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THE PAAMESE LANGUAGE OF VANUATU

by

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Despite the effort that has been put into making this study of the Paamese language, I recognise, and feel somewhat guilty about the fact that this work will be of little interest to anybody but the professional linguist. I could imagine the Paamese themselves seeing little benefit in such a work except for the perhaps rather ethereal fact that an outsider has taken interest in 'them'. The Paamese people themselves repeatedly stated when I was on Paama that they would like to see in permanent written form a body of Paamese literature. Part of my fieldwork technique involved the recording on tape of stories in Paamese,

both traditional and modern, serious and not so serious. Since the adult population of Paama is overwhelmingly literate in Paamese, I felt obliged to make sure that the present work was not the only published material to appear as a result of my research. Consequently, in 1980 the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies published in their *Oral History* series (Volume 8, No. 3) a fairly long collection of Paamese stories (in Paamese, with short English translations), and the USP Centre of Vila is currently publishing a second collection of stories.

### ABBREVIATIONS

abl	ablative	dist	distant deixis
add	additional	dl	dual
adj	adjectivaliser	dom	domestic
alv	alveolar	E	English
ar.dat	areal dative	ed	edible
art	article	em	emotion
C	consonant	excl	exclusive
caus	causal	ext	extreme
cert	certain	fem	feminine
cl	clause divider	Fr	French
comm	common	G	glide
comp	completive	imm	immediate
comp.fm	compounding form	imp	imperative
compar	comparative	incl	inclusive
const	construct suffix	inst	instrumental
cop	copula	indef	indefinite
dest	destination	leg	legal
dir	direction	loc	location
dis	distant mood	man	manipulative

masc	masculine	Q	question
neg	negative	real	realis
neg.exp	negative expectation	rec	recent completive
nom	nominaliser	reDUP	final two syllable reduplication
non-sg	non-singular	REdup	initial syllable reduplication
NP	nominal phrase	REDUp	initial two syllable reduplication
obj	object	ref	referential
obl	oblique	rel	relative
oblig	obligation	rep	repetition
obv	obvious	sg	singular
ong	ongoing	sp	spatial
part	partitive/ particularising	stat	stative
pcl	paucal	sub	subsequent/ subordinator
pl	plural	tr	transitiviser
Port	Portuguese	tru	truth
poss	possessive nominal	V	vowel
pot	potential/potable	1	first person
prep	preposition	2	second person
prop	proper	3	third person
prox	proximate deixis		
pun.dat	punctual dative		
purp	purposive		



# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Geographic background

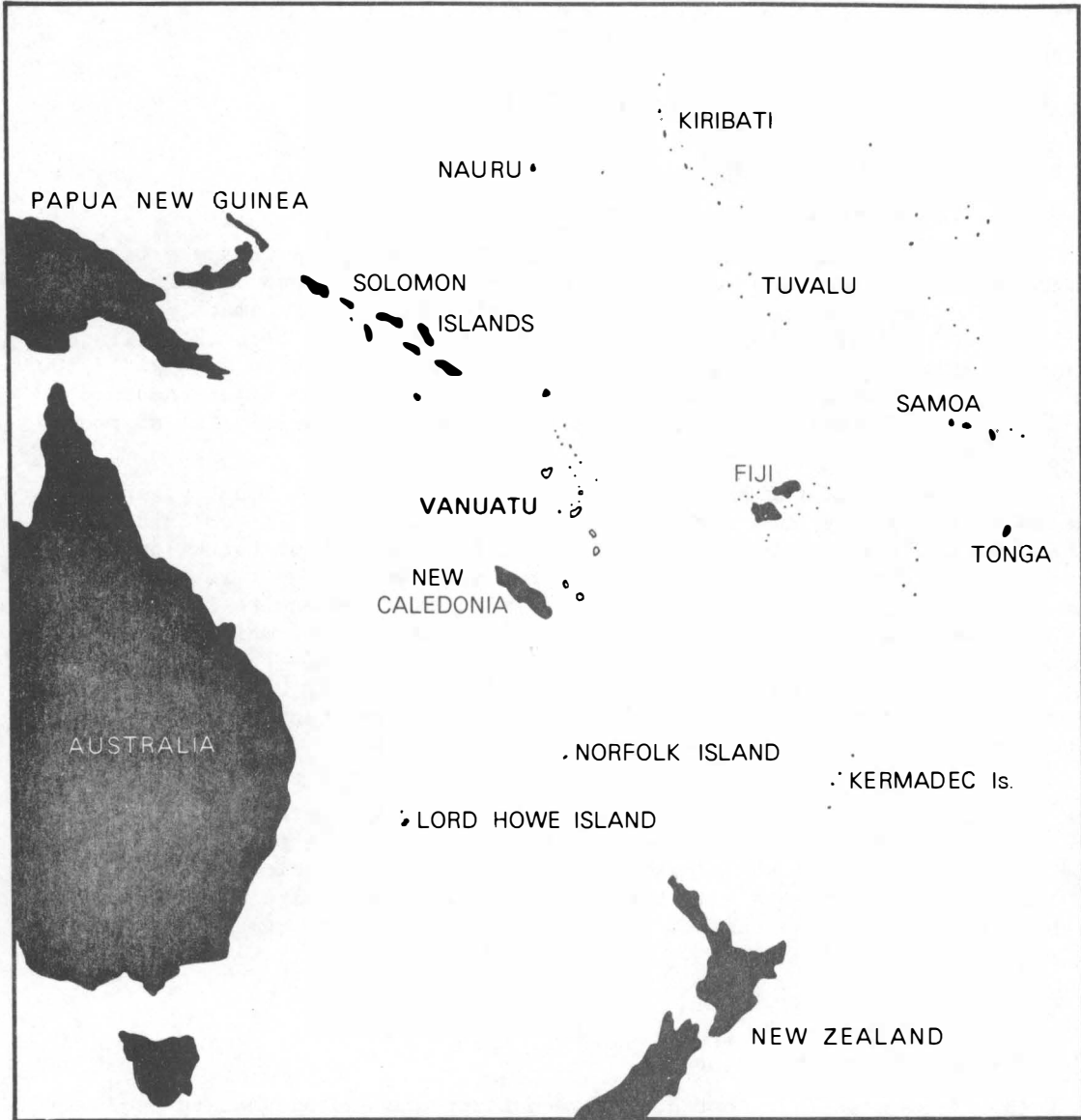
The Republic of Vanuatu is located in the middle of a triangle formed by drawing a line between the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia and Fiji in the south-west Pacific (see map 1). Vanuatu has a population of approximately 100,000, which is predominantly dispersed throughout a large number of rural villages. There are only two urban centres, the capital Vila (population approx. 17,500) and Santo (population approx. 5,000), in which the seven or eight thousand non-indigenous Europeans, Chinese, Vietnamese and other Pacific Island people mainly live.

Paama is one of the smallest populated islands in the country, and is located approximately half-way along the chain between the larger islands of Epi and Ambrym (see map 2). The island itself is only about ten kilometres from north to south and four kilometres from east to west. It is very hilly, with a range of hills rising to almost 550 m running the entire length of the island. The total population on the island is about 2,000, which is dispersed through twenty small villages concentrated mainly along the less rugged western side (see map 3). (However, there are an additional 2,000 Paamese residing temporarily off the island in the work centres of Vila, Santo and Noumea, and in various copra plantations throughout the country.)

The neighbouring island of Lopevi (see map 3), just over five kilometres from Paama, is an active volcano rising to over 1,400 m. There were originally also three Paamese-speaking villages on this island with a population totalling about 150. The volcano has a history of violent and unpredictable eruption, the last of which took place in the early 1960's. The entire population decided to shift to Ngala on the east coast of Epi, where they now remain and maintain their language.

### 1.2. Outline of recent history

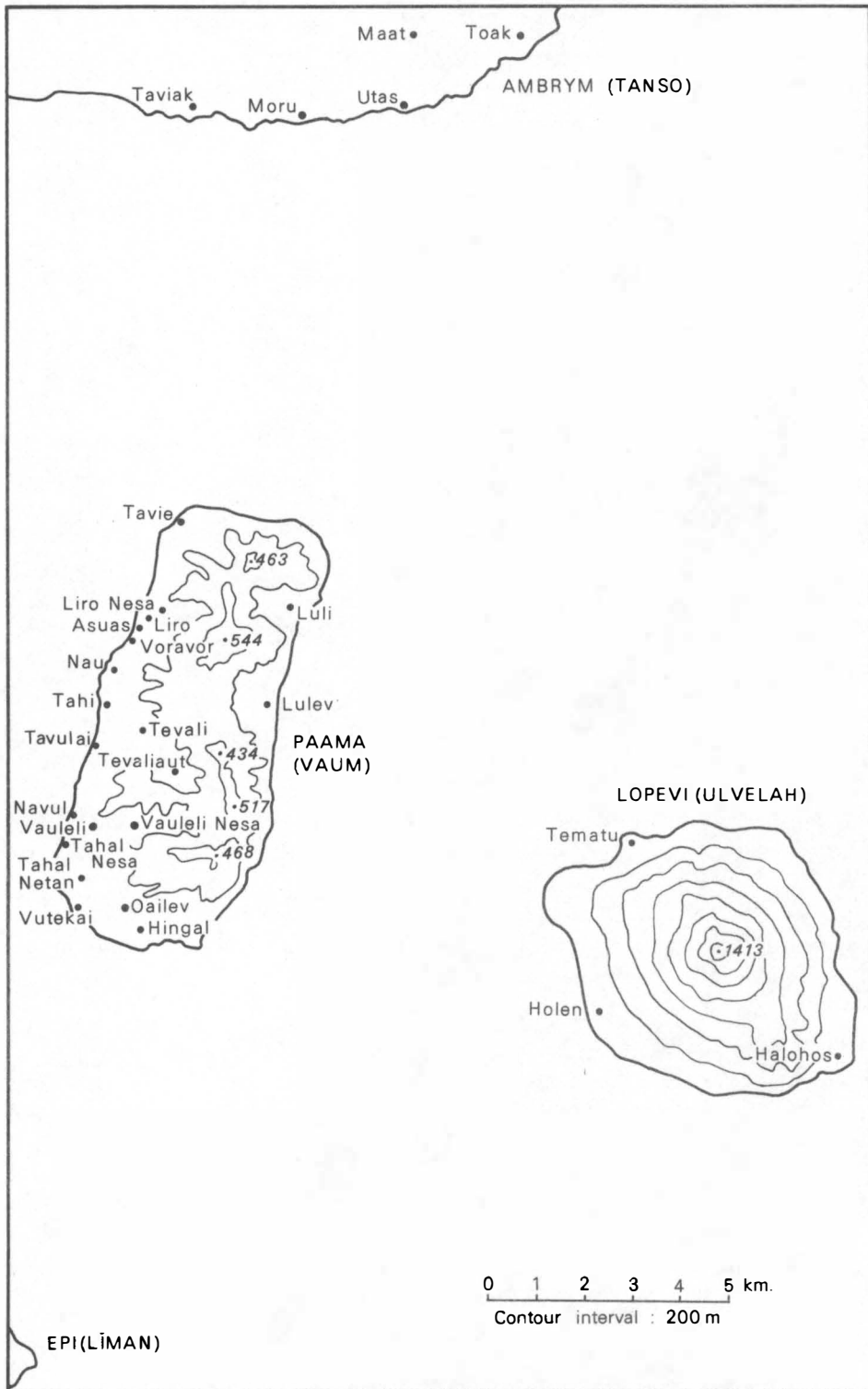
The first sustained contacts between Europeans and ni-Vanuatu began in the first half of the nineteenth century with the beginning of the sandalwood trade. The first missionaries followed immediately afterwards, evangelising first in the south, and reaching Efate by the middle of the century. The islands in the north were evangelised between then and the end of the century.



