as one verbal unit and these constructions can, in fact, be considered to represent a particular type of a single clause. Relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses are all types of subordinated (or dependent) constructions, as these clauses are dependent on the main clause.

The present chapter is structured as follows: section 8.1. discusses coordination (8.1.1. conjunctive, 8.1.2. disjunctive, 8.1.3. adversative, 8.1.4. causal), section 8.2. deals with subordination (8.2.1. relative clauses, 8.2.2. adverbial clauses, 8.2.3. complement clauses) and section 8.3. describes 'Are'are serial verb constructions (8.3.1. symmetrical SVCs, 8.3.2. assymetrical SVCs).

8.1 Coordination

Haspelmath (2007:1) characterizes coordination as a property of syntactic constructions that allows two or more units of the same kind to be combined into one larger unit whilst preserving their semantic relations with other surrounding elements. The units that can be coordinated include noun phrases (8-2), (8-4a) and whole clauses (8-3). All coordinated constructions in 'Are'are require an overt coordinator. In Haspelmath's terminology, they are called syndetic coordinations (2007:6). Most coordinations in 'Are'are require only one

coordinator (syndetic coordinators), but some require two (bisyndetic coordinators). All 'Are'are coordinators are prepositive.

Three types of coordination corresponding to Haspelmath's analysis (2007, pp. 1-2) have been attested in 'Are'are: conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative. Each of these is discussed in the following sections.

8.1.1 Conjunctive coordination

Most conjuctive coordinations in 'Are'are require an overt coordinator. Instances of two coordinated units without an overt coordinator are scarce in my data and limited to clausal coordination (8-1).

(8-1) *Pita   ka   roha, John   ka   nuu.*
Peter   TAM   dance John   TAM   sing
'Peter is dancing, John is singing.'

Most commonly coordinations include the coordinator *ma* 'and'. The commitative preposition *ha'ania* 'with' can also be used as a conjunctive coordinator; however, in my data it is attested only as a coordinator between two NPs, not clauses.

8.1.1.1 Ma 'and'

The conjunctive coordinator *ma* is used to coordinate full phrases (8-1), (8-2) and clauses (8-3), but not individual words.

(8-2) [*Kui   paina na*]   ***ma***   [*kusi   masika   na*]   *kira   raa   'asia.*
dog   be.big DET   and   cat   be.small   DET   3PL   go   away
'The big dog and the small cat went away.'

(8-3) [*Pita   'e=ka   nuu*]   ***ma***   [*John 'e=ka   pe'a*].
Peter   3SG=TAM   sing   and   John   3SG=TAM   dance
'Peter is singing, and John is dancing.'

As illustrated in (8-4b), it is not possible to coordinate just the nouns. Only whole phrases can be coordinated:

(8-4a) [*Kui   paina na*]   ***ma***   [*kusi   paina na*]   *kira   raa   'asia.*
dog   be.big DET   and   cat   be.big DET   3PL   go   away
'The big dog and the big cat went away.'

(8-4b) *[[*Kui **ma** kusi*] *paina na*] *kira raa 'asia.*

8.1.1.2 Ha'ania - with, commitative

The commitative preposition *ha'ania* can also be used as a conjunctive coordinator:

(8-5) [*Rua*   *iinaia* *mera*   *na*   *ma*   *kukui*] **ha'ani=a**   [*honu*] *kira*   *raa*
      two   3SG   child   DET   and   doggie with=3OBJ   turtle 3SG   go

    no'o.
    now
    'The two (of them), the child and dog (together) with turtle, they went.'

In (8-5), *ha'ania* coordinates the conjoined noun phrases, *mera na* 'the child' and *kukui* 'doggie', with *honu* 'turtle'. In (8-6), *ha'ania* coordinating the NP *mera nena* 'that child' with *paketi na* 'the packet'.

(8-6) *Ko'e*   *na*   *'e*   *rio*   *ma*   *mera*   *nena*   **ha'ani=a**   *paketi na*
      frog   DET   3SG   look   and   child   DEM   with=3OBJ   packet DET

    ma   *kui*   *na*   *iikiraura*   *no'o*   *waiwau*
    and   dog   DET   3PL   DM   over.there
    'The frog looks and (sees that) the child with the packet and the dog are over there
     now.'

(8-7) *Na*   *ka*   *'oni*   **ha'ani=a**   *Hea.*
      1SG   TAM   stay   with=3OBJ   Hea
    'I am staying with Hea.'

8.1.2 Disjunctive coordination: *moa* 'or'

The disjunctive coordinator *moa* corresponds to the English 'or'. It can be used to coordinate words (8-8), phrases (8-9) and clauses (8-10).

(8-8) *Mo'are*   *na=ka*   *'oni*   *ha'ani=a*   *Hea*   **moa**   *Pita*   *moa..*
      maybe   1SG=TAM   stay   with=3OBJ   Hea   or   Peter   or
    'Maybe I will stay with Hea, or Peter, or…'

(8-9) *Mane*   *'utaa*   *'o*   *reesi=a*   *na,*   [*mane koko'osu*   *na*]
       man   which   2SG   see=3OBJ   DET   man   be.short   DET

      moa   [*mane 'e'ewa na*]*?*
      or   man   be.tall   DET
      'Which man did you see, the short one or the tall one[81]?'

(8-10) [*Koru=ka*   *'oni*   *mai*   *komu*] ***moa***   [*koru=ka*   *raa*
       1DU.INCL=TAM   stay   AND   village or   1PL.INCL=TAM   go

      hi   *Rutorea.*]
      to   Rutorea
      '(Either) we stay (here) in the village or we go to Rutorea.'

8.1.3 Adversative coordination: *ta'a* ' but'

Adversative coordination is used when two propositions are in contrast. In 'Are'are, the adversative coordinator *ta'a* is used.

(8-11) *Rae-na*   *kira*   *ha-na*   *raa-ha*   *hi*   *hanua*[82]   ***ta'a***
       being-PRS   3PL   PURP-PRS   go-NMLZ   to   village   but

      haka   *na*   *ma*   *hura*   *rawahia.*
      boat   DET   NEG   arrive   be.fast
      'They wanted to go to the village but the boat didn't arrive on time.'

Unlike in English, it is not possible to coordinate the predicates only, i.e. it is not possible to elide the subject in the second clause in (8-12). *Ta'a* always coordinates whole clauses:

(8-12) *Kira*   *weo*   *ta'a*   *kira*   *rae*   *mano.*
      3PL   be.tired   but   3PL   being   be.happy
      'They were tired but happy.'

8.1.4 Causal coordination

There is a particular type of coordination in 'Are'are where two clauses are linked by means of the causative morpheme *ha'a*. Whilst these clauses can function independently of each other, the presence of the causative coordinator signals that one event occurs as the result of the other.

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[81] There does not exist any counterpart to English 'one' in 'Are'are.
[82] The word *hanua* literally means 'place', but it is commonly used to also refer to someone's village.

(8-13) *Nununu   na   'e   raa mai   **ha'a** hanua 'e   ta'aa no'o.*
      earthquake   DET   3SG   come   CAUS   village 3SG   be.bad now
      'The earthquake came, and as a result of it the village is destroyed now.'

(8-14) *'E   uuta   naaponi   **ha'a** kura=ma   raa   hi   aano.*
      3SG   rain   yesterday   CAUS   1DU.INCL=NEG   go   to   garden
      'It rained yesterday, and as a result of it we didn't go to the garden.'

8.2   Subordination

Another strategy 'Are'are uses to link clauses is subordination. Unlike coordination, which links two clauses of equal status, subordination is a way of linking two clauses where one is grammatically dependent on the other (Payne, 1997). There are several types of subordinated clauses that may occur in 'Are'are: relative (8.2.1.), adverbial (8.2.2.) and complement (8.2.3.). Each of these types is discussed in the following sections.

8.2.1   Relative clauses

Andrews provides the following definition of a relative clause: "A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC." (2007:206). Relative clauses, also called restricting clauses (Payne, 1997:325), thus provide additional information about heads of noun phrases they modify. Following Andrews, the modified noun is called domain nominal here (2007:208). All instances of relative clauses attested in my data are embedded RCs (relative clauses), meaning they form a subconstituent of the noun phrase whose head they modify.

The domain nominal appears outside of the relative clause that modifies it. The modified head precedes the restricting clause. In Andrews's terminology, these are external RCs (2007:208). Further distinction may be made between reduced or unreduced relative clauses. Reduced RCs typically have reduced tense/mood marking and are less like full clauses whilst unreduced RCs are full clauses (Andrews, 2007:211)[83].

'Are'are frequently uses reduced relative clauses to modify nouns by means of stative verbs in lieu of adjectives:

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[83] Andrews further observes that in languages where reduced RCs appear in a different position from unreduced RCs, the reduced rcs appear in the same place as adjectival modifiers whilst the full RCs tend to occupy a position further from the domain nominal. Andrews considers this to be an indication that whilst the reduced RCs are phrasal in nature, the nature of the unreduced RCs is clausal (2007:212).

(8-15) *Na*　　　*rae=a*　　　　　[*mane* [*('e)*　　*manata*]RC　　*na.*]NP
　　　1SG　　know=3OBJ　　　man　　(3SG)　be.clever　　　DET
　　　'I saw the clever man.'

Reduced relative clauses are not introduced by any relativizer, and the subject marker *'e* is usually omitted. Typically they express a property or a quality and are used in a way similar to adjectival modifiers. The modification of nouns by reduced RCs is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

Unreduced (full) relative clauses are used when the modification of the head noun involves more than just specifying an attribute or a property. Different constituents may be relativised: subject, direct object, indirect object, possessor. The relativisation of each of these is discussed below. The restricting clause itself is usually introduced by the relativizer *ne*, but *ne* can be omitted without any change to meaning in all contexts.

8.2.1.1 Subject

(8-16) *Na*　　　*reesi=a*　　　　[*mera* [*(ne)*　*'e*　　*hura*　*naapon*]RC　　*na*]NP.
　　　1SG　　see=3OBJ　　　child　REL　　3SG　arrive　yesterday　　　DET
　　　'I saw the child who arrived yesterday.'

(8-17) *Na*　　　*reesi=a*　　　　[*mane* [*(ne)*　*'e*　　*ka*　　*'oni~'oni*
　　　1SG　　see=3OBJ　　　man　　REL　　3SG　TAM　　HAB~live

　　　rao-na nima　wau'ee]RC　　*na*]NP.
　　　IN-PRS house DEM.DIST　　　DET
　　　'I saw the man who lives in that house.'

8.2.1.2 Direct object

(8-18) [*Nima* [*(ne)*　*Pita*　*'e*　　*to'i=a*]RC　　*na*]NP *'ene.*
　　　house　REL　Peter　3SG　build=3OBJ　　DET　DEM.PROX
　　　'This is the house that Peter built.' (repeated example (4-162)

(8-19) *Na*　　　*rae=a*　　　　[*mane* [*(ne)*　*na*　　*reesi=a*　　　*naapon*]RC　　*na*]NP
　　　1SG　　know=3OBJ　　　man　　REL　　1SG　see=3OBJ　　　yesterday　　DET

　　　ke.
　　　EMPH
　　　'I know the man whom I saw yesterday.'

8.2.1.3 Indirect object / Oblique

Indirect objects are usually introduced by the oblique prepositional element *aa-na*, hence they are discussed in the same section as oblique elements introduced by other prepositions. In both instances, the relative clause is optionally introduced by *ne*:

(8-20) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [*mera* [*(ne)*   *John*   *'e*   *wate=a*
        1SG   see=3OBJ   child   REL   John   3SG   give=3OBJ

        hanara   *aa-na*]RC   *na*]NP.
        food   OBL-PRS   DET
        'I saw the child to whom John gave the food.'

Note that in (8-20) above, the prepositional element *aa-na* appears by itself in the relative clause, without any nominal complement. The preposition *aa-na* forms an oblique phrase by itself, and the suffix *–na* has an anaphoric function, referring to *mera* 'child' from the main clause.

(8-21) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [*mera* [*(ne)*   *'o*   *na'a~na'a*
        1SG   see=3OBJ   child   REL   2SG   CONT~talk

        ha'ani=a   *naapon*]RC   *na*]NP.
        with=3OBJ   yesterday   DET
        'I saw the child with whom you talked yesterday.'

(8-22) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [*kui* [*(ne)*   *Pita*   *'e*   *riikoo ha'ani=a*]RC   *na*]NP.
        1SG   see=3OBJ   dog   REL   Peter   3SG   play   with=3OBJ   DET
        'I saw the dog Peter played with.'