Map 1 : LOCATION OF VANUATU IN THE SOUTH - WEST PACIFIC



Map 2 : VANUATU



Map 3: PAAMA AND LOPEVI

The sandalwood traders were followed by the 'blackbirders', recruiting (sometimes by dishonest and cruel means) labourers for the sugarcane plantations of Queensland, Fiji and New Caledonia. Settlers from England and New Caledonia also began arriving around 1870, buying large areas of land (often by rather unfair means) from ni-Vanuatu and setting up coconut plantations.

Until this time, Vanuatu was under the political control of no European colonial power. In 1906 however, the 'New Hebrides Condominium' was established, in which joint control was vested in England and France. As control was to be joint, efficiency could not be great, and there was duplication of police forces, currency, the courts, education systems and so on.

In the 1970's, there was a strong nationalist reaction against colonialism in Vanuatu, and in particular against the divisiveness caused by the condominium system of government. This divisiveness was manifested at the beginning of 1980 with attempted secessions on the island of Santo in the north and Tanna in the south, with varying degrees of civil disturbance in certain other areas. The two governing powers finally handed over full powers to the newly named Vanuatu government in the middle of 1980, and the secessionist movements were quelled by the new government.

### 1.2.1. Recent history of Paama

Contact of any significance between Paama and the outside world began less than 125 years ago. The first contacts came with the blackbirders who visited Vanuatu during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Paamese evidently reacted with hostility to the first Europeans as noted by Wawn (1893:35). Frater, the first European missionary to Paama, also noted of the labour trade:

A conversation with the captain disclosed many facts and incidents about the early history of Paama. An experience of many years in the kanaka traffic had made him intimately acquainted with all the islands of the group; and he assured me that, until the commencement of mission work by native teachers, there was not a more dangerous island than Paama. The natives were always engaged in deadly intertribal wars, and entertained a bitter enmity to the white man. No boat could approach the shore without the greatest care and vigilance being exercised. Bullets and poisoned weapons very frequently welcomed the visitors. (Frater 1922:172)

Just before the turn of the century, Christian ni-Vanuatu from other islands (especially Nguna) went to Paama and began the introduction of the Presbyterian Church. In the year 1900, there was a Presbyterian mission established at the village of Liro and the process of evangelising began, and by 1915 the entire island had been 'conquered' (using Frater's term). Some idea of the attitude and motivation of the first missionary is given in the following quote:

A corner of the veil which hid their guilty past was lifted and gave us a glimpse of heathen wickedness, revolting to contemplate. (Frater 1922:182)

He also repeatedly refers to 'hateful practices', which he did his best to stamp out. Sometimes the results of his program of evangelisation puzzled him however:

The simple and primitive habits of the natives are rapidly disappearing and giving place to the very doubtful changes which follow in the wake of civilisation. (Frater 1922:33-34)

Since the turn of the century until very recently there had always been Europeans living on the island. Until the 1950's when the mission closed, there was always a missionary and his staff, and until 1977 there was a mission nurse at the government run clinic at Liro. This clinic is now run by ni-Vanuatu staff. A French medium primary school has been built at Tavulai, though this too has now come under the control of a ni-Vanuatu headmaster.

There are primary schools at Liro, Tahī, Vauleli and Luli (English medium) and Vutekai and Tavulai (French medium). There is a clinic at Liro and another at Tavulai. There are small co-operative stores at Liro, Tahī, Vauleli, Luli, Lulev, Tavulai and Vutekai. The village of Tahī has recently built a reticulated water supply system (though all other villages still have to rely on springs and wells). There are electricity generators at Liro and Tavulai supplying a few buildings with electricity for a few hours every day. The only trafficable road on the whole island was built in 1979, and most movement is still by the narrow, steep foot-tracks.

### 1.3. Socio-cultural background

There is no intention of going into any detail on either the traditional or modern culture of Paama, as Paamese culture is very similar to that of south-east Ambyrm, which has been described in some detail by Tonkinson (1968:16-40,69-92), to which the reader is referred.

The Paamese live in villages centred around the āmal<sup>1</sup> or 'meeting house'. Each village comprises a number of exogamous patrilineages, in which all the same generation males are tuak or 'brothers'. Each patrilineage has an asuv or 'chief', one of whom is also the chief of the village. Chieftainship is hereditary in that only one particular patrilineage can supply the village with a chief, but the choice of a chief within the patrilineage is by consensus. The chief only has the power to suggest, not decree, and all important decisions are by consensus in the meeting house.

The economy is agricultural. Plots of land (āh) are cleared and planted with yams (auh), sweet potato (kumal), taro (tāro), island cabbage (atin), sugarcane (ateh), banana (ahis) and so on, in the months of August-October. The yams, the staple, ripen in about March or April in the new year. Between yam seasons, important items of food are wild yams (uhia), breadfruit (veta) and sweet potato (kumal). Given the population pressure on the island, and the fact that about 2,000 Paamese at any time are living off the island (out of a total community population of 4,000) in a cash economy, rice is also very important.

Yams and other tuber foods are often eaten roasted on the fire, but are also grated, mixed with coconut milk, wrapped in special leaves (lauha) and baked slowly on hot stones to make alok or 'pudding'. This is eaten on any special occasion (including also Sunday dinners).

1. These examples are quoted in the traditional Paamese orthography, which is modified only in that vowel length is indicated by a macron.  
(See 2.1.)

Traditionally, dogs (huli), pigs (vuas), and chickens (ato) were domesticated. Now, cattle (buluk) are also domesticated.

#### 1.4. Field method

I feel it is important as part of the introduction to this grammar to give some kind of personal account of the way in which the data upon which it is based was actually gathered.

Upon my first arrival in Vanuatu, I spent approximately a month in Vila acquiring a speaking proficiency in the lingua franca Bislama (which is an English-based pidgin), and also eliciting some basic material (through Bislama) in Paamese. I then left for Paama and arranged to stay in the village of Tahal Nesa in the southern part of the island. I worked with the chief of the village, eliciting further material through Bislama, and gaining practical knowledge of the Paamese way of life. I then began recording stories on tape — traditional or modern — from anybody who was willing, transcribing and translating them with the aid of my helper. Speakers from every village on the island (as well as from Lopevi) were recorded, to gain maximum exposure to dialectal variation. During this first trip of six months, I did not acquire anything more than a very basic speaking knowledge of the language, as Bislama was both easy and always available.

I then returned to Australia to work on the material I had gathered, and prepared for a second trip of about the same duration. On the second trip I continued to record stories on tape, but made less use of a particular helper. Rather, I found that some people were keen to act as helpers for certain types of work. Some preferred to help with the lexicon, some with paradigms, some to give grammaticality judgements and so on. This way, I found that I was gaining a broader cross-section of linguistic usage and was also gaining a much better speaking knowledge myself. After three months, I was confident enough to dispense entirely with Bislama and continue with monolingual elicitation.

I again returned to Australia to prepare a full first draft grammar. While there, I was in contact with people on Paama by letter (writing in Paamese), with whom I was able to clarify certain points. On completion of the draft however, it became obvious that another trip to the field was needed, so I spent about five further weeks in Vila, again eliciting monolingually.

At all times in the field (where practical) I carried a pen and paper and made notes of significant expressions, and checked these later with other speakers. In the grammar that follows, most examples are taken from either free speech of this kind or from taped stories, rather than from formal elicitation sessions, which produce a particular style of speech that is not used in everyday speech (and is closer to the quite distinct letter-writing style).

#### 1.5. Linguistic background

The language of Paama has no indigenous name, and so is simply referred to throughout this study as 'Paamese', the name by which English-educated people from Paama refer to themselves.

### 1.5.1. The position of Paamese

Paamese is an Austronesian language of the Oceanic branch. Subgrouping within the Oceanic branch is only tentative, and there is no general agreement. Pawley (1972:98) suggests that there is an Eastern Oceanic subgroup, which divides up as shown in diagram 1.