(8-23) *Na*   *rae=a*   [*mane* [*(ne)*   *'o*   *ko*   *na~na'a*   *so'o-na*]RC]NP
        1SG   know=3OBJ   man   REL   2SG   TAM   CONT~talk   about-PRS

        nena.
        SIT.DEM
        'I know the man you are talking about.'

(8-24) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [*nima* [*(ne)*   *Pita*   *ka*   *'on~'on*   *rao-i*]RC
        1SG   see=3OBJ   house   REL   Peter   TAM   HAB~live   IN-3OBJ

        na]NP.
        DET
        'I saw the house in which Peter lives.'

8.2.1.4 Possessor

In the examples below, the inalienable possession is indicated in the relative clause by the possessive suffix –*na* on the possessum. The expression *pau-na* can be translated into English as 'whose head' in this case:

(8-25) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [*mera* [(*ne*)   *pau-na*   '*e*   *paparahi'a*]RC
       1SG   see=3OBJ   child   REL   head-POSS   3SG   be.white

       na]NP.
       DET
       'I saw the child whose hair was blond.'

(8-26) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [*kui*   [(*ne*)   *kiki'i-na*   '*e*   *koko'osu*]RC   *na*]NP.
       1SG   see=3OBJ   dog   REL   tail-POSS   3SG   be.short   DET
       'I saw the dog whose tail was short.'

(8-27) *Na*   *reesi=a*   [*mane* [(*ne*)   *kui*   *naia*   '*e*
       1SG   see=3OBJ   man   REL   dog   3SG.POSS   3SG

       ooro   '*asia*]RC]NP.
       run   away
       'I saw the man whose dog ran away.'

8.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Subordinate adverbial clauses serve to provide additional information about the event expressed in the main clause. They function as modifiers of verb phrases or whole clauses (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007:238). In my data, the following types of subordinate adverbial clauses were found: time, location, manner, purpose, reason, simultaneous, conditional, concessive, substitutive. They are discussed in the sections below.

8.2.2.1 Time

Time adverbial clauses provide information about the time of the event mentioned in the main clause.

8.2.2.1.1 Puri'ana / na'ohana

The forms *puri-'a-na* and *na'o-ha-na* carry the meaning behind and in front of, respectively. The status of *puri* and *na'o* is not clear, see section 6.4 for discussion. When used in time adverbial clauses, they refer to a position in time rather than in space and can be translated as after and before, respectively.

(8-28) *Rikimana*   *nima* *rao-na komu* *na*   *kira*   *hoke*   *siko*
       all   house IN-PRS village DET   3PL   be.destroyed finish

       puri-'a-na   *au*   *'e*   *to'o.*
       after-OBL-PRS hurricane   3SG   hit
       'All the houses in the village were destroyed after the hurricane struck.'

In the following example, the intended order in which events are supposed to happen is indicated not only by the *puri'a-na* but also by the sequential marker *ta'a*:

(8-29) ***Puri-'a-na***   *kou=ka*   *raa*   *hi Rutorea* ***ta'a*** *koru*
       after-OBL-PRS 1DU.INCL=TAM   go   to R.   SEQ   1PL.INCL

       rae[84]   *hurai=a*   *wa~wari*   *koru*   *na.*
       go.to   meet=3OBJ   RDP~uncle 1PL.INCL   DET
       'After we get to Rutorea, then we will go visit our uncle.'

The fact that one event needs to happen before another one can also be indicated by the precedentive particle *sii* 'first':

(8-30) ***Na'o-ha-na***   *koru*   *ka*   *hahi* *kou=ka*   *hao*
       before-OBL-PRS   1PL.INCL   TAM   cook   1DU.INCL=TAM   light.fire

       suna   ***sii***.
       fire   first
       'Before we cook, we first make fire.'

However, the elements *puri'ana* and *na'ohana* by themselves are sufficient to specify the relative order of events, see (8-28) and (8-31).

(8-31) *Mera* *nena* *'e*   *hokosi=a*   *suu*   *naia*   *na*
       child   DEM   3SG   wear=3OBJ   shoe   3SG.POSS   DET

       na'o-ha-na   *'e*   *ra'au.*
       before-OBL-PRS   3SG   go
       'The child put on his shoes before he went.'

8.2.2.1.2 Horo'a 'when'

The lexeme *horo'a* can be losely translated as 'time' and is used in a similar way to the English 'when'.

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[84] This lexeme is used in a similar way to the English 'going to'. It precedes another verb to indicate that the action expressed by the second verb is about to happen or about to be performed by the agent.

(8-32) *Kou=ka rao   raa   **horo'a** Pita   ka   hura.*
      1DU.INCL=FUT go   when Peter   TAM   arrive
      'We will go when Peter comes.'

The sequential marker *ta'a* can also be used with *horo'a*:

(8-33) ***Horo'a*** *kou=ka*   *oori*   *hi*   *nima* *na*
      when   1DU.INCL=TAM   go   to   house DET

      ta'a   *koru*   *ka rao hana.*
      SEQ   1PL.INCL   FUT   eat
      'When we get home, then we will eat.'

To specify the time of an event, it is also possible to use the expressions *aa-na horo'a* 'at one time' (when) or *tara'ai aa-na horo'a* 'at the beginning of the time', 'when something first happened'.

(8-34) ***Tara'ai***   ***aa-na***   ***horo'a*** *haiara-ha*   *'e*   *hura* *na*
      beginning   OBL-PRS   time   fight-NMLZ   3SG   arrive DEM

      Pita   *'e*   *mane* *masika*   *ke.*
      Peter   3SG   man   be.small   EMPH
      'When the war arrived, Peter was (still) small.'

8.2.2.2 Location

Location clauses serve to inform about the place where an event expressed by the main clause takes place.

(8-35) *'Ami=ka rao*   *hurai='o*   *aa-na*   *rihi*   *ne*
      1PL.EXCL=FUT meet=2SG   OBL-PRS   place   REL

      Pita=ka   *'oni'~onia=i* *na.*
      Peter=TAM   HAB~live=OBJ DET
      'We will meet you where Peter lives.'

8.2.2.3 Manner

Adverbial clauses may also express a manner in which an action is peformed. The lexeme *'urihana*[85] is used in this context. *'Urihana* functions as a noun-like preposition taking

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[85] *'Urihana* seems to be a complex word, probably related to the lexeme *'uria* 'be like, be so'. See section 6.4. for discussion.

personal suffixes *–ku*, *-mu* for 1sg and 2sg respectively. When used in contexts like below, the generic personal suffix *–na* is used:

(8-36) *Tau   'uri-ha-na   na   iiri=a   ha-mu!*
        do   like-PREP-PRS 1SG   tell=3OBJ OBL-2SG.PRS
        'Do as I told you!'

(8-37) *Ka   na'a 'uri-ha-na   hu'u   ka   rau-ni=a.*
        TAM   talk like-PREP-PRS cough TAM   control-TR=3OBJ
        '(She) talks like she has a cold.'

(8-38) *Ka   raa   'uri-ha-na   ka   weo.*
        TAM   go   like-PREP-PRS TAM   be.tired
        '(He) walks like he is tired.' (repeated example (7-32)

(8-39) *To'i=a   'are   nena 'uri-ha-na   na   haata'ani=a aa-mu*
        hold=3OBJ   thing DEM   like-PREP-PRS 1SG   show=3OBJ   OBL-2SG

        na!
        DET
        'Hold this as I showed you!'

8.2.2.4 Purpose

Purpose clauses specify the purpose for which the action in the main clause was carried out. They "express a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event" (Thompson et al., 2007:250). The embedded clause is introduced by the lexeme *ha-na*. *Ha-na* is normally used as a noun-like preposition which takes personal suffixes.

(8-40) *Pita   'e   oori hi   nima ha-na   ka   rae*
        Peter 3SG   go   to   house PURP-PRS   TAM   going.to

        hua-hanara.[86]
        bring-food
        'Peter went home to get food.'

(8-41) *Pita   'e   oori hi   nima ha-na   ma'asu-ha.*
        Peter 3SG   go   to   house PURP-PRS   sleep-NMLZ
        'Peter went home to sleep.'

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[86] The verb *hua* appears without the object clitic because the object is incorporated.

Ha-na can also take a clausal complement:

(8-42) *Na=ka*   *rekooti* ***ha-na***   *na=ka*   *noro=a.*
   1SG=TAM   record   PURP-PRS   1SG=TAM   listen=3OBJ
   'I am recording so that I can listen (to it).'

(8-43) *Ha'a-mae-si=a*   *marika*   *na* ***ha-na***
   CAUS-die-TR=3OBJ   fish   DET PURP-PRS

   kou=ka   *kuki=a!*
   1DU.INCL=TAM   cook=3OBJ
   'Kill the fish so that we can eat it!'

8.2.2.5 Reason

Similarly to purpose clauses, reason clauses also provide an account or explanation regarding the occurrence of a particular state or action. However, the motivating event expressed in reason clauses may be realized at the time of the main clause event (Thompson et al., 2007, pp. 250-251). Reason clauses are normally introduced by the lexeme *tama-na*, another noun-like preposition meaning 'because of'.

(8-44) *Pita* *'e* *oori* *hi* *nima* *tama-na*
   Peter 3SG go to house REAS-PRS

   'e=ka   *weo*   *no'o.*
   3SG=TAM   be.tired   now
   'Peter went home because he is tired now.'

(8-45) *Hi* *mera* *na* *kira* *raa mai* *hi* *nima*
   PL child DET 3PL come to house

   tama-na   *kira* *mahea.*
   REAS-PRS   3PL be.hungry
   'The children came home because they were hungry.'

(8-46) *Hi* *keni* *na* *kira* *hao=a* *hahita* *na*
   PL woman DET 3PL light.up=3OBJ earth.oven DET

   tama-na   *rae-na* *kira*   *ha-na*   *hahiana* *poo* *na.*
   REAS-PRS   being-3PL.POSS   PURP-PRS   ovening.of pig DET
   'The women prepared the hot stones because they wanted to oven the pig.

8.2.2.6 Simultaneous clauses

Simultaneous adverbial clauses specify that the event expressed in the main clause takes place at the same time as another event. Thomson et al. state that "languages allow one of the simultaneous events to be signalled as providing the context or background for the other, or foregrounded, event" (2007:254). This seems to hold also for 'Are'are.

The expression *tooto'orana horo'a* is used in this context, translating roughly as the English 'whilst', 'during (the) time'. It is possible that *tooto'orana* is a complex word, but I am unable to offer any analysis of its components at this time.

(8-47) ***Tooto'orana   horo'a*** *'ami   'oni   maasi=a   Pita   na   'ami   hana.*
     during   time   1PL   stay   wait.for=3OBJ Peter   DET   1PL   eat
     'Whilst waiting for Peter, we ate.'

(8-48) *Ketoro   na   ka rao 'ohu   **tooto'orana   horo'a** kou=ka*
     kettle   DET   FUT   boil   during   time   1DU.INCL=TAM

     hana   na.
     eat   DET
     'The kettle will boil whilst / around the same time as we are eating.'

8.2.2.7 Conditional

Following Payne (1997), conditional adverbial clauses in 'Are'are can be divided into three types. Simple conditional clauses relate to the state of affairs that will surely be true under particular conditions. Hypothetical conditional clauses express a state of affairs that is theoretically possible but may not happen. Counterfactual conditional clauses express an event that could have happened under particular conditions but did not happen because the conditions did not obtain.

The subordination involving conditional clauses requires two elements to be present. The subordinating lexeme[87] *'aremara* 'if' usually introduces the subordinate clause expressing the condition under which the event in the main clause will, may or would have happened. In simple and hypothetical conditionals the two clauses are also linked by the coordinating lexeme *ma* 'and'; in counterfactual conditionals the linking element is the counterfactual particle *ha'araa*. The simple and hypothetical conditionals do not seem to be formally

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[87] *'Aremara* is likely a compound word rather than a single morpheme. Geerts (1970:63) lists *mara* as meaning 'as', 'like', 'according to', *mara nena* 'like this'.

distinguished from each other, and the embedded conditional clauses are not structurally different from the matrix clauses.

8.2.2.7.1 Simple conditional

(8-49) *'Aremara*   *ka*   *uuta*   *ra'ahore'e*   ***ma***
    if   TAM   rain   tomorrow   and

    kura=ka   *'oni*   *nima*[88] *ke*   *na.*
    1DU.INCL=TAM   stay   house   EMPH   DET
    'If it rains tomorrow, we (will) stay at home.' (repeated example (3-30))

8.2.2.7.2 Hypothetical conditional

(8-50) *'Aremara*   *na=ka*   *to'o*   *aa-na*   *pata* *iiwera,*   ***ma***
    if   1SG=TAM   own   OBL-PRS   money be.many   and

    na=ka   *hori=a*   *nima*   *na.*
    1SG=TAM   buy=3OBJ   house   DET
    'If I had lots of money, I would buy the house.'