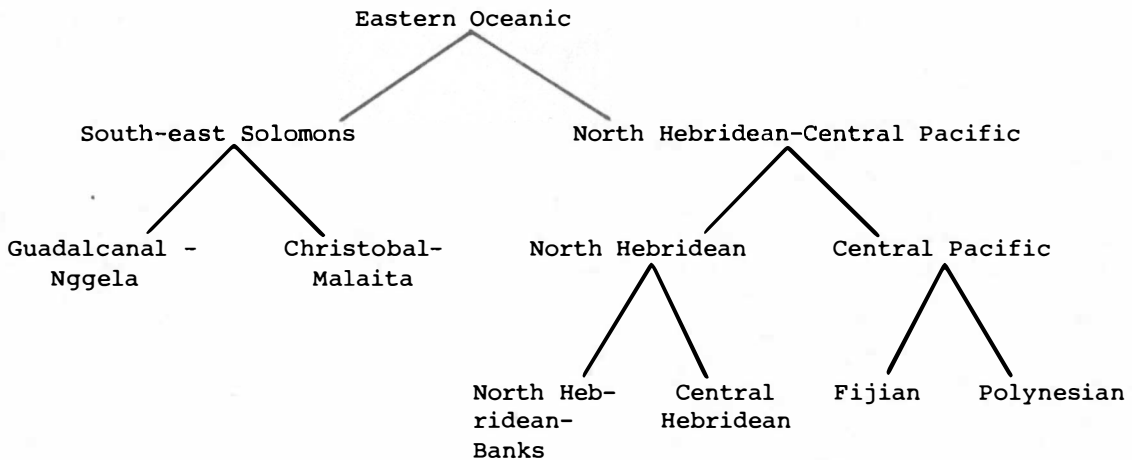


Diagram 1: Eastern Oceanic subgrouping

Paamese, along with most of the one hundred or so languages of Vanuatu, with the exception of a few Polynesian outliers and the languages of the southern islands (Aneityum, Tanna and Erromango), belongs to the North Hebridean subgroup within the larger North Hebridean-Central Pacific subgroup. Pawley proposes a two-way split from Proto-North Hebridean, though he does not say which of the two subgroups Paamese belongs to. The details of subgrouping below this level are not yet known, though Tryon (1976) has made some suggestions based on lexicostatistics and phonological innovation.

The language that is most closely related to Paamese is that of south-east Ambrym. However, despite the fact that lexical cognate sharing is in the region of 60% to 70%, there has been sufficient phonological and morphological differentiation to ensure that there is no question of there being mutual intelligibility. (This has been tested. Where neither speaker knows the other's language, Bislama is used instead.)

Although there is only patchy data available on languages of Vanuatu, Paamese appears to show great structural affinity to the languages of north Ambrym (Paton 1971) and the Big Nambas of north Malekula (Fox 1979). Some of the other languages of Vanuatu, such as those of the Banks to the north and Efate to the south, as well as some of the Solomons languages such as Kwaio (Keesing, typescript) seem to be structurally closer to Fijian than to Paamese.

### 1.5.2. Paamese dialects

Paamese, despite its small size, is not linguistically homogeneous. The island is crossed by a number of isoglosses differentiating phonological and morphological characteristics. Lexical comparisons produce an almost identical basic lexicon for the entire island, though in non-basic areas (especially names for the less common flora and fauna) there is considerably less agreement.



It is not possible to speak in terms of dialect 'splits' since the time of Proto-Paamese unity, as the entire speech community is in regular contact, and innovations have clearly spread in waves from different centres to different extents, producing the familiar 'transition' pattern of isoglosses. However, even the most differentiated dialects of the extreme north and the extreme south do not differ such that there is any question of mutual intelligibility being impaired.

The major differences between the maximally differentiated dialects are those listed below:

- (i) Object cross-reference is made on the verb in the southern dialects for common nouns with the suffix -nV (5.2.1.2.2.2.). In the northern dialects however, there is no such cross-referencing suffix. Thus:

South Nitehen<sup>1</sup> kaliko  
 North Niteh kaliko  
       *'I will cut the cloth'*

- (ii) Verb roots alternate in the form of the initial segment according to the nature of the preceding grammatical environment (5.1.1.). There are some differences between the northern and southern dialects with respect to the nature of these alternations. A root initial t- that alternates with d- in the south, alternates with r- in the north. Also, while root initial k- alternates with g- in the south, it remains invariant in the north. Thus:

South Nadehen kaliko  
 North Nareh kaliko  
       *'I cut the cloth'*

South Nagil vuluvul  
 North Nakil vuluvul  
       *'I dug the hole'*

- (iii) The basic subject markers on verbs (described in 5.2.1.1.1.) differ somewhat in the nature of the vowels. Where the southern dialects have the first person exclusive forms malu- (dl), matu- (pcl) and ma- (pl), the northern dialects have mel-, met- and me- respectively. Also, while the southern dialects have mulu- (dl), mutu- (pcl) and mu- (pl) in the second person, the northern dialects have mil-, mit- and mi- respectively, e.g.

South Matudehen kaliko  
 North Metreh kaliko  
       *'We (pcl excl) cut the cloth'*

- (iv) The northern dialects have either lost the lateral l, or changed it to i adjacent to non-high vowels, whereas the southern dialects have retained it intact, e.g.

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1. Once again, these examples are given in the traditional orthography, which represents surface rather than underlying oppositions. There is a regular process of final vowel deletion described in 2.6.2.7. which is responsible for the loss of the unspecified vowel of this suffix -nV.

South	North	
<i>leahono</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>eahono</i>	'bush'
<i>melau</i>	<i>meau</i>	'scrub turkey'
<i>valeŋe</i>	<i>vaŋe</i>	'insect type'
<i>halee</i>	<i>haee</i>	'outside'
<i>siisele</i>	<i>siisee</i>	'road'
<i>amalo</i>	<i>amai</i>	'reef'

- (v) The low vowel a also became a mid vowel before a high vowel. Before u, it raised to o, and before i, it raised to e. There was no change in the vowels of the southern dialect, e.g.

South	North	
<i>auhu</i>	<i>ouhu</i>	'yam'
<i>taunehe</i>	<i>tounahe</i>	'thing'
<i>aimo</i>	<i>eimo</i>	'house'
<i>kaiko</i>	<i>keiko</i>	'you'

The dialect which forms the basis for this study is that of the village of Tahal Nesa in the south.

### 1.5.3. Bislama

All adult males and the majority of adult females of Paama are completely bilingual between Paamese and the ni-Vanuatu lingua franca Bislama (sometimes spelt in English 'Beach-la-mar', and French as 'Bichelamar'). This is an English-based pidgin that is noticeably different from, but nevertheless related to, New Guinea and Solomon Islands Pidgins. For information on the lexical and grammatical structure of Bislama, refer to Camden (1977) and Guy (1975). With the achievement of political independence in 1980, Bislama was declared to be the national language of Vanuatu, though English and French are to be retained as languages of education.

Bislama is contributing to the wordstock of Paamese, mainly in the area of technology or introduced items not expressed by native Paamese words. The following words for example are now commonly used in the language:

Bislama	Origin	Paamese	
<i>busi</i>	Fr. bougie	<i>būsi</i>	'spark plug'
<i>botel</i>	E. bottle	<i>vōtel</i>	'glass'
<i>kalsong</i>	Fr. caleçon	<i>kalsong</i>	'men's underpants'
<i>trausis</i>	E. trousers	<i>tīrausis</i>	'shorts'
<i>lai</i>	Fr. l'ail	<i>lāi</i>	'garlic'
<i>pima</i>	Fr. piment	<i>pīma</i>	'chilli'

1. These forms are given in their underlying representations, distinguished from orthographic forms in that they are italicised. The underlying forms are quoted here, as the final vowel that is deleted on the surface by the rule described in 2.6.2.7. is also involved in the application of the |j>∅ rule.

<u>Bislama</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Paamese</u>	
kabine	Fr. cabinet	kapine	'toilet'
koboi	E. cowboy	kopoi	'he-man, cowboy'
sospen	E. saucepan	sosipen	'cooking pot'
kaliko	E. calico	kaliko	'cloth'
sapat	Port. sapato	sapat	'thongs'

There is however some lexical replacement involving native Paamese words which are now used only by older people. So for example, while the older people will use the word āh for 'garden', the younger people are more likely to borrow the Bislama form garen as kāren.

Despite this kind of pressure, this is taking place in only about a dozen common words. There is no likelihood of the language being pushed out by the lingua franca. Bislama does not enjoy prestige, nor is it stigmatised. It is simply regarded as a means of communication with non-Paamese, or between Paamese when joking. The only other kind of situation in which the Paamese are likely to switch is when drinking. It is commonly the case that when an individual becomes drunk, he will speak Bislama rather than Paamese. In fact, often, as an individual increases in his degree of inebriation, he will progress from Bislama to Bislama as spoken by an Indian or a Chinese, then to an attempt at English, and finally, in a state of complete inebriation, an attempt at French.

## CHAPTER II

### PHONOLOGY

The Paamese phonological system is rather complex in that there is a basic set of oppositions that can be recognised, which differs quite markedly from the surface oppositions in both nature and distribution. This somewhat abstract treatment of the phonology is necessary to account for the various kinds of surface alternations in the language, and to enable a simpler general statement of the phonological system to be made. Mediating between the underlying and surface levels, there is a set of complex ordered and unordered phonological rules. In this chapter, we begin by presenting the surface oppositions, with a discussion of the phonetic values of these phonemes. We will then present the underlying system as it is set up, and finally the set of phonological rules needed to derive the surface forms from the underlying forms.

#### 2.1. Surface oppositions

In this section, the surface phonological distinctions will be presented, together with the allophonic variants of each phoneme.