8.2.2.7.3 Counterfactual conditional

(8-51) *'Aremara*   *'o=ko*   *to'i*   *'okira*   ***ha'araa***
    if   2SG=TAM   work   be.strong   CNTF

    'o=ko   *tari-'are*   *na.*
    2SG=TAM   acquire-thing   SIT.DEM
    'If you had worked hard, you would have acquired (a lot of) things.'

8.2.2.7.4 TAM marking in conditionals

As seen from (8-52) below, it is possible for both clauses to appear without any tense and aspect marking.

(8-52) *'Aremara*   *'e*   *uuta*   *naaponi*   ***ha'araa***
    if   3SG   rain   yesterday   CNTF

    na   *'oni* *nima* *ke*   *na.*
    1SG   stay house EMPH   SIT.DEM
    'If it had rained yesterday, I would have stayed at home.'

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[88]It is possible to express 'in the house', 'at home' without any preposition.

However, the instances where none of the clauses bears any TAM marking are rare in my data. More commonly, tense and aspect are marked in both the subordinated clause and the matrix clause. The particle *ka* is normally used in both clauses when none of the clauses explicitly expresses future. Note that whilst normally *ka* does not appear in clauses expressing past, in conditionals it is possible:

(8-53) *'Aremara*   *'e=**ka***   *ma*   *uuta*   *naaponi*   *ha'araa*
        if   3SG=TAM   NEG   rain   yesterday   CNTF

         *kura=**ka***   *tari-'are*   *no'o*   *nena.*
         1DU.INCL=TAM   acquire-thing INTS   SIT.DEM
         'If it hadn't rained yesterday, we would have gotten money (because we would have
          sold items at a market.)

(8-54) *'Aremara*   *suna*   *'e=**ka***   *eero*   *ma*   *hanara*
        if   fire   3SG=TAM   flame   and   food

         ka   *'ehu.*
         TAM   be.burned
         'If (the) fire flames, the food burns.'

The particle *ka* is also used in clauses expressing a certain or very likely future:

(8-55) *'Aremara*   ***ka***   *uuta*   *ra'ahore'e*   *ma*   *kura=**ka***
        if   TAM   rain   tomorrow   and   1DU.INCL=TAM

         'oni   *nima*   *ke.*
         stay   house   EMPH
         'If it rains tomorrow, we stay at home.'

It is possible for the matrix clause to be marked for future by *ka rao* or the negative future marker *si*. I suggest that the function of *ka rao* and *si* here is to signal the sequence of events or processes. The event expressed in the matrix clause is seen as happening subsequently, following the event expressed in the subordinate clause:

(8-56) *'Aremara*   *suna* ***ka***   *rakaraka*   *ma*   *hanara*   *na*
        if   fire   TAM   be.hot   and   food   DET

         ka rao *'ehu.*
         FUT   be.burned
         'If the fire is too hot, the food will burn.'

(8-57) *'Aremara*   *'o=**ko***   *suai=a*   *ma*   *'e=**si***
       if   2SG=TAM   ask=3OBJ   and   3SG=NEG.FUT

      ra'au   *nena.*
      go   SIT.DEM
      'If you ask him, he won't go.'

I suspect that the matter of conditionals is possibly more complex than as described above, but it is not possible to conduct a deeper analysis without collecting further data.

8.2.2.8 Concessive

Concessive adverbial clauses are used to express that an event happened despite certain conditions that made it less likely to happen. In this context the expression *ta'a rihiai* is used. Whilst it seems to consist of two lexemes, *ta'a* and a possibly complex word *rihiai*, I am unable to offer any deeper analysis of it. For the purpose of this work, I use the gloss 'although' here as it seems the closest to the English translation.

(8-58) *'E*   *uuta*   ***ta'a rihiai***   *na*   *'ami*   *raa*   *hi*   *aano ke.*
     3SG   rain   although   DET   1PL.EXCL   go   to   garden EMPH
     'Although it was raining, we went to the garden.'

8.2.2.9 Substitutive (counterfactual)

Substitutive adverbial clauses serve to express that an event happened or an action was performed contrary to expectations, instead of some other event or action. The counterfactual particle *ha'araa* is used in this context, together with the sequential marker *ta'a*[89].

(8-59) *Pita*   ***ha'araa***   *ka*   *nuu,*   ***ta'a***   *'e*   *pe'a*   *ke.*
     Peter   CNTF   TAM   sing   SEQ   3SG   dance   EMPH
     'Instead of singing, Peter danced.'

(8-60a) *Hi*   *mera*   *na,*   ***ha'araa***   *kira*   *ka*   *raa*   *hi*   *aano*
      PL   child   DET   CNTF   3PL   TAM   go   to   garden

      ta'a   *kira*   *raa*   *hi*   *kahu*   *ke.*
      SEQ   3PL   go   to   river   EMPH
      'Instead of going to the garden, the children went to (the) river.'

The meaning of the sentence in (8-60a) can also be expressed with a different word order:

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[89] Ta'a is glossed as a sequential marker throughout this work, but it is possible that its functions are manifold. Note its use in the concessive clauses in (8-53).

(8-60b) **Ha'araa** hi mera na kira ka raa hi aano, **ta'a** kira raa hi kahu ke.
　　　　'Instead of going to the garden, the children went to (the) river.'

8.2.3　Complement clauses

In this discussion, complement clauses are clauses that function as an argument of another clause. Their function may be one of subject or object (Noonan, 2007). In my data only object complements have been attested. In those instances, complement clauses act as complements to the verb in the main clause and appear in the same position where a direct object would be. Verbs of cognition and utterance, such as *rae=a* 'know', *iiri=a* 'tell' or *aariponosi=a* 'forget' commonly take clausal complements.

A major distinction between complement clauses is whether they are finite or non-finite. Finite complements have properties of independent clauses in that they express their subjects directly and carry their own tense and aspect marking. Non-finite complements are characterized by the lack of tense and aspect marking, and also their subjects often must be the same as the subjects of the verb in the main clause (Payne, 1997, pp. 314-315). 'Are'are has both types although non-finite complements are scarce in my data.

8.2.3.1　Finite complement clauses

'Are'are finite complement clauses corresponding to English *that*-clauses do not require a complementizer. The embedded clause does not structurally differ from the main clause.

(8-61) *Pita　　'e　　rae=a　　　[Tione 'e　　raa].*
　　　　Peter　3SG　know=3OBJ　John　3SG　go
　　　　'Peter knows (that) John left.'

(8-62) *Mane　'ai'ee　　　'e　iiri=a　　　[ka　rae　ma'asu]*
　　　　man　DEM.PROX　3SG　say=3OBJ　TAM　go.to　sleep

　　　　ta'a　ka　　ri~rio　　　　　ke.
　　　　but　TAM　CONT~be.awake　EMPH
　　　　'This man said he was going to sleep, but he is (still) awake.

The finite complement may be introduced by a preposition:

(8-63) *Na　　aaripono　　aa-na　　　Pita　'e　　ra'au.*
　　　　1SG　forget　　　OBL-PRS　Peter　3SG　go
　　　　'I forgot (that) Peter left.'

It is of interest that the verb in (8-56) above appears in its intransitive form.

8.2.3.1.1 Indirect questions

Indirect questions are considered by Payne (1997) as a subtype of complement clauses. In 'Are'are, they are finite. They may be introduced by the verb *'uria* 'be so', which may be best translated here as 'if' or 'whether'[90].

(8-64) *Na=ma*   *rae=a*   [*'uria Pita 'e ra'au*].
     1SG=NEG   know=3OBJ   be.so Peter 3SG go
     'I don't know if Peter left.' (MH)

The lexeme *'uria* is not a complementizer; it can appear at the beginning of a polar question functioning as an independent (matrix) clause:

(8-65) *'Uria Pita 'e 'ewa?*
     be.so Peter 3SG be.tall
     'Was Peter tall?'

The lexeme *horo'a* also can be used to introduce a finite embedded clause. In this context, its translation is closest to the English 'when':

(8-66) *Na=ma*   *rae=a*   [**horo'a**   *Pita 'e ra'au na*].
     1SG=NEG   know=3OBJ   when   Peter 3SG go DET
     'I don't know when Peter left.'

Similarly to *'uria*, *horo'a* can also introduce a matrix question.

Embedded questions, as well as matrix questions, can be introduced by *tamana iitaa* 'because of what', 'why':

(8-67) *Na*   *ma*   *rae=a*   [*tama-na*   *iitaa Pita 'e ra'au na*].
     1SG   NEG   know=3OBJ   REAS -PRS   what Peter 3SG go DET
     'I don't know why Peter left.'

Another *wh*-word that can be used to introduce both matrix interrogatives as well as an embedded complement clause is *'aitaa* 'what':

(8-68) *Iiri=a*   *tare*   *'ami*   [*'aitaa rao-na manata-mu*]*!*
     tell=3OBJ   ALL   1PL.EXCL   what IN-PRS mind-2SG.POSS
     'Tell us what you think!'

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[90] One speaker produced the form *mo'are* in this context. *Mo'are* is usually used in the sense of 'maybe'.

8.2.3.1.2 Hana 'to', 'so that'

In 'Are'are, the preposition *ha-na* takes nominal but also clausal complements. In the examples below, *ha-na* expresses the meaning of 'to', 'for'. Note that whilst in English these embedded clauses are non-finite, they are finite in 'Are'are.

(8-69) | *'Aremara* | *'o=ko* | *iiri=a* | **ha-na** | *Pita=ka* | *'oni* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| if | 2SG=TAM | tell=3OBJ | PURP-PRS | Peter=TAM | stay |

ha'araa	*Pita=ka*	*'oni*	*ke*	*nena.*
CNTF	Peter=TAM	stay	EMPH	SIT.DEM

'If you had told Peter to stay, he would have stayed.' (Lit: 'If you had said for Peter to stay, he would have stayed.')

(8-70) | *Pita* | *'e* | *oori* | *hi* | *nima* | *ha-na* | *ka* | *rae* | *hua-hanara.* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Peter | 3SG | go | to | house | PURP-PRS | TAM | go.to | bring-food |

'Peter went home to get food.'

8.2.3.2 Non-finite complement clauses

Only one example of what can be plausibly analysed as a non-finite complement clause has been found in my data. *Ha-na* in this case translates best as 'to' and the complement clause it introduces acts as the subject of the matrix clause:

(8-71) | [*Ha-na* | *to'iana* | *kara piakau*] | *'e=ka* | *tee* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| PURP-PRS | making | cassava pudding | 3SG=TAM | INTS |

tore~tore	*'ewa'a.*
INTS~last	be.long

'To make cassava pudding takes a long time.'

Note that whilst *to'iana* is translated as making, the exact analysis of this form is not without issues. See discussion in Chapter 6.

8.2.3.3 Causative complement clauses

A particular type of complement clauses is used to express causation. As discussed in section 5.2.2 in Chapter 5, causation is commonly expressed by means of the causative prefix *ha'a*. In addition to this, some verbs allow for causation to be expressed through subordination.

Compare the following examples:

(8-72a) *Kahu na   'e   ma'a.*
      water DET   3SG   be.dry[91]
      'The water dried up.'

(8-72b) *Ha'a-ma'a=a   'are   nena!*
      CAUS-be.dry=3OBJ   thing   DET
      'Dry up that thing!'

(8-73c) *Tau=a   **ha-na**   'e   ma'a!*
      do=3OBJ   PURP-PRS   3SG   be.dry
      'Make it dry up!'

(8-74) *Tau=a   **ha-na**   iisu!*
      do=3OBJ   PURP-PRS   count
      'Make (him) count!'

Expressing of causation through the embedded clause does not always involve the complementiser *ha-na*. It is possible that the presence or absence of the complementiser is due to inter- or intra-speaker variation, or it may be determined by the type of the verb and/or the nature of its subject. However, a more detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this work.

(8-75a) *John=ka   masi.*
      John=TAM   laugh
      'John is laughing.'

(8-75b) *Pita=ka   ha'a-masi=a   John.*
      Peter=TAM   CAUS-laugh=3OBJ   John
      'Peter is making John laugh.'

(8-76c) *Pita   'e   tau=a   John   ka   masi.*
      Peter 3SG   do=3OBJ   John   TAM   laugh
      'Peter made John laugh.'

The use of the embedded clause seems to indicate that the causation is less direct than when the causative prefix *ha'a* is used. For more discussion on causation, see Chapter 5.