##### 2.1.1. Consonants

We can recognise sixteen consonant phonemes in Paamese (of which two are glides), as set out in the following table:

TABLE 1: Paamese consonant inventory			
	Labial	Apical/laminal	Dorsal/glottal
prenasalised stop	b	d	g
oral stop	p	t	k
nasal	m	n	ng
fricative	v	s	h
lateral		l	
trill		r	
glide		y	w

(There is an orthography that has been used by the Paamese for almost 75 years which accurately represents all surface consonant phonemes. This orthography will be used throughout this description of the languages. The only particular points that need to be made concerning the representation of consonants are that:

- (i) Although voicing is not distinctive for fricatives, s, h and v are the symbols used. The labial fricative, although voiceless in most environments, as shown below, and fitting into the consonant system with the always voiceless phonemes s and h, is represented by the symbol v, normally used for voiced sounds.
- (ii) The velar nasal is represented by the digraph ng. There are no consonant clusters intramorphemically in Paamese, so the use of the digraph does not create ambiguities. Note also that the vowel deletion rule described in 2.6.2.8. never produces intermorphemic sequences of n and g either.)

The distinctive nature of oppositions that might be regarded as suspicious is illustrated by the following minimal and subminimal pairs:

d	:	r	daho 'he is fat'	raho 'tree type'
b	:	v	bē 'fish type'	vē 'he is'
t	:	d	matil <sup>u</sup> 'he slept'	madil <sup>i</sup> 'it is cold'
k	:	g	kul <sup>u</sup> 'swim'	gul <sup>u</sup> 'he swam'
p	:	v	pusi <sup>e</sup> 'he kicked it'	vusi <sup>e</sup> 'he scooped it out'
l	:	r	ala 'sail'	ara 'blood'
l	:	n	latin <sup>e</sup> 'his mother'	natin <sup>e</sup> 'his son'
∅	:	h	oay 'water'	hoay 'natavua tree'

(The raised vowels represent non-syllabic vowel phonemes, the phonetic value of which is described in 2.1.2. In utterance medial environments, these vowels are lost altogether, and even in utterance final position, their realisation is very frequently zero. In the traditional Paamese orthography, these vowels are either not represented at all, or they are represented by the symbol for an ordinary vowel. The treatment in this study is to omit them in orthographic representation except in this chapter on phonology, where they are represented as above, by raised vowels. The Paamese orthography also represents glides as the corresponding high vowels. In this chapter, we will distinguish the glides from the high vowels, but in later chapters will write i for both i and y, and u for both u and w.)

We will now describe for each of the consonant phonemes its various phonetic realisations.

r. The segment r is realised as a voiced apico-alveolar trill [r] between syllabic vowels, and as a single flap [ɾ] syllable initially, before a non-syllabic vowel, or in consonant clusters, e.g.

araling <sup>e</sup>	[aɾalɪŋ <sup>e</sup> ]	'ear'
vahera	[faheɾa]	'perhaps'
ralingok <sup>u</sup>	[ɾalɪŋok <sup>u</sup> ]	'my ear'
vasir <sup>o</sup>	[fasɪɾ <sup>o</sup> ]	'bird type'
avervato	[aveɾvato]	'bird type'

(This allophony of r contrasts sharply with that of some other Vanuatu languages, e.g. Raga, Nguna, which reportedly have a predominantly retroflex continuant realisation.)

l. This segment is realised as a voiced apico-alveolar lateral, with no noticeable allophonic variation, e.g.

langolu	[laŋolu]	'blue fly'
meteymal <sup>i</sup>	[meteymal <sup>i</sup> ]	'village'

h. This segment is realised as a voiceless glottal fricative. It has no noticeable allophonic variants, e.g.

hākot <sup>o</sup>	[ha:kot̚]	'village boundary'
ahang <sup>o</sup>	[ahaŋ <sup>o</sup> ]	'fire'
māh <sup>i</sup>	[ma:hi]	'it is sore'

(The Paamese orthography does not distinguish between long and short vowels. As mentioned in footnote 1, page 6, to chapter I, this distinction is marked in this study by the macron.)

s. This segment is realised as a voiceless grooved alveolar fricative. It undergoes no noticeable allophonic variation, e.g.

sua	[sua]	'year'
isey	[isey]	'who'

v. The labial fricative v has a wide range of phonetic realisations. It is voiced between syllabic vowels and initially before a long back vowel; otherwise it is voiceless (though there is some degree of free variation). It can be articulated as a labio-dental fricative in all environments, though when there is a following back vowel, it varies freely with a bilabial fricative realisation, e.g.

avang <sup>e</sup>	[avaŋ <sup>e</sup> ]	'belly'
vāmai	[va:may]	'it is coming'
vaha	[faha]	'it is going'
lāvi	[la:vi]	'bird type'
vēn <sup>e</sup>	[fe:n <sup>e</sup> ]	'its track'
sav <sup>o</sup>	[safo̯ ~ safo̯]	'other'
vūvu	[vu:vu ~ βu:βu]	'it is bulging'

m, n, ng. These segments are realised as voiced bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar nasals respectively, with no noticeable positional variants, e.g.

ngasi <sup>e</sup>	[ŋasi <sup>e</sup> ]	'chew it'
vangen <sup>e</sup>	[faŋeŋ <sup>e</sup> ]	'his belly'
naim <sup>o</sup>	[naym <sup>o</sup> ]	'inside'
amay	[amay]	'come here'

b, d, g. These segments are realised as prenasalised voiced stops at the bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar points of articulation respectively, e.g.

daho	[ndaho]	'he is fat'
mād <sup>e</sup>	[ma:nd <sup>e</sup> ]	'sweat'
subetay	[sumbetay]	'breadfruit type'
gās <sup>i</sup>	[ŋga:s <sup>i</sup> ]	'it is sweet'

The segment d is often pronounced by the younger speakers not with the tip of the tongue blocking the air-stream on the alveolar ridge, but with the part of the tongue immediately behind the tip blocking the air-stream at the post-alveolar point of articulation, and frequently when it is released, there is a single flap of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge as the air-stream is forced out, producing a slight r off-glide. (Note, however, that this is not a retroflex sound.), e.g.

daho	[ndaho ~ nd <sup>r</sup> aho]	'he is fat'
mād <sup>e</sup>	[ma:nd <sup>e</sup> ~ ma:nd <sup>r</sup> e]	'sweat'

Phonetic sequences of [mb], [nd] and [ŋg] are treated as single phonemes rather than as consonant clusters. To treat these phonetic sequences as representing phonemic clusters would require a special statement in the morpheme structure rules to allow just these clusters in any position in the word.

This solution also seems to be in line with native speakers' intuitions about their language as reflected in the following facts:

- (i) A group of children was heard shouting the word tabos<sup>e</sup> 'inept', in a teasing manner, with one child shouting [ta] and another replying [mbose].
- (ii) Although many Paamese are familiar with orthographic nasal-stop sequences from their knowledge of written English, French and Bislama, the accepted orthography makes no such use of these spellings, with phonetic sequences of nasal and stop being represented as b, d and g.
- (iii) Words borrowed into Paamese from Bislama containing non-prenasalised voiced stops are normally adapted to the Paamese phonological system by becoming voiceless stops. So garen 'garden' for instance becomes kaarene. This suggests that it is not the voicing that is considered distinctive, but the prenasalisation.

p, t, k. These are realised as voiceless unaspirated or weakly aspirated stops at the bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar points of articulation respectively. At the end of a word (i.e. when the following non-syllabic vowel has no phonetic value) they are optionally unreleased, e.g.

tokoli <sup>e</sup>	[tokoli <sup>e</sup> ]	'touch it'
avek <sup>u</sup>	[aveky ~ avek̄ <sup>u</sup> ]	'my body'
ato	[ato]	'chicken'
pusi <sup>e</sup>	[pusi <sup>e</sup> ]	'he kicked it'
asup <sup>o</sup>	[asup̄ <sup>o</sup> ~ asup <sup>o</sup> ]	'chief'

Finally, we have the two glides, the front glide *y* and the back glide *w*, which is articulated with simultaneous lip-rounding. The distinctiveness of the opposition between these two glides and the homorganic high vowels is illustrated by the following pairs:

<i>i</i> : <i>y</i>	<i>vio</i>	' <i>it chirped</i> '	<i>vyō</i>	' <i>until</i> '
<i>u</i> : <i>w</i>	<i>suay</i>	' <i>sandy soil</i> '	<i>sway</i>	' <i>he disappeared</i> '

### 2.1.2. Vowels

The following short and long vowels are distinguished at the surface in Paamese:

TABLE 2: Paamese vowel inventory		
	front	back
high	<i>i ī</i>	<i>u ū</i>
mid	<i>e ē</i>	<i>o ō</i>
low	<i>a ā</i>	

There are also four short non-syllabic vowels corresponding to the four non-low vowels. The distinctive nature of the various height positions is illustrated by the following pairs:

<i>i</i> : <i>e</i>	<i>gilesi<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>he unscrewed it</i> '	<i>gelesi<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>he exchanged it</i> '
<i>u</i> : <i>o</i>	<i>amul<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>they stayed</i> '	<i>amol<sup>i</sup></i>	' <i>orange</i> '
<i>a</i> : <i>e</i>	<i>mal<sup>u</sup></i>	' <i>it is correct</i> '	<i>mel<sup>u</sup></i>	' <i>it is over-ripe</i> '
<i>a</i> : <i>o</i>	<i>tamesay</i>	' <i>sick</i> '	<i>tomesay</i>	' <i>we (pl. incl.) are sick</i> '

The contrastive nature of the opposition between short and long vowels is illustrated by the following:

<i>i</i> : <i>ī</i>	<i>sil<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>he got a fright</i> '	<i>sīl<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>their bones</i> '
<i>e</i> : <i>ē</i>	<i>men<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>it is ripe</i> '	<i>mēn<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>his tongue</i> '
<i>o</i> : <i>ō</i>	<i>oralu<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>our (dl. incl.)</i> '	<i>ōralu<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>our (dl. incl.) penises</i> '
<i>a</i> : <i>ā</i>	<i>vati<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>he stopped</i> '	<i>vāti<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>he is going to bite it</i> '
<i>u</i> : <i>ū</i>	<i>luhi<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>he planted it</i> '	<i>lūhi<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>you two blow it</i> '

Finally, the opposition between syllabic and non-syllabic vowels is illustrated by the following minimal pairs. Note that this opposition is only made in word final position.

<i>at<sup>o</sup></i>	' <i>tree type</i> '	<i>ato</i>	' <i>chicken</i> '
<i>mal<sup>e</sup></i>	' <i>it is ripe (of tuber)</i> '	<i>male</i>	' <i>it is unsweet</i> '



In the following paragraphs, the phonetic realisations of these vowels will be described. We will begin by describing the short syllabic vowels.

i. The vowel i is a high front unrounded vowel. Its value does not differ noticeably from the cardinal vowel [i] except when in a final closed syllable, in which case it has the more open realisation of [ɪ], e.g.

riow	[riow]	'hermit crab'
sie <sup>e</sup>	[siɛ <sup>e</sup> ]	'croton'
vasir <sup>o</sup>	[fasɪ <sup>o</sup> ]	'bird type'

u. This vowel is high, back and rounded, and has the same realisation as cardinal [u], except in a final closed syllable, in which case it is articulated with the more open allophone [ʊ], e.g.

luok <sup>u</sup>	[luokʏ]	'my vomitus'
munumun <sup>u</sup>	[munumun <sup>u</sup> ]	'he drinks'

e. The vowel e is mid, front and unrounded. It has a closed realisation in open syllables, and the more open realisation of [ɛ] in final closed syllables, e.g.

wen <sup>e</sup>	[wen <sup>e</sup> ]	'its handle'
ilel <sup>e</sup>	[ilɛ <sup>e</sup> ]	'souvenir'
eaw	[eaw]	'knife'
muek <sup>e</sup>	[muckɛ]	'breadfruit type'

o. This is a mid, back rounded vowel. It has the realisation [o] in open syllables and [ɔ] in final closed syllables, e.g.

oay	[oay]	'water'
loh <sup>o</sup>	[loɔ]	'he ran'

a. The vowel a is a low, central unrounded vowel. There is little in the way of noticeable difference between this form in all environments and the IPA cardinal vowel represented by the same symbol, e.g.

ahang <sup>o</sup>	[ahɑ <sup>o</sup> ]	'fire'
madeka	[mandeka]	'butterfly'

The phonetic range of each of these vowels is summarised in the vowel chart in diagram 2.

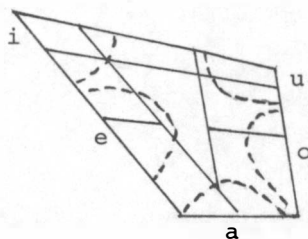


Diagram 2: Paamese vowel realisations

Each of these vowels has a long variant as mentioned above, which shares the same articulatory features as the short vowels in open syllables, and differs only in duration.

Word-finally following consonants there is a four-way contrast between non-syllabic forms of the non-low vowels *i*, *e*, *o* and *u* (there being no non-syllabic form of *a*). Also, word-finally following high vowels and glides, there is a two-way contrast between non-syllabic forms of *e* and *o*. The phonetic nature of these non-syllabic vowels will now be described.

Non-syllabic vowels are obligatorily deleted when there is some other word following it in an utterance. It is therefore only in utterance final position (including elicitation forms) that the non-syllabic vowels have any positive phonetic value. In fact, even in utterance final position, these vowels are frequently deleted. (In most environments in which a word occurs therefore, its final non-syllabic vowel is simply lost.) When they do have some phonetic manifestation they can be realised in one of the following ways:

- (i) They can be realised as short voiced vowels with tension in the glottal region (almost approaching the phenomenon of what is known as 'creaky voice') and noticeably falling pitch following a voiced segment. (This is symbolised in phonetic transcription by a raised vowel.) Following a voiceless segment, they are realised as voiceless vowels, though following *h*, they may in fact begin voiceless and end up voiced with the same kind of tense articulation as noted above. The rounding of the vowel is also carried over onto a preceding consonant.
- (ii) They can have zero realisation, but there will be assimilatory rounding of the preceding consonant according to the rounding feature of the non-syllabic vowel. A preceding stop will be unreleased.

A single form can therefore have several different phonetic realisations in absolute position as illustrated below:

aym <sup>o</sup>	[aym ~ ay <sup>o</sup> ~ ay <sup>o</sup> ]	'house'
aym <sup>e</sup>	[aym ~ ay <sup>e</sup> ]	'bird type'
evil <sup>e</sup>	[evil ~ evil <sup>e</sup> ]	'it is full'
evil <sup>u</sup>	[evil ~ evi <sub>l</sub> ~ evi <sub>l</sub> <sup>u</sup> ]	'he coughed'
mā <sup>e</sup>	[ma:nd ~ ma:nd <sup>e</sup> ]	'sweat'
ahi <sup>e</sup>	[ahi ~ ahi <sup>e</sup> ]	'Malay apple'
ai <sup>e</sup>	[ay ~ ay <sup>e</sup> ]	'fish'
awt <sup>e</sup>	[awt ~ awt <sup>e</sup> ]	'place'
awt <sup>u</sup>	[awt ~ awt <sub>u</sub> ~ awt <sub>u</sub> ]	'louse'
ahis <sup>i</sup>	[ahis ~ ahis <sub>i</sub> ]	'banana'
ahis <sup>u</sup>	[ahis ~ ahis <sub>u</sub> ~ ahis <sub>u</sub> ]	'rifle'
ā <sup>e</sup>	[a:h ~ a:h <sup>e</sup> ~ a:h <sup>e</sup> ]	'garden'
gayh <sup>o</sup>	[ŋgayh ~ ŋgayh <sub>o</sub> ~ ŋgayh <sub>o</sub> ~ ŋgayh <sub>o</sub> ]	'it is hard'

Whether a non-syllabic vowel will be realised as zero, as assimilatory rounding or as rounding accompanied by some positive phonetic vocalic value is dependent upon a number of factors. The major conditioning factors appear to be phonological. There is a number of sets of hierarchies of phonological features which account for the relative likelihood of a final non-syllabic vowel being realised or not. Thus:

- (i) Back non-syllabic vowels are more likely to be realised than front non-syllabic vowels.
- (ii) Mid non-syllabic vowels are more likely to be realised than high non-syllabic vowels.
- (iii) Non-syllabic vowels are more likely to be realised in monosyllabic forms than in disyllabic or longer forms.
- (iv) Non-syllabic vowels are more likely to be realised after voiced segments than after h, and more so after h than after other voiceless segments.

From this set of hierarchies, we can see that the maximum possibility for having a positive realisation of the non-syllabic vowel would be with a monosyllabic form with a final mid back non-syllabic vowel, with a preceding voiced segment. Thus, a form such as  $aym^0$  'house' does indeed have a very high frequency of occurrences as phonetic  $[aym^0]$ , whereas a polysyllabic form with a final front non-syllabic vowel, e.g.  $agalehey^e$  'they waved him over', is much more likely to be realised as only  $[agalehey]$ .

The conditioning factors cannot be regarded as being entirely phonological however, as there is considerable individual variation on this point. An identical form can be given different realisations by different speakers, and the same speaker can give different realisations for the same form on different occasions. Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to relate these variations to any particular factor such as age or geographical grouping, and although one hesitates to make the statement, the variation appears to be unpredictable.

### 2.1.3. Stress

At the surface, the position of stress in a word is phonologically distinctive. We therefore find subminimal pairs such as the following:

$tábos^e$	'inept'	$tahós^i$	'it is good'
$tohúlu^e$	'bush vegetable type'	$lóholu$	'uncastrated boar'

## 2.2. An uneconomical system

The ideal description of the phonology of a language is one that not only accounts for the observed facts, but does so in terms of the greatest number of generalisations. The phonological system described in 2.1. can be considered uneconomical in that it misses a number of generalisations. We will not, at this point, enter into a detailed discussion of the problems with this kind of analysis of Paamese phonology; we will simply raise a number of points that are dealt with in greater detail in 2.7. below.

The first noticeable feature with the phonological system in 2.1. is that it is rather unsymmetrical with respect to the distribution of the vowels. Although there is an opposition between long and short vowels, it is made only word medially and not word finally; similarly, although there is an opposition between syllabic and non-syllabic vowels, it is made only word finally and not word medially. Of course, asymmetry abounds in language, and asymmetry alone is not an argument against a particular analysis. If, however, it can be shown that there is an alternative analysis which will turn apparent asymmetry and wastefulness into real symmetry and economy, then we should consider this analysis to be superior to the alternative analysis.

The second observation that can be made is that the system proposed above does not allow us to account for the many allomorphic alternations involving vowels that exist in the language. For instance, there is a verb meaning 'weep', which would have to be described as having the following allomorphy according to the particular phonological environment:

$$ys \sim ys^i \sim ysi \sim is \sim is^i \sim isi$$

if we were to assume a phonological analysis that operates only in terms of surface contrasts.

Facts of this nature can best be handled in Paamese by proposing two different levels of analysis as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. The analysis presented in 2.1. represents the structuralist phonemic or 'surface' level of analysis. To account for the problems just mentioned however, we have to set up an underlying set of oppositions which differs in some respects from the surface oppositions quite markedly in their nature and their distribution. Operating on this underlying regular system, we have a set of phonological rules which produces allomorphic alternations as well as surface irregularities in the distribution of oppositions. In the following sections, we will discuss the nature of this underlying system, and the rules that operate between this and the surface system.

### 2.3. Preliminary discussion of boundaries

Before we actually enter into a detailed discussion of the underlying phonological system of the language, we will need to discuss the nature of the boundaries that are recognised.

Firstly, we need to recognise the boundary that we symbolise as #, which separates units that constitute separate phonological words. This boundary corresponds to the point at which individuals can pause in ordinary slow speech, and is the point of reference for a number of phonological rules, such as stress assignment, as well as various vowel deletion rules (which are described in 2.6.).