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[91] *Ma'a* refers to dry in the sense of empty of liquid.

8.3   Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are a relatively common feature of Oceanic languages although their properties may vary to some extent and several different types may be identified (Crowley, 2002; Lynch et al., 2002). Aikhenvald defines serial verb constructions (SVC) as "a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event" (2006:1). She further states that SVCs must have only one tense, aspect and polarity value, and they may share argument(s). Each of the components of SVC must be able to function independently of its own, and the individual verbs may have different transitivity values.

For the purpose of this paper, I define serial verbs in 'Are'are as constructions of two verbs in a single clause that are structurally linked and share nominal arguments, TAM markers and a negative marker (after Lynch et al., 2002). Either of the verbs participating in a serial verb construction can stand independently as a verb in its own clause. Serial verbs in 'Are'are display "nuclear serialization", defined by Lynch et al. as a construction "where the verbs are bound together and have only a single set of arguments (i.e. the serial construction behaves just like a single verb)" (2002:47).

Aikhenvald (2006) classifies serial verb constructions according to several criteria:

- Composition - symmetrical or asymmetrical. Symmetrical SVCs contain two or more verbs belonging to a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class. Asymmetrical SVCs contain a verb from class that is grammatically or semantically restricted (motion, posture).

- Contiguity - whether the individual verbs do or do not allow another component to come between them

- Wordhood of components - whether or not the individual components form independent grammatical or phonological words

- Marking - verbal marking on every component or only once per construction

Following Aikhenvald's classification criteria, 'Are'are has both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs. In both cases the components do not allow another component to intervene, they can function independently as verbs by themselves and the verbal categories are marked only once per construction.

(8-77) *Haka   na   'e   **hura   riu**   no'o.*
   boat   DET   3SG   arrive pass.by   PFV
   'The boat already came (and) went.'

Both verbs can function independently on their own:

(8-78) *Haka   na   'e   **hura***.
   boat   DET   3SG   arrive
   'The boat arrived.'

(8-79) *Pita   'e   **riu**   no'o.*
   Peter   3SG   pass.by   PFV
   'Peter went by.'

I have not found any SVCs with the causative prefix in my data yet, so the verbal marking is for the most part limited to the clitic pronoun =*a*. This clitic always attaches to the second verb in the construction, even when the first verb is transitive when functioning independently and would normally take the object suffix. When a SVC consists of two transitive verbs, the object is still marked only on the second verb.

(8-80a) ***kuki   waeri=a***
   cook   destroy=3OBJ
   'cook in such a way that the food is spoiled'

(8-80b) *kuki=a*
   'to cook'

(8-80c) *waeri=a*
   'to hurt someone, to destroy something'

8.3.1 Symmetrical serial verb constructions

In symmetrical constructions, both verbs come from unrestricted class, "the order of components tend to iconic, reflecting the temporal sequence of subevents…symmetrical serial constructions are not 'headed'…: all their components have equal status in that none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the construction as a whole"

(Aikhenvald, 2006:22). Two subcategories of symmetrical SVCs have been found in the data: sequential serial verb constructions and simultaneous serial verb constructions.

8.3.1.1 Symmetrical sequential SVCs

Symmetrical SVCs can express a sequence of actions. Aikhenvald (2006:28) calls these 'sequential SVCs'. In this case the order of the components reflects the temporal sequence of the events or actions (8-81), also see (8-77) above.

(8-81) *Sisiho   'e   **uuhi aarakoe=a**   niu   na   'asia.*
       wind   3SG   blow roll=3OBJ   coconut   DET   away
       'The wind rolled the coconut away. (blew and rolled)'

8.3.1.2 Symmetrical simultaneous SVCs

These constructions express events or actions that happen simultaneously rather than following one another:

(8-82a) *Tapa'ero   'e   **wa'i waeri=a**   rikimana   komu.*
       hurricane   3SG   hurt   destroy=3OBJ every   village
       'The hurricane destroyed every village.'

(8-82b) *wa'i*
      'hurt'

(*Wa'i* can be used both intransitively and transitively.)

(8-82c) *waeri=a*
      'hurt someone, destroy something'

(8-83a) ***'oni   maasi=a***
       stay   wait.for=3OBJ
      'wait (for)'

(8-83b) *'oni*
      'to stay'

(8-83c) *maasi=a*
      'to wait for'

As Aikhenvald comments (2006), it is not uncommon for symmetrical SVCs to be lexicalized and acquire idiomatic characteristics. In the example below (*uuhi si'inia*, (8-84a)), the meaning of the serialized verb is related to but not entirely predictable from the meaning of its individual components:

(8-84a) ***uuhi si'ini=a***
        blow smell=3OBJ
        'smell for something (sniff)'

(8-84b) *uuhi*
        'to blow'

(8-84c) *si'ini=a*
        'to smell (trans)'

Uuhi means to blow air out, but the above serial construction means the exact opposite, taking the air in and smelling it.

Verbs that appear in SVCs only

In the 'Are'are dialect described here, some verb forms appear in serial verb constructions only. Whilst *wa'i* 'to hurt' functions as an independent verb, the verb 'to kill' can appear only with the causative prefix when used outside of a serial verb construction. Its intransitive counterpart *mae* 'to die, be dead' is not restricted in this way. The form **maesia* cannot be used independently without the causative prefix. Whilst in some languages related to 'Are'are this form has the meaning 'to die of something', in 'Are'are this is not so. The transitive form of *mae* can be used only either with the causative prefix or in a serial verb construction:

(8-85) *Kui   na   'e   **mae***.
       dog   DET   3SG   be.dead
       'The dog died / is dead.'

(8-86a) ***Ha'a-maesi=a*** /*   *maesi=a*   *marika*   *na!*
       CAUS-kill=3OBJ /   kill=3OBJ   fish   DET
       'Kill the fish!'

(8-86b) ***wa'i maesi=a***
       'to kill'

In some other closely related langauges such as Kwaio or Arosi, the transitive form of *mae* has the meaning 'to die as a result of' or 'to die from' (Evans, 2003:78) According to Geerts (1970:57) *maesi=* in 'Are'are can mean 'to be ill of, to die of'. This meaning has been disputed by my main consultant although it is possible that in other dialects *maesi=* can be used in this way.

8.3.2 Asymmetrical serial verb constructions (manner)

In asymmetrical constructions, the first verb comes from a larger, unrestricted class whilst the second is a member of a restricted class. In this case one of the verbs "may describe the way in which the action of the other verb was performed" (Aikhenvald, 2006:29). In 'Are'are, the restricted class is stative intransitives. The first verb is the head of the SVC and the second verb acts as modifier to the first verb (manner verb). In Aikhenvald's terminology these are manner constructions. The meaning of the serial construction is to a large extend predictable from the meaning of its individual components.

(8-87) *Poo*   *'e*   *si'ini* *ta'aa*.
       pig   3SG   smell be.bad
       '(The) pig smells bad.'

(8-88) *'E*   *si'ini* *marimari*.
       3SG   smell be.sweet
       'It smells sweet (the fruit).'

(8-89) *'E*   *marimari*   *rete*   *mane*.
       3SG   be.sweet   be.good   DM
       'It is sweet. '(It is nicely sweet, it is so sweet)

When the whole SVC is transitive, the second (modifying) verb appears with the object clitic even when this verb is normally intransitive:

(8-90a) **kuki**   **rete=a**
        cook   be.good=3OBJ
        'cook (it) well'

(8-90b) *kuki=a*
        cook=3OBJ
        'to cook something'

(8-90c) *rete*
        'be good'

(8-91) *Sisihora*   *na*   *'e*   *siko*[92] *no'o*.
       story   DET   3SG   finish PFV
       'This is the end of the story.' (Lit. The story is finished now.)

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[92] *Siko* has exhaustive meaning, not only meaning 'be finished'; it can be also used to modify the quantifier *rikimana* 'all': *rikimana siko* 'all, completely all'. It can also be used with a pronoun, such as *'au siko* 'you all', all of you'.

(8-92) *Pita   'e   **'ani=a**   poo.*
　　　Peter   3SG   eat=3OBJ   pig
　　　'Peter ate pork.'

(8-93) *'E   **'ani**   siko=a*.
　　　3SG   eat   finish=3OBJ
　　　'He ate it all.'

'Ani=a is the transitive counterpart (supletive form) of *hana*, both meaning 'eat'. *'Ani=a* is always transitive and cannot appear without the object suffix, except in the serial construction.

8.3.2.1 Transitive suffixes in SVCs

A transitive verb that normally appears only with the transitive suffix may be used without its transitive suffix in an intransitive serial construction:

(8-94a) *rapusi=a*
　　　　'hit, slap something', (always used with the suffix -*si* when independent)

(8-94b) *rete*
　　　　'be good'

(8-94c) *Hari-mu   'e   **rapu**   rete   aa-ku.*
　　　　bottom-2SG.POSS   3SG   hit   be.good   OBL-1SG
　　　　'I like hitting your bottom'

(8-94d) ***Rapu**   'okira!*
　　　　hit   be.strong
　　　　'Hit strongly!' (or 'Strike strongly!')

8.3.2.2 Multi-verb SVCs

Whilst most SVCs consist of two verbs, constructions involving three verbs are also possible:

(8-95a) *hana*
　　　　'eat' (intransitive)

(8-95b) *marimari*
　　　　'be sweet'

(8-95c) *rete*
　　　　'be good'

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(8-95d) *'Are   'e   **hana   marimari   rete   rika'a.**
       thing 3SG   eat   be.sweet   be.good   very
       '(The) thing tasted very good (and) sweet.'

In the sentence above, the SVC *hana marimari* 'taste sweet' is modified by *rete* 'be good'.

The whole SVC is modified by the adverb *rika'a* 'very'.

Appendix 1: Language affiliation

'Are'are is part of the Southeast Solomonic family, which belongs to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family. The full genealogy is as follows (after Lynch et al., 2002). The subgroups are separated by a vertical line:

Austronesian|

    Malayo-Polynesian|

        Central Eastern|

            Eastern Malayo-Polynesian|

                Oceanic|

                    Central-Eastern Oceanic|

                        Southeast Solomonic|

                            Longgu/Malaita/Makira|

                                Malaita/Makira|

                                    Malaita|

                                        Southern|
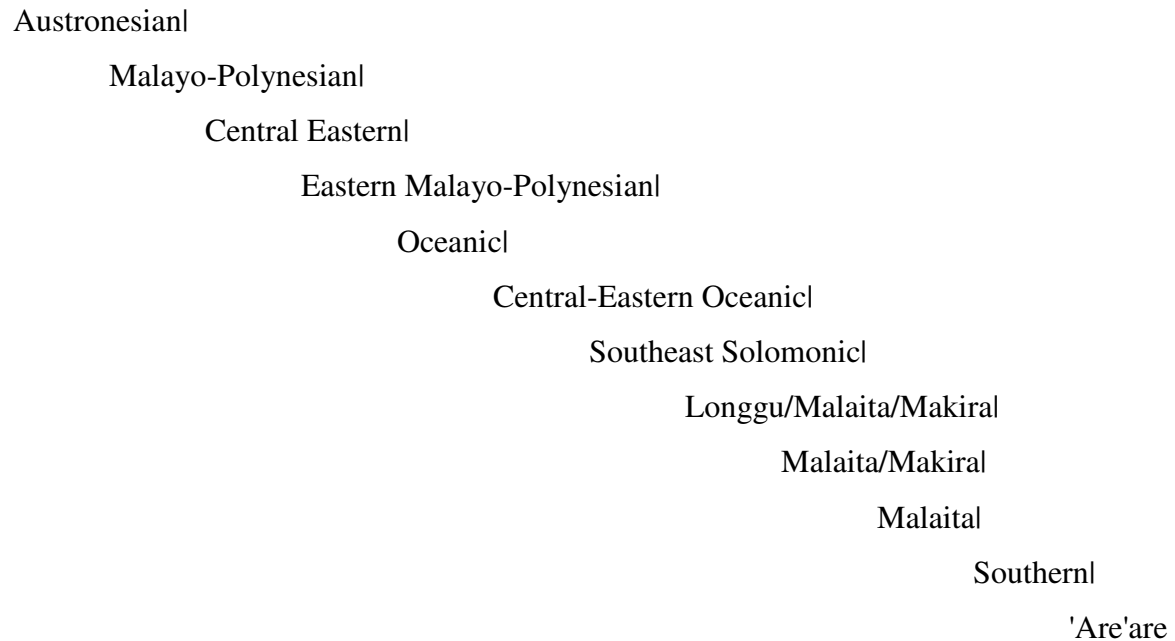
                                          'Are'are

Figure 5 Position of 'Are'are in the Oceanic family (afterLynch et al., 2002)

The Longgu/Malaita/Makira subgroup was formerly called Cristobal/Malaitan (Lynch et al., 2002).