Morpheme boundaries, generically symbolised as -, are of two basic types, 'loose' and 'tight'. A tight morpheme boundary, specifically symbolised as +, acts in many ways like an ordinary syllable boundary (i.e. the normal sequences of segments allowed within a root are allowed over such a morpheme boundary, though there are certain root medial restrictions that are lifted over this kind of boundary). A tight morpheme boundary therefore does not act as a neutralising environment, nor is the preceding vowel subject to reduction as it is word finally. A loose morpheme boundary on the other hand, explicitly symbolised as =, is more like a word final boundary in that it provides an environment for the neutralisation of certain oppositions, and the preceding vowel is liable for reduction in certain phonological environments.

At this point, we will list for reference all the morpheme types which are separated by tight and loose boundaries respectively. A discussion of the functions of these various morphemes will be reserved for the appropriate sections of chapters IV, V and VI. The following sets of morphemes are followed by the tight morpheme boundary +:

(i) Any prefix or proclitic, e.g.

ai+sinu	'clothes'
nau+mai	'I came'
ta+tinu	'hot'
ko+va+haa	'you are going'
ta+malou	'some kava'

(ii) Any reduplicated single syllable (2.8.1.), e.g.

se+seluusi	'he habitually speaks'
me+mesai	'he is habitually sick'

(iii) Any bound nominal root (3.1.4.5.2.), e.g.

natu+ku	'my son'
sili+vetaa	'breadfruit sucker'
hiree+vuu	'heron'

(iv) Any stem with a following inflectional or derivational suffix, e.g.

lesi+ko	'he saw you'
gani+tei	'he ate some'
vinaa+tu	'he went up there'

(v) The link morpheme +i+, which links two nominal roots in certain situations (4.1.1.2.4.; 4.2.2.), e.g.

valeqe+i+hatu	'cave'
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The loose morpheme boundary on the other hand is used following the sets of morphemes listed below:

(i) The compounding form of a noun when it is followed by some other compounded element (4.1.1.2.4.), e.g.

tasi=oho	'calm sea'
moli=tiisaa	'lemon'
loko=hisi	'banana pudding'
alo=vanei	'hot sun at time of volcanic eruption'

(ii) Any reduplicated double syllable (2.8.2.), e.g.

mera=merau	'it is soft'
kuru=kurumu	'incisors'

(iii) Any stem with a following reduplicated double syllable (2.8.3.), e.g.

dupasu=pasu	'it is smoky all over'
matou=tou	'undiluted coconut milk'

(iv) Any morpheme with a following clitic, e.g.

aloko=se	'only the pudding'
lesi+e=suko	'then he saw it'
ahue=lii=mau	'oh, what a lot of turtles!'

(This is in fact one of the criteria for distinguishing between clitics and other suffixes, as other suffixes are always preceded by a tight morpheme boundary. For discussion of the separate status of clitics syntactically, see 3.6.3.)

## 2.4. Phonological base

### 2.4.1. Consonants

The underlying consonant inventory does not differ from that at the surface as described in 2.1.1. except that there are no underlying glides.

(It should be pointed out however, that there is a neutralisation of the opposition between the labial obstruents *p* and *v* in the following positions:

- (i) Before a word boundary #, and
- (ii) before a loose morpheme boundary =.

The archiphoneme that appears in this position shares the phonetic characteristics of *p* and *v* in free variation in a word final syllable, while in a medial syllable, it has the phonetic characteristics of *v* only. We therefore find free alternation between forms such as *āv<sup>i</sup>* and *āp<sup>i</sup>* 'firewood'; on the other hand, when there is a following clitic, for example *-se* 'negative expectation', the realisation can only be *āvise* 'only the firewood'. Given that the archiphoneme can always have the realisation of *v* and only occasionally of *p*, it has been decided to represent it as *v* (Trubetskoy 1971:79-83).)

### 2.4.2. Vowels

The underlying vowel system contains only five vowels, which do not differ in length as they do at the surface, nor is there a distinction between syllabic and non-syllabic, again, as there is at the surface. This system is therefore considerably simpler than the surface set of oppositions.

Some of these underlying vocalic oppositions are neutralised in certain environments. Following the low vowel *a* in any position in a root, there is no opposition between any of the non-high vowels *e*, *a* and *o*. The non-high archiphoneme undergoes the same phonological processes as the vowel *a*, and never as *e* or *o*. There is also an unconditional neutralisation of the opposition between the front and back mid vowels *e* and *o* following another mid vowel. The mid archiphoneme in this case has the realisations of the vowel *e* following *e* and of *o* following *o*. Finally, there is an unconditional neutralisation of the contrast between *i* and *u* following *i*, with the high archiphoneme undergoing the same phonological processes as the vowel *i*.

There are some underlying oppositions between non-high vowels that are neutralised (i) word finally and (ii) before a clitic. (There is therefore no neutralisation word medially before a loose morpheme boundary in a nominal compound, or when the boundary separates reduplicated syllables in a stem.)

Firstly, there is a neutralisation of the opposition between *a* and *e* following consonants, with the non-high non-back archiphoneme undergoing the same phonological processes as the vowel *e*. The underlying nature of the vowel can be established when it appears in one of the non-neutralising

environments (i.e. in a compound or reduplicated form). The following reduplicated forms illustrate the fact that the underlying stem final contrast between a and e is neutralised word-finally:

Underlying form	Phonological input <sup>1</sup>	
hesa=hesa	hesa=hese	'comb tree'
kera=kera	kera=kere	'scabies'
mane=mane	mane=mane	'palm type'
male=male	male=male	'he has cramp'

The following examples involving the use of special compounding forms of nouns with the loss of an initial vowel (4.1.1.2.4.1.2.) further exemplify this kind of neutralisation:

Underlying form	Phonological input	
aute	aute	'place'
ute=mese	ute=mese	'place that doesn't have what you want'
ausa	ause	'rain'
usa=loho	usa=loho	'sweeping rain'

Following mid vowels in the same boundary environments, there is a neutralisation of the opposition between all non-high vowels. The non-high archiphoneme undergoes the same phonological processes as the preceding vowel. The following reduplicated forms illustrate this kind of neutralisation:

Underlying form	Phonological input	
nea=nea	nea=nee	'lizard type'
lee=lee	lee=lee	'he looked'
ma+koa=koa	ma+koa=koo	'it is crushed'
soo=soo	soo=soo	'yam spade'

Note also the following compound form:

Underlying form	Phonological input	
avea	avee	'gong'
vea=lili	vea=lili	'hand held drum'

Finally, following high vowels in the same boundary environments, there is a neutralisation of the opposition between low and mid vowels, with the front archiphoneme undergoing the same phonological processes as e and the back archiphoneme undergoing the same processes as o. So, note the following reduplications:

1. By 'phonological input', what is meant is the actual input to the various phonological rule component, which is not necessarily the same as the underlying forms, as these examples show.

Underlying form	Phonological input	
hia=hia	hia=hie	<i>'plant type'</i>
rua=rua	rua=rue	<i>'rough sea'</i>
hue=hue	hue=hue	<i>'sand grass'</i>
nue=nue	nue=nue	<i>'tree type'</i>
vio=vio	vio=vio	<i>'it chirped'</i>

There is also a neutralisation of the opposition between words of the form CV and CVV, in which the two vowels are identical. The archiphoneme undergoes the same phonological processes as do identical double vowel sequences, e.g.

Underlying form	Phonological input	
ve	vee	<i>'it is'</i>
voo	voo	<i>'it stinks'</i>

Once again, it is by the existence of alternations that the underlying distinction can be recognised. When the word undergoes accretion (and so no longer has the form CVV), we note that there is a contrast between single and double vowels, e.g.

Underlying form	Phonological input	
ro+ve+tei	ro+ve+tei	<i>'it is not'</i>
ro+voo+tei	ro+voo+tei	<i>'it does not stink'</i>

#### 2.4.2.1. Representation of underspecified vowels

We have decided that rather than complicate phonological representations by resorting to archiphonemic symbols, we will instead wherever possible represent an archiphoneme by the symbol for the vowel from which its surface realisation is derived. For instance, in the following:

le	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{v} \\ -\text{hi} \\ -\text{lo} \end{bmatrix}$	lilu	<i>'breadfruit type'</i>
ro	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{v} \\ -\text{hi} \\ -\text{lo} \end{bmatrix}$	rato	<i>'ant type'</i>
ti	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{v} \\ +\text{hi} \end{bmatrix}$		<i>'punch'</i>
vina	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{v} \\ -\text{hi} \end{bmatrix}$		<i>'he went up'</i>

the forms are represented simply as leelilu, roorato, tii and vinaa respectively.



There is a small number of surface forms which are derived from a base input of the type CVV which take no prefixes or suffixes, so the underlying single or double status of the vowels cannot be tested. Such items are cited in their underlying forms simply as CV(V), e.g.

Underlying form	Phonological input	
vo(o)	voo	'until'
ka(a)	kaa	'yes'

Those forms ending in mid vowels in the kinds of neutralising environments stated above are represented as having final -e and -o. However, it should be pointed out that as no reduplicated or compounded forms are attested in many cases, this vowel could be underlying a, though there are no alternations by which this could be established. Therefore, while a form like ause 'rain' is clearly underlying ausa (see above), a form like aihe 'husking stick' could be underlyingly either aihe or aiha, and there is no way that the actual form can be established, as there are no attested compounds based on the root \*ihe- or \*iha-, nor is there an attested reduplicated form \*aiha=aihe or \*aihe=aihe.

There are two situations in which an underlying final vowel must be completely unspecified, and is simply represented as V. This is the case when the particular vowel can never occur utterance finally or with a following suffix to indicate what its underlying status should be. These two situations are:

- (i) At the end of the nominal construct suffix -nV (4.2.3.),  
and
- (ii) at the end of the verbal common object suffix of the same form (5.2.2.1.2.2.).