Appendix 2: Language vitality

This language vitality assessment has been done using the guidelines published by Unesco ad Hoc group on Languages (2003). The assessment should be considered as preliminary. For the most part it is based on my observations from the fieldwork and reports from the speakers living in the areas where the fieldwork was conducted.

Factor	Evaluation
1. Intergenerational transmission	**Grade 5- Stable yet threatened** The language is spoken in most contexts by all.
2. Absolute number of speakers	cca **18 000** (1999)
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population	**Grade 5 – safe** All speak the language
4. Trends in existing language domains	**Grade 4: Multilingual parity** Whilst 'Are'are is the language used in the home and for interaction between 'Are'are speakers, English and Pijin are used in most public domains such as education, business, media and politics.
5. Response to new domains and media	**Grade 1: Minimal** The language is used only in a few new domains.
6. Materials for language education and literacy	**Grade 0-1** Practical orthography is a work in progress as is available only to some speakers.
7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies Including Official Status and Use	**Grade 3: Passive assimilation** No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
8. Community Members' Attitudes toward their Own Language	**Grade 5** All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
9. Amount and Quality of Documentation	**Grade 1-2** There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.

Figure 6 Language vitality assessment

Appendix 3 Wordlist

The items below were elicited using Claire Bowern's resources for fieldwork published on a website accompanying her book Linguistic fieldwork (Bowern, 2008). Items that usually appear marked for inalianble possession appear with the suffix *-na*, verbs that are normally transitive appear with the object clitic *=a*. Where several forms are given, the one listed first is the most common one in my data.

English	'Are'are	Note
paina	*big*	intransitive verb
long	*'ewa, 'e'ewa*	intransitive verb
wide	*aaroka*	intransitive verb
thick	*hauhau'a*	intransitive verb
heavy	*hi'a*	intransitive verb
small	*masika*	intransitive verb
short	*koko'osu*	intransitive verb
narrow	*koko*	intransitive verb
thin	*'iki'ikira*	intransitive verb
warm	*rakaraka*	intransitive verb
cold	*sisiu'a*	intransitive verb
full	*honu*	intransitive verb
new	*haoru*	intransitive verb
old	*rahu'a, warita*	intransitive verb
good	*rete*	intransitive verb
bad	*ta'aa*	intransitive verb
rotten	*kasu*	intransitive verb
dirty	*piripiri, pipiri'a*	intransitive verb
straight	*ootooto*	intransitive verb
round	*morimori'a*	intransitive verb
sharp	*to'o, waru*	intransitive verb
smooth	*uununu'a*	intransitive verb
wet	*pisu'a*	intransitive verb
dry	*'ate'ate, 'ate'a*	intransitive verb
correct	*ootooto* (straight)	intransitive verb
near	*karahini*	
far	*ha'itau*	
right	*po'o mauri*	
left	*popo mauri, po'o maemae*	
animal	*tatare*	
fish	*marika*	
dog	*kui*	
louse	*uu*	
snake	*maa*	
worm	*maasika*	
skin	*sisima-na*	
meat	*hinasu*	
blood	*aapu*	
bone	*susuri*	

fat	*momona*
egg	*aapota*
horn	N/A
tail	*'iki'iki-na, 'imi'imi-na*
feather	*iihihu-na*
hair	*iihihu-na, uuhuhu-na*
head	*pau-na*
ear	*roroa-na*
eye	*maa-na*
nose	*pano-na*
mouth	*nusu-na*
tooth	*niho-na*
tongue	*mea-na*
fingernail	*sisiki-na 'u'u-na*
foot	*'a'e-na*
leg	*'a'e-na*
knee	*uururu-na*
hand	*kaika'i-na*
wing	*'apa'apa-na*
belly	*oopa-na*
guts	*kakawe aana oopa-na*
neck	*rua-na*
back	*kosu-na*
breast	*susu-na*
heart	*tou-na*
liver	*rae-na*
drink	*ko'u*
eat	*hana* (intransitive), *'ani=a* (transitive)
bite	*ke'e*
suck	*nomi*
spit	*musu*
vomit	*moa*
blow	*uuhi*
breathe	*manuhuto*
laugh	*masi*
live	*mauri*
die	*mae*
red	*nonorohi'a*
green	*mamarawa'a*
yellow	*koko'ara, ko'ako'ara*
white	*paparahi'a, parapara*
black	*pupuruhi'a*
with	*ha'ani=a*
and	*ma*
if	*'aremara*
because	*tama-na*
tree	*'ai*
forest	*ma'asu*
stick	*'ai, maasuni 'ai*
fruit	*roto, rotoni 'ai*

seed	*'u'u*
leaf	*po'era, 'oporen 'ai*
root	*'iki'iki-na, 'imi'imi-na*
bark	*hahao-na, haohao-na, sisima-na*
flower	*tataka*
grass	*harisi*
freeze	N/A
sun	*rato*
moon	*hura, hurahura*
star	*purupuru*
water	*kahu*
rain	*uuta*
river	*kahu*
lake	*namo*
sea	*aasi*
salt	*aasi, maimami'a, soro* (E)
stone	*hau*
sand	*oone*
dust	*mokamoka*
earth	*mako*
cloud	*wawaha, wahawaha*
fog	N/A
sky	*raro, rararaa*
wind	*sisiho*
snow	N/A
ice	N/A
smoke	*rasu*
fire	*suna*
ashes	*'ora'ora*
burn	*'ehu* (intransitive), *sura=a* (transitive)
road	*tara*
mountain	*iira, iire*
woman	*keni*
man	*mane*
child	*mera, wera*
wife	*huka*
husband	*poro*
mother	*tete-na, neke-na*
father	*mama-na*
name	*rata-na*
sing	*nuu*
play	*haitatapa, riikoo, hiikoo*
swell	*uupu*
kill	*wa'i maesi=a*
fight	*haiara, ooho*
hunt	*ru'u, siri, tarai kui* (hunting with dogs)
cut	*tapa=a, tohu=a*
split	*aapi=a, hora=a, kaka=a, kakasi=a*
scratch	*ma'ahini*
dig	*'eri*

at	*wau*
in	*hi, wau, rao-na* (inside)
sew	*tai*
count	*iisu* (also read)
swim	*roto, para'au*
fly	*roho*
walk	*raa, ra'au*
come	*raa mai*
lie	*'eno*
sit	*to'oru*
turn	*po'ota'i, ho'ita'i* (intransitive)
fall	*teke*
float	*hatara'i* (intransitive)
see	*reesi=a*
hear[93]	*noro=a*
know	*rae=a*
think	*ni'irae*
smell	*si'ini*
fear	*ma'u*
sleep	*ma'asu*
say	*iiri=a*
I	*iinau*
you (sg)	*ii'oo*
he	*iinaia*
we	*iikura, iikoru, ii'ami*
you (pl)	*ii'au*
they	*iikira*
this	*'are nena*
that	*'are waiwau*
here	*tai'ee*
there	*wau, 'ewau, wau'ee*
who	*aatei, aatai*
where	*taihai, hiihai*
when	*horo'a 'utaa*
not	*mao*
all	*rikimana*
many	*iiwera*
some	*haru, te haru*
few	*ma iiwera* (not many)
other	N/A
one	*eeta, tai*
two	*rua*
three	*ooru*
four	*hai*
five	*nima*
night	*me'etani*

---

[93] The reconstructed Proto-Oceanic form is *roŋoʀ, which is reflected in other Malaitan languages as *roŋo*. (Greenhill et al., 2008). All my consultants produced *noro* 'hear' or *paanoro* 'listen'. Greenhill et al. (2008) list *rono* for the 'Are'are village Masupa, but the form listed in Waiahaa village is *panoroha*. At least some parts of 'Are'are thus display an interesting and rather rare case of metathesis here.

day	*hairasoa, hairatoa, taitani*
year	*harisi*
rope	*waro, wareta*
give	*wate=a*
hold	*to'i=a*
squeeze	*rosi=a*
rub	*'usuri=a*
wash	*hara=a*
wipe	*'usuri=a*
pull	*uukumi=a*
throw	*'ui, 'uira'ani=a*
tie	*taki=a*

Appendix 4: Dialects

It is difficult to specify the exact number of dialects spoken amongst the 'Are'are speakers, their individual characteristics and estimate the number of speakers as no comprehensive dialectal survey has been carried out to date. Moreover, the same dialect may be known under different name in various areas. According to my main language consultant Eric Naitoro, 'Are'are speakers themselves recognize at least ten different dialects. Starting in the southern tip of Malaita and going north, the following names of villages mark the (very) rough boundaries of each dialect spoken in the west coast of 'Are'are:

1) from Make to Uuhu
2) from Uuhu to Nari'ekiara
3) from Nari'ekiara to Pipisu
4) from Pipisu to 'Ai'arai
5) from Ta'arutona to Rohinari
6) Waisisi
7) from Kiu to Waiaraha
8) from Waiaraha to Afulatara, on the borders with Kwaio.

In addition to these, the main consultant suggests that there are several dialects spoken in the east coast and in the higher located inland areas.

Differences in dialects have been also observed by Chief Ishmael Irisitapa'a. In the preface to his vernacular publication *'Are'are 'auaapu ha'ananau* (2009:6), Irisitapa lists several items from three different dialects (English glosses added):

'Ai'aisi	Ratosuu	Raroisu'u	English gloss
kini	*keni*	*keni*	'woman'
nanaa	*naina*	*nena*	'that'
naona	*raona*	*raona*	'inside'
raia	*naia*	*naia*	'his/hers'

There is a significant amount of variation in the data collected during fieldwork. In some cases the difference is in reduplication only, more commonly the variants suggest a systemic variation regarding the phonemic systems of the dialects. There are also instances of metathesis, although these are not very common in my data. Finally, some variants are completely unrelated word forms. The variants in the column headed Form 1 represent the form which is more common in my data.

Reduplication:

Form1	Form 2	English gloss
ka*kato*	*kato*	'basket'
ma'i*ma'i*	*ma'i*	'basket'

Possible systemic variation in phonemic systems:

Phonemes	Form 1	Form 2	English gloss
/m/ - /w/	**m**era	**w**era	'child'
	ii**m**era	ii**w**era	'be many'
	ma**m**arawa'a	**w**a**w**arawa'a	'be green'
/t/ - /n/	**t**ete-na	**n**eke-na	'his/her mother'
/t/ - /s/	haira**t**oa	haira**s**oa	'today'
/t/ - /k/	'a**t**e'a**t**e	'a**k**e'a**k**e	'be dry'
/s/ - /ɾ/	ko**s**u-na	ko**ɾ**u-na	'his/her back'
/ɾ/ - /h/	**r**iikoo	**h**iikoo	'play'
/ɾ/ - /t/	musu**r**a'ani=a	musu**t**a'ani=a	'spit out'
/k/ - /ʔ/	hu**k**a	hu**'**ahu**'**a	'wife'
/k/ - /m/	'**ik**i'**ik**i	'**im**i'**im**i	'root'
/h/ - /m/	**h**oi=a	**m**oi=a	'scratch'
/ʔ/ - /h/	ko**'**u	ko**h**u	'drink'
/iː/ - /uː/	**ii**wera	**uu**wera	'be many
	iihihu	**uu**huhu	'hair'
/ai/ - /iː/	**'ai**taa	**ii**taa	'what'
/a/ - /e/	**'apa'apa**	**'epe'epe**	'wing'
/e/ - /au/	**'e**rua	**'au**rua	'2dual.excl'

Metathesis:

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	English gloss
po'era	'opore	po'ore	'leaf'
sisiu'a	'u'usi'a		'be cold'
koko'ara	ko'ako'ara		'be yellow'
tarariu=a	riutaro=a		'compared with'

Unrelated forms:

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	English gloss
'iki'iki	'imi'imi	'ikisi	'root'
'ate'ate	'ake'ake	hutehute	'be dry'
koko	kokota'i	'iri'a	'be narrow'
ka'oka'oa	ro'uro'ua		'bay'
nonorata-na	rua-na		'his/her voice'
nonorohi'a	memera'a		'be red'
papare'a	sisike'a		'be clean'
raemanoha	raesenaha		'happiness'
rete	sena		'be good'
rorou	hitahita		'thunder'
tataka	taitari		'flower, blossom'
uununu'a	tatapera'a		'be smooth'
eetana horo'a	tai horo'a		'once'

It is challenging to assign a particular form to a particular variant, as often the different variants are used interchangeably by the speakers. For example it is not uncommon for the same speaker to use the forms *nekena* and *tetena* 'his/her mother' in the same sentence in a narrative. Similarly, whilst there appear to be sound correspondencies between the different dialects, the use of the variants does not seem to be always consistent. For example whilst the speakers used *mera* 'child' more often than the variant *wera*, the more common form for 'be many' was *iiwera* and not *iimera*. So while one member of the pair has /m/ where the counterpart has /w/, it is not possible to say that speakers from the particular area consistently favour one over the other.

Whilst most of the variation in my data is likely due to different dialectal variants being used by the same speakers, some word choices may be determined by discourse factors. It is possible that some forms that originally belonged to different dialects are now part of the inventory of one dialect. I also cannot exclude the possibility that some forms are synonyms rathar than dialectal variants.

Appendix 5 Custom story: *Hai'ae'ae ma Ninikowau*

Haia,   te   sisihora   na=ka   iiri=a
okay,   IDF   story   1SG=TAM   tell=3OBJ

'e=ka   so'o-na   Hai'ae'ae   ma   Ninikowau.
3SG=TAM   about-PRS   H.   and   N
'Okay, the story I going to tell is about Hai'ae'ae and Ninikowau.'

Ninikowau   mera   'a'e-na   'e   mao   aa-na.
N.   child   leg-POSS   3SG   be.not   POSS-PRS
'Ninikowau did not have any legs.'

'E   huta   ma   'a'e-na   'e   mao   aa-na.
3SG   be.born   and   leg-POSS   3SG   be.not   POSS-PRS
'He was born and he didn't have any legs.'

So   rikimana   horo'a,   Ninikowau   ka   'on~'on
so   all   time   N.   TAM   HAB~stay

wau   nima   te   rikimana   horo'a
PREP   house   IDF   all   time
'So allways, Ninikowau stays in the house, all the time.'

Okay   iinaia   Hai'ae'ae   mane   'e
okay   3SG   H.   man   3SG

to'o   aa-na   hai   wari   'a'e
own   OBL-PRS   four   unit   leg
'Okay Hai'ae'ae, he had four legs.' (Lit. 'four lots of legs')

'E   to'o   aa-na   hai   wari   'a'e   aa-na   iinaia
3SG   own   OBL-PRS   four   unit   leg   OBL-PRS   3SG

maraa-na.
by.oneself-PRS
'He has four legs to himself.'

Okay   iinaia   Ninikowau   ka   'on~'on   ha'ani=a   neke-na
okay   3SG   N.   TAM   HAB~live   with=3OBJ   mother-POSS
'Okay, N. lives with his mother.'

Rikimana	*horo'a*	*neke-na*	*ka*	*raa*	*hi*	*aano*
every	time	mother-PRS	TAM	go	to	garden

ma	*'e=ka*	*toi~to'i*	*'are*	*aa-na*	*ninikowau*	*he'eta.*
and	3SG=TAM	HAB~do	thing	BEN-PRS	N.	always

'Always mum goes to the garden and does things for N.'

Ka	*tau~tau*	*aakau*	*aa-na*	*hanara*	*ha-na*
TAM	HAB~do	?	OBL-PRS	food	PURP-PRS

mera	*na*	*kae*[94]	*'oni~'on*	*maraa-na*	*wau,*
child	DET	FUT	HAB~stay	by.oneself-PRS	PREP

wau	*nima*	*na.*
PREP	house	DET

'She prepares food for the child (who) will stay by himself in the house.'

'Are	*'e=si*	*raa*	*'ohi=a*	*te*	*'are*	*ru'u*	*moa*
thing	3SG=NEG.FUT	go	get=3OBJ	IDF	thing	INTS	?

'Things he won't be able to get things (for himself).'

'E=si	*rae*	*hua=a*	*te*	*'are*	*ru'u*	*ma*	*'e=si*
3SG=NEG.FUT	go.to	bring=3OBJ	IDF	thing	INTS	and	3SG=NEG.FUT

reko=a	*te*	*'aa*[95]	*'a-na*	*'one*	*ha'a*	*neke-na*
prepare=3OBJ	IDF	thing	BEN-PRS	?	therefore	mother-PRS

ka	*tau~tau*	*'are*	*'e*	*reko~reko*	*hanara*	*'a-na*	*no'o*
TAM	HAB~do	thing	3SG	HAB~prepare	food	BEN-PRS	INTS

'He won't be able to get anything, and won't make anything/prepare anything for himself, as a result mum makes, prepares food for him.'

Aai	*te*	*horo'a*	*ma*	*neke-na*	*'e*	*ra'au,*	*'e*	*raa*
EXCM	IDF	time	and	mother-POSS	3SG	go,	3SG	go

'One day his mother went, she went to (the) garden.'

hi	*aano.*	*Ka*	*iiri=a*	*ha-na:*
to	garden	TAM	say=3OBJ	REC-PRS

'Mum went, she went to the garden, she says to him:'

---

[94] Variant of *ka rao*
[95] Variant of *'are*

"Ninikowau,   noni   ka   raa   mai   poi~poi
N.   person TAM   go   VENT   INTS~call

ma   iinaia '0=si   ta~taha   tara-na   na"
and   3SG   2SG=NEG.FUT RDP~open   ?-PRS   SIT.DEM
'Ninikowau, (if) someone comes calling, do not open the door for them.'

Ninikowau   ka   iiri=a: "aa'a, 'e   rete   ke   teetee".
N.   TAM   say=3OBJ   yes,   3SG   be.good   EMPH   mother
'Ninikowau says: "Yes, it's okay mum."'

Ka   iiri=a: "hanara   '0,   ma   ko'uko'u   '0   ma
TAM   say=3OBJ   food   2SG   and   drink   2SG   and

rikimana   'are   '0   na=ka   na'i=a   'api-mu   tai   na"
all   thing 2SG   1SG=TAM   put=3OBJ   beside-PRS place DET
'(She) says your food, and your drink and everything for you I will put with you there.'

"Noni ka   raa   mai   poi   '0=si   ta~taha   tara-na".
person TAM   go   VENT   call   2SG=FUT.NEG RDP~open   ?-PRS
'Anyone (who) comes and calls, don't open the door for them.'

Neke-na   'e   raa   hi   aano   no'o.
mother-POSS   3SG   go   to   garden PFV
'His mother went to (the) garden.'

Neke-na   'e   raa   hi   aano,   puri-'a-na
mother-POSS   3SG   go   to   garden   after-OBL-PRS

'e   raa   'e=ma   'ewa   ma   aai!
3SG   go   3SG=NEG   be.long   and   EXCM
'His mother went to the garden, it wasn't long after she went and oi!'

Hai'ae'ae   ka   hura.
H.   TAM   arrive
'Hai'ae'ae arrives.'

Hai'ae'ae   hura   nena ma   ka   poi   no'o:
H.   arrive and then   TAM   call   now
'Hai'ae'ae arrived and now he is calling:'

"Aai! Ninikowau,   taha   tara-ku!"
EXCM N.   open   ?-1SG.PRS
'Oi! Ninikowau, open the door for me!'

Ninikowau   ka   iiri=a: "Aai!   Mao!"
N.   TAM   say=3OBJ   EXCM   no
'Ninikoway says: "Oi, no!"'

"Teteku   'e   iiri=a   na=si   taha
mother-1SG.POSS   3SG   say=3OBJ   1SG=NEG.FUT open

tara-n te   noni."
?-PRS   IDF   person
'My mum said me not to open the door to anyone.'

"Aai! Ninikowau,   taha   tara-ku!"
EXCM N.   open   ?-1SG.PRS
'Oi, Ninikowau, open the door for me!'

"Ha'ania   kura=ka   rae   ri'o-hi=a
 DM   1DU.INCL=TAM   go.to   see-TR=3OBJ

uura,   wau   kahu."
crayfish   PREP   river
'Oh, we'll go look for crayfish over in the river.'

"Ma   na=ka   wate=a   rua   'a'e   ha-mu,
 and   1SG=TAM   give=3OBJ   two   leg   REC-2SG.PRS

ha-na   kou=ka   raa   ta'i."
PURP-PRS   1DU.INCL=TAM   go   together
'And I will give you two legs, so that we go together.'

Ninikowau   ka   iiri=a: "tete-ku   'e   iiri=a
N.   TAM   say=3OBJ   mother-1SG.POSS   3SG   say=3OBJ

na=si   raa   ha-na   te   rihi."
1SG=NEG.FUT go   PREP-PRS   IDF   place
'Ninikowau says: Mum said not to go anywhere.'

Hai'ae'ae   *ka*   *iiri=a*   *no'o:*   *"ha'a*   *na=ka*
H.   TAM   say=3OBJ   now   DM?   1SG.TAM

wate=a   *te*   *rua*   *'a'e*   *ha-mu."*
give=3OBJ   IDF   two   leg   REC-2SG.PRS
'Hai'ae'ae now says: Okay, I give you two legs.'

"Ma   *kou=ka*   *raa,*   *kou=ka*   *rae*   *hua=a*
and   1DU.INCL=TAM   go,   1DU.INCL=TAM   go.to   get=3OBJ

uura,   *'o=ko*   *hua=a*   *rua*   *a'e-na*   *no'o*
crayfish,   2SG=TAM   take=3OBJ   two   leg-POSS   INTS

'a-mu-a."
POSS-2SG.PRS-?
'And we'll go, we'll go get crayfish, you'll take two legs for yourself.'

Aai,   *Ninikowau*   *'e*   *noro=a*   *ke*   *ma*   *ha'a*   *'e*
EXCM   N.   3SG   hear=3OBJ   EMPH   and   CAUS   3SG

rae   *taha*   *tara-na*   *Hai'ae'ae*   *no'o.*
go.to   open   ?-PRS   H.   now
'Ninikowau heard that and as a result went to open the door for Hai'ae'ae.'

Hai'ae'ae   *raa*   *mai*   *hi*   *rao-'i*   *ma*   *'e*   *raa*   *mai*
H.   go   VENT   to   IN-OBJ   and   3SG   go   VENT

hana   *ma*   *'e*   *'ani*   *siko=a*   *hanara*   *Ninikowau*   *na 'urihana.*
eat   and   3SG   eat   finish=3OBJ   food   N.   DET DM
'Hai'ae'ae came inside and he came, ate and he ate all of Ninikowau's food.'

'E   *tahuri=a*   *te*   *rua*   *'a'e-na*   *ha-na*   *Ninikowau*
3SG   take.off=3OBJ   IDF   two   leg-POSS   REC-PRS   N.

ma   *'urihana'e*   *wate=a*   *ha-na*   *ma*   *'urihana*
and   DM   give=3OBJ   REC-PRS   and   DM

ka   *iiri=a:*
TAM   say=3OBJ

"Raa!"	*ha-na*	*kura.*	*Kira*	*hua=a*	*kato*	*ma*
go	PURP-PRS	1DU	3PL	take=3OBJ	basket	and

kirarua	*raa*	*no'o.*
3DU	go	now

'He took off two legs for N. and gave them to him and says to them
(himself and Ninikowau):' "Let's go." They took a basket and went.'

Ninikowau	*ma*	*Hai'ae'ae*	*kiraurua*	*raa,*
N.	and	H.	3DU	go

kiraurua	*raa,*	*kiraurua*	*raa*	*so'o-n*	*kahu.*
3DU	go	3DU	go	after-PRS	river

'Ninikowau and Hai'ae'ae went, they went, they followed the river.'

"Kou=ka	*ha'e*	*ri'o-hi=a*	*uura."*
1DU.INCL=TAM	CONT	see-TR=3OBJ	crayfish

'We look for crayfish.'

Kiraurua	*rii~ri'o-hi-uura,*	*rii~ri'o-hi-uura,*
3DU	CONT~see-TR-crayfish	CONT~see-TR-crayfish

raa~raa~raa	*ma*	*ka*	*raa~raa*	*no'o*	*hi*	*raurahi*	*ma*
CONT~CONT~go	and	TAM	CONT~go	now	PREP	evening	and

Hai'ae'ae	*ka*	*poi*	*no'o:*
H.	TAM	call	now

'They looked for crayfish, looked for crayfish, and now it's going towards the evening, and Hai'ae'ae calls out:'

"Ninikowau,	*hua=a*	*mai*	*kakato-ni*	*uura*	*'o*	*na*
N.	bring=3OBJ	VENT	basket-AS	crayfish	2SG	DET

kau,	*kou*[96]	*reesi=a!"*
for.a.time	1DU.INCL	see=3OBJ

'Ninikowau, bring me your basket of crayfish, so that we can see (the content)!'