#### 2.4.2.2. Vowel features

In the following discussions of the morpheme structure and the rule component, it is repeatedly necessary to make generalisations concerning classes of vowels. This can best be achieved by using the features of backness, highness and lowness. Thus:

i	[ +hi -back ]
u	[ +hi +back ]
e	[ -hi -lo -back ]
o	[ -hi -lo +back ]
a	[ +lo ]

The vowel a is redundantly specified also as [-back] rather than as [+back]. The reason for this is that it forms a natural class with the front vowel e rather than the back vowel o, as shown by the fact that there is a neutralisation of the opposition between e and a as mentioned above in certain positions. This vowel is also redundantly specified as [-high], just as the words i and u are redundantly specified as [-low].

### 2.4.3. Stress

Although on the surface, stress appears to be phonemic, it is predictable at this underlying level of analysis. There is a rule that predominantly assigns antepenultimate stress, operating from the word boundary. There are certain circumstances in which stress is retracted or advanced in the word. To account for these shifts of stress it is necessary to speak in terms of underlying 'unstressable' vowels ( $\check{V}$ ) which contrast with 'stressable' vowels (V). (There will be further discussion, and justification, of this feature, in 2.6.1.)

## 2.5. Underlying morpheme structure

### 2.5.1. Distribution of segments

In its underlying syllable structure, Paamese reflects a widely repeated Oceanic pattern, in which the canonical syllable shape is:

(C) V

where C represents any consonant and V any vowel. The two possibilities allowed by this formula are illustrated by the initial syllables of the following examples:

V	ani	'fever'
CV	mate	'he died'

(Note that there are vowel deletion rules as described in 2.6.2. which generate surface consonant clusters intervocally.)

This syllable canon allows for sequences of vowels across syllable boundaries in a root, and there is in fact a rather wide range of vowel sequencing possibilities. There is not complete freedom however, as a number of strictures apply.

Root medially, we can have any two vowel sequences (including identical vowel sequences) while the only three vowel sequences that are allowed are those covered by the following generalisations:

(i) Any two non-high vowels with an intervening high vowel:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \boxed{-\text{hi}} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+\text{hi}} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \boxed{-\text{hi}} \end{array}$$

e.g.

veiene	'sand'
houavu	'tree type'
vauhe	'bird type'

(ii) Any two high vowels with an intervening vowel:

$$\begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+hi} \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+hi} \end{matrix}$$

e.g.

ueile	<i>'yam stakes'</i>
uiita	<i>'octopus'</i>

We must however state that there is a specific restriction against having underlying sequences of three identical high vowels, which is allowed by the above generalisation.

Root finally, we can have any of these sequences, and also the following additional sequences of three vowels:

(i) Any vowel followed by a low vowel with a following high vowel:

$$\begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+lo} \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+hi} \end{matrix}$$

e.g.

aai	<i>'stick'</i>
oai	<i>'water'</i>
suai	<i>'sandy soil'</i>
aau	<i>'vine'</i>
eau	<i>'knife'</i>

(ii) Any double high vowel followed by a mid vowel:

$$\begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+hi} \\ \boxed{\alpha\text{back}} \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+hi} \\ \boxed{\alpha\text{back}} \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ \boxed{-hi} \\ \boxed{-lo} \end{matrix}$$

e.g.

vaiie	<i>'all'</i>
muluue	<i>'he vomited'</i>

It is possible, of course, to have sequences of more than two or three vowels in a root, as long as the sequences are allowed by the statements just made, e.g.

voiaau	<i>'rope'</i>
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## 2.5.2. Distribution of non-stressable vowels

The suprasegmental feature [-stressable] referred to in 2.4.3. can appear only on the vowel in the antepenultimate syllable of forms of three or more syllables and on the initial syllable of a disyllabic form, e.g.

visoŋðsaa	<i>'early morning'</i>
metavinãvoŋi	<i>'midnight'</i>
tãhosi	<i>'it is good'</i>
vesěsali	<i>'near'</i>
vakĩllii	<i>'canoe'</i>
molãtine	<i>'man'</i>
vatĩnaa	<i>'widow'</i>

There is also a set of trisyllabic nouns with initial a- which only optionally takes this feature on the initial vowel. There are therefore alternative forms such as the following:

ahatu ~ šhatu	'rock'
ahie ~ šhie	'Malay apple'
ahue ~ šhue	'turtle'
atinu ~ štinu	'island cabbage'

This a- is not historically part of the root and is still separable under certain circumstances (4.1.1.2.4.1.2.); the original prefixial status of this form is reflected in the fact that it is optionally unstressable.

A non-stressable vowel can also immediately precede a stressable vowel. The only restriction is that there cannot be any sequence of identical high vowels in which the first is unstressable. So, while \*ŭu and \*ŷi sequences are disallowed, we do find examples such as the following:

vŷasi	'pig'
sŷai	'he disappeared'
vŷo(o)	'until'

Finally, there is a single form that is irregular in that it has two non-stressable vowels, one in the antepenultimate syllable, and another in the syllable preceding this:

tŷvŷeli	'not exist'
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## 2.6. Rule component

Operating on the base forms described in 2.4. we have a series of ordered and unordered rules to derive the surface phonemic forms. Although most of the phonological rules can be expressed without reference to any particular form classes, some do need to be expressed with reference to particular morphological categories. In this section, we will describe firstly the unrestricted rules, and then those rules which are also subject to morphological conditioning (though without implying any ordering relationship in doing so).

We will also describe the stress rules separately from the rules dealing with segments as the stress rules are rather more difficult to state formally, and therefore require special discussion. There are some segmental rules that are ordered before stress assignment, so it should not be assumed that in discussing stress first, we are in any way suggesting that it applies at the underlying base level.

### 2.6.1. Stress rules

The basic stress rule in Paamese is rather complex, and can be stated as:

$$I. \quad V \rightarrow [+ \text{stress}] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \left( \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (C) \check{V} \\ (C) V- \end{array} \right\} \right) (C) V (C) V \# \\ \# ((C) \check{V}) (C) \text{ --- } (C) V \# \end{array} \right\}$$

The effect of this rule is to apply stress to the antepenultimate syllable in most cases, though it can be seen that it does apply stress also to non-antepenultimate syllables in some instances.

The first part of this rule states that stress is assigned to:

- (i) The antepenultimate syllable of a word of three or more syllables when this is not marked with the feature [+unstressable] or when it is not morpheme final.
- (ii) The syllable preceding the antepenultimate vowel when the antepenultimate vowel is marked with the feature [+unstressable] or when it is morpheme final.

The second part of the rule states that stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable in the following circumstances:

- (i) When the word is disyllabic.
- (ii) When the word is trisyllabic, but the antepenultimate vowel is marked with the feature [+unstressable], e.g.

Input	I	Phonemic <sup>1</sup>	
visokono	visókono	visókon <sup>o</sup>	'morning'
manekolii	manekólii	manekóli	'darkness'
vasiie	vasíie	vasí <sup>e</sup>	'all'
ani	áni	án <sup>i</sup>	'fever'
vee	vée	vě	'it is'
munge	múnge	múng <sup>e</sup>	'uncircumcised'
mesai	mésai	mésay	'he is sick'
hoai	hóai	hóay	'tree type'
tarĩpenge	táripenge	táripeng <sup>e</sup>	'lazy'
na+tǎhosi	nátahosi	nétahos <sup>i</sup>	'I am good'
tǎhosi	tahósi	tahós <sup>i</sup>	'he is good'
vǔasi	vuási	vwás <sup>i</sup>	'pig'
ma+tuva+ta	matúvaa	matúva	'I will shoot it'
matu+vaa	mátuvaa	mátuva	'we (pcl.excl.) went'
loho=loho	lohóloho	lóholoh <sup>o</sup>	'he ran about'
ko+va+sau	kovásau	kóvosaw	'you will sing'

(Note also that the phonotactically irregular form tǔvǔeli 'not exist' mentioned in 2.5.2. also comes under the scope of this rule. The surface phonemic form is therefore tovwél<sup>i</sup>.)

1. The phonemic forms quoted are the output of these stress rules as well as the segmental rules described in 2.6.2.

In addition to this basic stress rule however, there are two further rules of stress-shift, which shift stress one syllable to the right or the left in certain circumstances. The leftward stress-shift rule has the following form:

$$\text{II. } v(C) \begin{array}{c} \acute{v} \\ [+hi] \\ [\alpha back] \end{array} \rightarrow \acute{v}(C)v/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} v \\ [-hi] \\ v \\ [+hi] \\ [\alpha back] \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule states that:

- (i) Stress shifts to the next preceding syllable when the vowel that is assigned stress by rule I is high and there is a following non-high vowel, and that
- (ii) stress also shifts to the next syllable to the left when there is a following high vowel with opposite marking for backness.

e.g.

<u>Input</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
uriovu	uríovu	úriovu	úriov <sup>u</sup>	'end wall of house'
vote+i+tasi	voteítasi	votéitasi	votéytas <sup>i</sup>	'seabed'
tahui=neke	tahuíneke	tahúineke	tahúyneke <sup>e</sup>	'that tahui banana'
suai <sup>1</sup>	súai	...	súay	'sandy soil'

The rightward stress shift rule can be stated in the following way:

$$\text{III. } \#(C) \begin{array}{c} \acute{v} \\ [+hi] \end{array} - v \begin{array}{c} \grave{v} \\ [-hi] \end{array} \rightarrow (C) v \acute{v}$$

This states that a high vowel in an initial syllable followed by a non-high vowel over a morpheme boundary undergoes stress retraction to the following syllable, e.g.

<u>Input</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
i+ali	íali	íáli	íál <sup>i</sup>	'they will walk'
i+ole	íole	íóle	íól <sup>e</sup>	'they will chase'
lu+ali	lúali	luáli	luál <sup>i</sup>	'you two walk'
suai	súai	...	súay	'sandy soil'

1. As the phonological rules produce alternations, the examples presented below the line in these sections illustrate those forms which do not undergo the rule as they do not meet the structural requirements. The alternating forms can therefore easily be compared.