"Raa	*mai*	*ku=ka*[97]	*'aka=a*	*kakato*	*kura-'i*[98]	*na!"*
go	VENT	1DU.INCL=TAM	empty=3OBJ	basket	1DU.INCL-OBJ	DET

'Come here, we'll empty our basket (pour the content out)!'

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[96] Variant of *kura*
[97] Same as *kura=ka*
[98] The anaphoric *-'i* refers to the basket

Kira[99]	*raa*	*mai,*	*kira*	*raa*	*mai*	*'aka=a*		*ma*	*'urihana*
3PL	go	VENT	3PL	go	VENT	empty=3OBJ		and	DM

Hai'ae'ae	*'e*	*raa*	*wau*	*ma*	*'e*	*raa*	*wau*
H.	3SG	go	AND	and	3SG	go	AND

uuku	*tahuri=a*	*rua*	*'a'e-na*	*maani=a*	*Ninikowau*
pull	take.off=3OBJ	two	leg-POSS	from-3OBJ	N.

'He came (Ninikowau), he came, emptied (the basket) and Hai'ae'ae went there and pulled off two legs from Ninikowau.'

'Urihana	*'e*	*to'oni=a*	*wau*[100]	*uura*	*Ninikowau*	*na*
DM	3SG	put=3OBJ	QUANT.PL	crayfish	N.	DET

rao-na	*kakato*	*naia*	*na*	*ke*	*ma*	*raa*	*no'o,*
IN-PRS	basket	3SG.POSS	DET	EMPH	and	go	now

'e	*tahi*	*maani=a*	*Ninikowau*	*no'o*	*ha'ani=a*	*hai*	*'a'e-na.*
3SG	go.away	from=3OBJ	N.	now	with=3OBJ	four	leg-POSS

'He put Ninikowau's crayfish in his own basket and he went went, he ran away from Ninikowau with his four legs.'

Ma	*ha'a*	*kira*	*raa*	*nena*	*ma*	*ha'a*	*Hai'ae'ae*	*raa*
and	DM	3PL	go	and then		DM	H.	go

no'o	*maani=a*	*Ninikowau.*
now	from=3OBJ	N.

'And then they went (Hai'ae'ae only) and then H. went away from N.'

Aai!	*Ninikowau*	*ka*	*nara~nara,*	*ka*	*nara~nara*
EXCM	N.	TAM	CONT~cry	TAM	CONT~cry

so'o-na	*kahu*	*nena*	*rika'a*	*no'o.*
beside-PRS	river	DEM	very	now

'Oi, N. is crying, (he) is crying at the river a lot now.'

Neke-na	*ka*	*hura*	*wau*	*nima*	*ma*	*aai!*
mother-POSS	TAM	arrive	PREP	house	and	EXCM

ra'ume	*na*	*'e*	*taha.*
door	DET	3SG	be.open

'Mother arrives at the house and oi, the door is open.'

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[99] *Kira* here refers only to Ninikowau.
[100] Variant of *waru*

Ra'aume		*'e*	*taha*		*nena ma*	*ka*	*raa*	*wau*
door		3SG	be.open		and then	TAM	go	PREP

rio	*ma*	*aai!*
look	and	oi

'The door is open and then (she) goes to look and oi!'

Ninikowau	*mao*	*rao-na*	*aarau*	*na*	*nima*	*na.*
N.	be.not	IN-PRS	DM	DET	house	DET

'Ninikowau is not inside the house.'

'Urihana	*'e*	*raa*	*ma*	*ka*	*ha'e*	*suha.*
DM	3SG	go	and	TAM	CONT	ask

'(And then) she want and she is asking.'

"Aai!	*Ninikowau*	*'e*	*riu*	*ha'ani=a*	*Hai'ae'ae,*
EXCM	N.	3SG	pass.by	with=3OBJ	H.

kira	*hua=a*	*kato,*	*kira*	*iiri=a*	*kira*	*ka*
3PL	carry=3OBJ	basket	3PL	say=3OBJ	3PL	TAM

rae	*hua-uura."*
go.to	get-crayfish

'Oi, Ninikowau passed by with Hai'ae'ae, they carried a basket, they said they were going get crayfish.' (The people she asked answered.)

Neke-na	*ooro*	*no'o*	*hi*	*kahu,*	*'e*	*rae*	*rio*
mother-POSS	run	now	to	water	3SG	go.to	look

ma	*aai!*	*Ninikowau*	*ne*	*iinaia*	*ka*	*naa~nara*
and	EXCM	N.	?	3SG	TAM	CONT~cry

nena wau,	*rua-na*	*raratea*	*nena wau.*
DEM.DIST	on-PRS	bank	DEM.DIST

'Mother ran to the river, she looked and oi! Ninikowau is crying on the bank over there.'

Ka	*ha'e*	*raa*	*wau*	*ma*	*'e*	*raa*	*wau*	*haha=a*
TAM	CONT	go	PREP	and	3SG	go	AND	carry=3OBJ

Ninikowau	*ma*	*ka*	*ha'e*	*suai=a*	*no'o*	*kirau*	*ka*	*ha'e*	*oori.*
N.	and	TAM	CONT	ask=3OBJ	now	3DU	TAM	?	go

'She goes towards (Ninikowau), she went (and) carried Ninikowau and she asks (Ninikoway about what happened) and then the two of them go.'

"Aai! 'O raa 'utaa ne, 'o raa mai hura ke nena?"
EXCM 2SG go how ? 2SG go VENT arrive EMPH SIT.DEM
'Oi! How did you get here?' (Lit. 'How did you go that you got here?')

Ninikowau ka nara.
N. TAM cry
'Ninikowau is crying.'

"Hai'ae'ae 'e kae-si=nau."
H. 3SG lie-TR=1SG
'Hai'ae'ae lied to me.'

"'E iiri=a na=ka raa hani=a ma
3SG say=3OBJ 1SG=TAM go with=3OBJ and

ka wate=a te rua 'a'e-na 'a-ku=a ta'a
TAM give=3OBJ IDF two leg-POSS BEN-1SG.PRS=3OBJ SEQ

'e iiri=a 'eu=ka[101] 'aka=a kakato-ni uura
3SG say=3OBJ 1DU=TAM empty=3OBJ basket-AS crayfish

'erua na ma 'ami 'aka=a ma 'e ookemi=a
1DU.EXCL DET and 1pl empty=3obj and 3SG snatch=3OBJ

'a'e-na aa-ku ma 'e to'oni=a wau uura
leg-POSS POSS-1SG.PRS and 3SG put=3OBJ QUANT crayfish

nau na ha'ani=a uura naia ma 'e tahi
1SG.POSS DET with=3OBJ crayfish 3SG.POSS and 3SG go.away

ke maani=nau."
EMPH from=1SG
'He told (me) to go with him and he will give me two legs but then he said we empty our basket of crayfish and then we emptied it and he grabbed/snatched the legs off me, he put my crayfish with his crafish and ran away from me.'

Neke-na ka iiri=a: "ha'a iinaia na iiri=a na."
mother-POSS TAM say=3OBJ DM 3SG 1SG say=3OBJ DET
'Mum says: I told you so.'

"'O=si taa~taha tara-na te noni."
2SG=NEG.FUT RDP~open ?-PRS IDF person
'Don't open to anyone.'

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[101] Variant of *'eru=ka*

Aai	*'e*	*tani*	*rarisi*	*ru'u*	*ma*
DM	3SG	daylight	morning	again	and

neke-na	*ka*	*rereko*	*'are*	*'a-na*	*ma*	*'e*	*raa*	*ru'u,*
mother-POSS	TAM	prepare	thing	BEN-PRS	and	3SG	go	again

ma	*'urihana*	*ka*	*iiri=a*	*ha-na:*
and	DM	TAM	say=3OBJ	REC-PRS

"noni	*ka*	*raa*	*mai*	*poi,*	*ma*	*'o=si*	*taa~taha*
person	TAM	go	VENT	call	and	2SG=NEG.FUT	RDP~open

tara-na	*nena."*
?-PRS	SIT.DEM

'Okay it is the next morning again and mother prepares food for Ninikowau and went again, and said toNinikowau: " If someone comes calling don't open the door."'

Ma	*ha'a*	*aai!*
and	?	EXCM

'And then oi!'

Hai'ae'ae,	*Ninikowau*	*ha'a*	*ka*	*noro=a*	*Hai'ae'ae*
H.	N.	?	TAM	hear=3OBJ	H.

ka	*wate-'a'e-ni*	*'aa*	*'a-na*	*na,*	*iinaia*	*ka*
TAM	give-leg-AS	thing	BEN-PRS	DET	3SG	TAM

no~noro	*kau*
rdp~hear	?

'Hai'ae'ae, Ninikowau hears that Hai'ae'ae gives him legs, (and) doesn't listen (to mum).'

So	*Hai'ae'ae*	*ha'e*	*tau~tau*	*'uuna*	*no'o*	*aa-na*	*Ninikowau*
so	H.	CONT	HAB~do	?	DM	OBL-PRS	N.

raa~raa~raa~raa~raa	*'urihana*	*neke-na*	*ka*	*weo,*
HAB~HAB~HAB~HAB~go	DM	mother-POSS	TAM	be.tired

neke-na	*Ninikowau*	*ka*	*weo*	*no'o*	*ma*
mother-POSS	N.	TAM	be.tired	now	and

ka	*iiri=a*	*no'o:*
TAM	say=3OBJ	now

'Hai'ae'e did it again (tricked Ninikowau every day), mother is tired (of it) and says:'

"Te   horo'a 'o=ko   raa   ha'an Hai'ae'ae   ma
IDF   time   2SG=TAM   go   with H.   and

nari puru   so'o-na   rooti na   'o=ko   ha'e
canarium nut   PREP-PRS   road   DET   2SG=TAM   CONT

'ani=a   nena."
eat=3OBJ   SIT.DEM
'When you go with Hai'ae'ae, (if there is) a black nut (growing) on the road, you eat it.'

"'O=ko   'ani=a   ha-na   niho-mu   ka
2SG=TAM   eat=3OBJ   PURP-PRS   tooth-2SG.POSS   TAM

pupuruhi'a   na."
be.black   DET
'You eat it so that your teeth go black.'

Aai   te   horo'a ma   Hai'ae'ae   ka   hura   ru'u.
DM   IDF   time   and   H.   TAM   arrive again
'Okay, one day Hai'ae'ae arrives again.'

"Ninikowau,   taha   tara-ku!"
N.   open   ?-1SG.PRS
'Ninikowau open (the door) for me!'

Ninikowau   ka   iiri=a: "aai,   tete-ku
N.   TAM   say=3OBJ   EXCM   mother-1SG.POSS

'e   iiri=a   na=si   tara   taha-m."
3SG   say=3OBJ   1SG=NEG.FUT open   ?-2SG.PRS
'Ninikowau says: "Oi, mum said not to open to you."'

Ka   iiri=a: "aai,   hore'e   na=si   kae-si='o
TAM   say=3OBJ   EXCM   this.time   1SG=NEG.FUT lie-TR=2SG

no'o   Ninikowau."
INTS   N.
'(Hai'ae'ae) says: "This time I won't lie to you Ninikowau."'

"'O=ko   raa   ha'an=nau   'urihana   na=ka   wate=a
2SG=TAM   go   with=1SG   DM   1SG=TAM   give=3OBJ

no'o   te   rua   'a'e-ku   'a-mu=a   wa'emori."
INTS   IDF   two   leg-1SG.POSS   REC-2SG.PRS=OBJ   truly
'You come with me (and) I will really give you two legs.'

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Ninikowau	*raa*	*'e*	*rae*	*taha*	*tara-na*		*Hai'ae'ae.*
N.	go	3SG	go.to	open	?-PRS		H.

'Ninikowau went, went to open the door for Hai'ae'ae.'

Ha'i'ae'ae	*'e*	*raa*	*mai*	*ma*	*'e*	*'ani=a*
H.	3SG	go	VENT	and	3SG	eat=3OBJ

rikimana	*hanara*	*Ninikowau*	*ma*
all	food	N.	and

'e	*tapara'ani=a*	*te*	*rua*	*'a'ae-n*	*'aa*	*ha-na*
3SG	chuck=3OBJ	IDF	two	leg-AS	thing	REC-PRS

ma	*kiraurua*	*hua=a*	*kakato*	*kiraurua*	*ma*
and	3DU	take=3OBJ	basket	3DU	and

kirau	*raa*	*no'o.*
3DU	go	now

'Hai'ae'ae came in and ate all of Ninikowau's food and he chucked two legs to Ninikowau and they took a basket and they went.'

Hai'ae'ae	*ka*	*iiri=a:*	*"Ninikowau,*	*raa*	*sii!"*
H.	TAM	say=3OBJ	N.	go	PREC

'Hai'ae'ae says: "Ninikowau, go first!"'

Ninikowau:	*"Mao,*	*iinau*	*ka*	*raa~raa*	*haupuri,*
N.	be.not	1SG	TAM	RDP~go	behind

'e	*rete*	*ke."*
3SG	be.good	EMPH

'Ninikowau: " No, I am going behind (you)/at the back, it's okay."'

Kiraurua	*ha'e*	*raa~raa~raa~raa,*		*kiraurua*	*rae*	*hura*
3DU	CONT	CONT~CONT~CONT~go		3DU	go.to	arrive

na	*nari puru*	*so'o-n*		*rooti*	*na*	*ma*
?	canarium nut	PREP-PRS		road	DET	and

Ninikowau	*'e*	*si'ohi=a*	*tai*	*wari*	*nari*	*aa-i*
N.	3SG	pick.up=3OBJ	one	unit	nut	OBL-OBJ

ma	*ka*	*ha'e*	*'ani=a*	*no'o.*
and	TAM	CONT	eat=3OBJ	now

'They kept (on going), they came to the black nuts on the road, Ninikowau picked up one (piece of) nut of ? and eats it.'

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'E　　*'ani~'ani=a*　　*so'o-n*　　*roti*　*na,*
3SG　　CONT~eat=3OBJ　　PREP-PRS　　road　DET

'e　　*'an~'an*　　*so'o-n*　　*roti*　*na,*
3SG　　CONT~eat　　PREP-PRS　　road　DET

raa~raa　　*ma*　*kiraurua*　　*raa*　*kirau*　*ka*　*rae*
CONT~go　　and　3DU　　go　3DU　TAM　go.to

tapo~tapo-uura.
CONT~catch-crayfish
'He keeps on eating (whilst) following the road, he keeps on eating (whilst) following the road, keeps (on eating) and they are going to be catching crayfish.'

Kiraurua　　*rae*　*tapo~tapo-uura,*　*raa~raa~raa*　　*ma*
3DU　　go.to　CONT~catch-crayfish　CONT~CONT~go　　and

'urihana　　*ka*　*rau*　　*raurahi*　　*ma*　*Hai'ae'ae*
DM　　TAM　happen　　evening　　and　H.

ka　*poi:*　*"Ninikowau,*　*raa*　*mai*　*'aka=a*　　*uura*
TAM　call　N.　　go　VENT　empty=3OBJ　　crayfish

'o　*na*　*te'emai,*　　*ha-na*　　*kou*　*reesi=a!"*
2SG　DET　here　　PURP-PRS　　1DU　see=3OBJ
'They are catching crayfish, keep (on catching crayfish) and it's coming to evening and Hai'ae'ae calls: "Ninikowau, come here empty your crayfish so that we see!" (how many we've caught)'

Ninikowau　*raa*　*wau*　*ma*　*'e*　*raa*　*wau*
N.　　go　AND　and　3SG　go　AND

'aka=a　　*kakato-ni*　　*uura*　　*naia*　　*na,*
empty=3OBJ　　basket-AS　　crayfish　　3SG.POSS　　DET

kira　*to'oni-waiasi*　*nena.*
3PL　catch-lot　　SIT.DEM
'Ninikowau went there and went there emptied his basket of crayfish, they caught a lot.'

'E　　*'aka=a*　　*kakato-ni*　　*uura*　　*naia*　　*ma*
3SG　empty=3OBJ　basket-AS　　crayfish　　3SG.POSS　　and

Hai'ae'ae　　*'aka=a*　　*kakato-ni*　　*uura*　　*naia*　　*na*
H.　　empty=3OBJ　basket-AS　　crayfish　　3SG.POSS　　DET

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ma	*horo'a*	*ne*	*Hai'ae'ae*	*'e*	*raa*	*mai*	*ha-na*	*ka*
and	time	DET	H.	3SG	go	VENT	PURP-PRS	TAM

uukumi=a	*'a'e-na*	*maani=a*	*Ninikowau*	*ma*	*ha'a*
pull=3OBJ	leg-POSS	from=3OBJ	N.	and	DM

Ninikowau	*'e*	*sisi-niho*	*ma*	*ha'a*	*Hai'ae'ae*	*"Aai*	*mane!"*
N.	3SG	bare-tooth	and	CAUS	H.	EXCM	man

'He emptied his basket of crayfish and Hai'ae'ae emptied his basket of crayfish and
at that time Hai'ae'ae came to take the legs from Ninikowau and Ninikowau bared
his teeth and as a result Hai'ae'ae (exclaimed) "Oh man!"'

'E	*'amira'i,*	*'amira'i*	*tama-na*	*mera*	*ne*
3SG	be.surprised	be.surprised	REAS-PRS	child	DET

niho-na	*'e*	*pupuruhi'a*	*na,*	*'are*	*'e*	*aapu*
tooth-POSS	3SG	be.black	DET	thing	3SG	be.taboo

aa-na	*kira*	*Hai'ae'ae,*	*Ninikowau*	*'ani=a*	*nena*
OBL-PRS	3PL	H.	N.	eat=3OBJ	DEM

nari puru.
canarium nut

'Hai'ae'ae was surprised, surprised because the child's teeth were black, it is taboo
for Hai'ae'ae's people, Ninikowau ate that canarium nut.

Aai!	*Ninikowau*	*aai!*	*Hai'ae'ae*	*'e*	*poto'a'i*	*ma*	*ha'a*
EXCM	N.	EXCM	H.	3SG	turn	and	DM

'e	*ooro*	*no'o,*	*'e*	*ooro*	*no'o,*	*'e*	*ooro*	*no'o,*
3SG	run	INTS	3SG	run	INTS	3SG	run	INTS

'e	*ooro*	*no'o,*	*ma*	*'e*	*ooro no'o,*	*ma*	*'e*	*ooro*	*no'o*
3SG	run	INTS	and	3SG	run INTS	and	3SG	run	INTS

ma	*'e*	*ooro*	*oori*	*ha'i*	*no'o*	*tare=a*
and	3SG	run	run?	with=OBJ	INTS	towards=3OBJ

hanua	*kira*	*na.*
home	3PL	DET

'Oi! Ninikowau, Hai'ae'ae turned and he ran, he ran and he ran…and he ran for it, ran to the
home (village) of his people.'

'E   ma   ni'irae   no'o   tari=a   kato-ni   uura
3SG   NEG   remember   INTS   PREP=3OBJ   basket-AS   crayfish

naia   na   ma   'e   ooro   no'o   maani=a   rua   'a'e-na
3SG.POSS   DET   and   3SG   run   INTS   from=3OBJ   two   leg-POSS

'api-na   Ninikowau.
on-PRS   N.

'He didn't remember the basket of crayfish, and he ran away from the two legs (that were) on Ninikowau.

'E   tahi   no'o   ma   'e   raa   no'o   ma
3SG   go.away   INTS   and   3SG   go   INTS   and

'e   ooro   no'o   ma   ha'a   iinaia Ninikowau   'e   raa   ma
3SG   run   INTS   and   CAUS   3SG   N.   3SG   go   and

'e   to'oni=a   wau   uura   naia   ha'ani=a   wau
3SG   put=3OBJ   QUANT   crayfish   3SG.POSS   with=3OBJ   QUANT

uura   Hai'ae'ae   ne   'e   to'oni-'i   'a-na   ma
crayfish   H.   DET   3SG   put=PL.OBJ   BEN-PRS   and

rua   'a'e-ni 'aa   nena   'e   ha'e   raa   no'o   aa-i
two   leg-AS thing   DEM   3SG   CONT   go   INTS   INS-OBJ?

hi   nima   ma   ka   ha'e   nuu~nuu   so'o-n   roti   na
to   house   and   TAM   CONT   CONT~sing   PREP-PRS   road   DET

ma   rae-na   ka   ha'e   mano~mano.
and   being-POSS   TAM   CONT   INTS~be.happy

'He ran away and he ran and he ran and as a result Ninikowau went and he put in his crayfish with crayfish of Hai'ae'ae, he put them (in the basket) for himself, he used the two legs to walk on home and he is singing along the road and he is happy.'

Aai!   'E   hura   wau   nima   ma   aai!   neke-na   ka
EXCM   3SG   arrive PREP   house   and   EXCM   mother-POSS   TAM

pi'i   hura~hura   ke   ra'o.
IMM   INTS~arrive   EMPH   truly

'Well, he arrived home and oi!, his mum is arriving too, (or just arrived).'

Ka   iiri=a   no'o: "'Arii! Teetee, rua   wari   'a'e-ni 'are'e
TAM   say=3OBJ   now   EXCM   mum   two   unit   leg-AS thing

aa-ku   no'o!"
POSS-1SG.PRS   now

'He says: "Oi mum, I've got two legs now!"'

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"Rua wari 'a'e-ni 'are 'e aa-ku, ka~kato nau
two unit leg-AS thing 3SG POSS-1SG.PRS RDP~basket 1SG.POSS

na 'e honu aa-na uure."
DET 3SG be.full OBL-PRS crayfish
"'I've got two legs and my basket is full of crayfish.'"

Hai'ae'ae, na masi tare=a, na 'ani=a
H. 1SG smile towards=3OBJ 1SG eat=3OBJ

nari puru ma 'e ooro no'o, 'e tahi no'o,
canarium nut and 3SG run INTS 3SG go.away INTS

'e tahi no'o mara rae-na ma
3SG go.away INTS if? being-POSS and

'e ooro ma 'e raa no'o 'asia.
3SG run and 3SG run INTS away
'Hai'ae'ae, I smiled at him (=showed him teeth in a smile), I ate *nari* nut and he ran away, he ran away as if his life depended on it.'

Neke-na ka iiri=a: "'O=ko weiti,
mother-POSS TAM say=3OBJ 2SG=TAM wait

ri~ri'o-hi-'aa, kou=ka rio ha-na ra'ahore'e."
CONT~see-TR-thing 1DU=TAM look PURP-PRS tomorrow
'Mum says: "Wait, look for thingy (Hai'ae'ae), we look for him tomorrow.'

Aai! Hai'ae'ae=ma raa mai kari no'o.
EXCM H.=NEG go VENT ? INTS
'Oi, Hai'ae'ae did not come / show up.'

'E=ma raa mai kari no'o ha-na Ninikowau.
3SG=NEG go VENT ? INTS PURP-PRS N.
'He didn't come to visit Ninikowau.'

'E=ma raa mai kari no'o ha-na 'a'e-na ma
3SG=NEG go VENT ? INTS PURP-PRS leg-POSS and

'e=ma raa mai tau=a te 'aa[102] no'o ma
3SG=NEG go VENT do=3OBJ IDF thing INTS and

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[102] Variant of *'are*

iinaia	*Ninikowau,*	*iinaia*	*'e*	*tee*	*rakeke*	*aa-na*
3SG	N.	3SG	3SG	INTS?	good.luck	OBL-PRS

te	*rua*	*man*	*'a'e-na*		*'are*	*na*	*ma*	*ha'a*
IDF	two	unit	leg-AS		thing	DET	and CAUS

Ninikowau	*'a'e-na*	*'e*	*aa-na*	*no'o*	*'ua.*
N.	leg-POSS	3SG	POSS-PRS	INTS	DM

'He didn't come to visit Ninikowau, he didn't come for his legs, didn't come to
do anything, and Ninikowau, he has luck by having two legs, and as a result N. has legs.'

'A'e-na	*'e*	*aa-na*	*'urihana*	*ka*	*rae*	*hai~hairapo*
leg-POSS	3SG	POSS-PRS	DM	TAM	go.to	HAB~gather.food

ha'ani=a	*neke-na*	*wau*	*aano*	*no'o.*
with=3OBJ	mother-POSS	PREP	garden	INTS

'He's got legs and then he goes working (gathering food) with his mum in the garden.'

'E	*'o'oa*	*ha'ani=a*	*rikimana*	*mera,*
3SG	be.like	with=3OBJ	all	child

kira	*ka*	*ha'e*	*pahe~pahe*	*nena*	*no'o.*
3PL	TAM	CONT	HAB~walk.about	SIT.DEM	INTS

'He is as all the kids (that) are walking about.'

'Urihana	*sisihora*	*na*	*'e*	*siko*	*tai*	*na*	*no'o.*
DM	story	DET	3SG	finish	place	DET	now

'And the story finished there now.'

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