The result of the application of these three stress rules is that from an underlying pair of the form *tábose* 'inept' and *táhosi* 'it is good', we derive a surface contrast in the location of stress:

*tábose* 'inept'  
*táhosi* 'it is good'

It might seem more appropriate to speak in terms of underlying distinctive stress. However, the fact that stress should be treated as rule-introduced is illustrated by the fact that stress is mobile. If suffixes are added to a stem, stress shifts and maintains its basically antepenultimate position in the word, e.g.

*í* nau 'I'  
*ináu*=l*ii* 'oh, me'  
*inau*=l*if*=r*isi* 'oh, me again'  
*inau*=l*ii*=r*í*s*i*=k*ee* 'oh, me again now'

Even those forms which have non-antepenultimate stress in their surface forms still undergo regular retraction according to rule I when suffixes are added. So, *molátine* 'man' has the following forms:

*mó*l*at*ine 'man'  
*molatí*ne=se 'only the man'

It is clear from this that stress applies from the word boundary and not from some fixed syllable in the stem. Were there to be some retraction rule operating from a base of *inau* and *mólatine*, it clearly operates differently in each case, and this is a powerful argument against treating stress as being present in the base.

## 2.6.2. Segmental rules operating in all form classes

### 2.6.2.1. I-Backing

The vowel *i* is backed to *u* according to the following rule:

$$\text{IV. } \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+hi} \\ \boxed{-back} \end{array} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \boxed{+back} / \text{---} \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+hi} \\ \boxed{+back} \end{array} \\ \text{---} \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \boxed{+hi} \\ \boxed{+back} \end{array} / \end{array} \right.$$

This rule states firstly that the vowel *i* is obligatorily backed to *u* before the vowel *u* over a morpheme boundary, and secondly that it is optionally backed to *u* following the vowel *u* over a morpheme boundary, e.g.

Input	IV	Phonemic	
<i>i+umo</i>	<i>uumo</i>	$\bar{u}m^{\circ}$	'they will work'
<i>i+uasite</i>	<i>uuasie</i>	$uasi^e$	'they will hit him'
<i>mati=ue</i>	<i>matuue</i>	$mat\bar{u}^e$	'rising tide'
<i>lau+ipio</i>	<i>lauupio</i>	$lawpi^{\circ}$	'leaf of ipi-tree'

<u>Input</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
i+ali	...	ial <sup>i</sup>	'they will walk'
mati=mese	...	matimes <sup>e</sup>	'falling tide'
vati+ipio	...	vatīpi <sup>o</sup>	'ipi-tree'

The need to include the morpheme boundary in the statement of this rule is illustrated by the following forms which have a sequence of front and back high vowels within the root, which is not affected by the process of backing:

<u>Input</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
uiite	wīte <sup>e</sup>	'octopus'
hui-	huy-	'important'
tahui	tahuy	'banana type'

#### 2.6.2.2. E-Backing

The following optional rule backs the vowel e to o when there is a following u:

$$v. \begin{bmatrix} v \\ -hi \\ -lo \\ -back \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow ( [+back] ) / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} v \\ +hi \\ +back \end{bmatrix}$$

Although the effect of this rule is similar to that of the rule discussed in 2.6.2.1., it clearly needs to be stated separately on the grounds that the environments in which the backing takes place are somewhat different. Thus:

- (i) This rule applies only when the front vowel precedes the back vowel, and not when it follows the back vowel.
- (ii) This rule is stated without reference to any morpheme boundaries whereas the previous rule applies only over morpheme boundaries.

Some examples illustrating the application of this rule are:

<u>Input</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
he+usili+e	housilie	howsilie <sup>e</sup>	'he will follow him'
he+uasi+e	houasie	howasie <sup>e</sup>	'he will hit him'
uheuhe	uhouhe	uhowh <sup>e</sup>	'whitewood'
he+oho	...	heoh <sup>o</sup>	'it will be white'

#### 2.6.2.3. Homorganic vowel deletion

Certain sequences of identical vowels reduce to a single vowel according to the following rule:



$$\text{VI. } \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ [\alpha] \end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \text{---} \text{v} \\ [\alpha] \\ \text{v} \text{---} \text{v} \\ [\alpha] \end{array} \right]$$

Condition: There may be no following = or #.

This rule states that in stem medial position, a vowel is deleted between an identical vowel and any other vowel, either preceding or following it, e.g.

<u>Input</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
sii+itee		siitee	sīte	'juice of it'
mee+ene		meene	mēn <sup>e</sup>	'urinating'
i+uasi+e	uuasie	uasie	uasi <sup>e</sup>	'they will hit him'
luue+ne		luene	luen <sup>e</sup>	'his vomitus'
mu+uaai		muāai	muāy	'he cried'
lau+ipio	lauupio	laupio	lawpi <sup>o</sup>	'leaf of ipi-tree'
hai+ipio		haipio	haypi <sup>o</sup>	'ipi-fruit'
ane+eau		aneau	aneaw	'knife blade'
<u>vasiie</u>		...	vasī <sup>e</sup>	'all'
mu+luue		...	mulū <sup>e</sup>	'he vomited'
mu+luue=se		...	mulūes <sup>e</sup>	'he only vomited'
mutti+e		...	mutī <sup>e</sup>	'he punched him'

This rule needs to be ordered after the application of rule IV. There are two examples above which show that there are some uu sequences produced by IV which are subsequently reduced to u by VI. The rule also needs to be ordered before the basic stress rule, as in certain situations underlying triple vowel sequences are reduced to double vowel sequences, and these are treated for syllable counting purposes as two syllables only, and not three syllables.

#### 2.6.2.4. E-Raising

We need to express the following rule:

$$\text{VII. } e \rightarrow i / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} a \\ o \end{array} \right\} \text{---} a$$

which raises the mid vowel e to i between the vowels o and a on the one hand, and the vowels a and a on the other. This rule is involved in the derivation of forms such as the following:

<u>Input</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
lenga+ealo	lengaialo	lengayal <sup>o</sup>	'dry bark of oak tree'
lango+ealo	langoialo	langoyal <sup>o</sup>	'branch of oak tree'

## 2.6.2.5. E-Deletion

To deal with the mid vowel *e*, we also need to set up a rule of the following form:

VIII.  $e \rightarrow \emptyset / i \_ a$

This rule deletes the vowel *e* whenever it occurs in the sequence *iea*. Thus:

Input	VIII	Phonemic	
vati+ealo	vatialo	vatial <sup>o</sup>	'oak tree'

## 2.6.2.6. Glide formation

High vowels in certain environments are reduced to homorganic glides according to the following rule:

IX. 
$$\begin{bmatrix} v \\ +hi \\ \alpha back \\ -stress \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +glide \\ \alpha back \end{bmatrix} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#(C) \\ p \\ v \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} v \\ [-hi] \\ [+hi \\ -\alpha back] \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} v \\ [-hi] \\ v \\ [+hi \\ -\alpha back] \end{array} \right\} - \end{array} \right\}$$

There is one condition on this rule, namely that when a word initial high vowel is followed by a morpheme boundary, the glide formation rule does not apply.

The first part of the rule therefore states that an unstressed high vowel becomes a homorganic glide before a non-high vowel or a high vowel with the opposite marking for backness either (a) in the initial syllable of a word (subject to the constraint just mentioned) or (b) in any syllable in a word following a labial obstruent, e.g.

Input <sup>1</sup>	IX	Phonemic	
suái	sway	sway	'he disappeared'
uáni	wani	wan <sup>i</sup>	'cross-cousin'
uíite	wiite	wít <sup>e</sup>	'octopus'
vuéli	vweli	vwel <sup>i</sup>	'it is not visible'
vió(o)	vyo	vyō	'until'
úpuase	upwase	upwas <sup>e</sup>	'breadfruit type'
tovuéli	tovweli	tovwel <sup>i</sup>	'there is none'

1. The stressed syllables are marked in the input for these forms as the rule operates after the application of the stress rules, and the position of stress is involved in the statement of the rule.

<u>Input</u>	<u>IX</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
ki-áli	...	kial <sup>i</sup>	'you will walk'
i-áli	...	ial <sup>i</sup>	'they will walk'
súai	...	suay	'sandy soil'
útuua	...	utua	'boil'
vío	...	vio	'it chirped'
úriovu	...	uriov <sup>u</sup>	'end wall of house'
mulúue	...	mulū <sup>e</sup>	'he vomited'

The second part of the rule states than any non-stressed high vowel following a non-high vowel or a high vowel with opposite marking for backness becomes a homorganic glide, e.g.

<u>Input</u>	<u>IX</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
hé-isi	heysi	heys <sup>i</sup>	'he will weep'
má-umo	mawmo	mawm <sup>o</sup>	'I am going to work'
mátow	matow	matow	'dry coconut'
óai	oay	oay	'fresh water'
táhui	tahuy	tahuy	'banana type'
távoui	tavoy	tavoy	'navel tree'

This rule clearly must be ordered after the rules applying stress. To avoid the derivation of forms like underlying i-úmo 'they will work' into \*iwm<sup>o</sup>, we need to order rule IX after rule IV to produce the intermediate form u-umo, which does not meet the structural description for the application of the glide formation rule.

There is no convincing evidence that rule V and rule IX need to be ordered. The way that rule V is stated, with the vowel u conditioning the backing of an adjacent e to o, the ordering is necessarily V before IX, as illustrated by the following:

<u>Input</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>IX</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
uhéuhe	uhouhe	uhowhe	uhowh <sup>e</sup>	'whitewood'

There is however no reason that rule V cannot be stated such that it is the glide w which conditions the backing of the preceding e, in which case the reverse order would be necessary. Thus:

<u>Input</u>	<u>IX</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
uhéuhe	uhewhe	uhowhe	uhowh <sup>e</sup>	'whitewood'

#### 2.6.2.7. Final vowel deletion and desyllabification

There is a rule which either deletes (in some cases optionally) vowels or reduces them to non-syllabic vowels in particular environments before word boundaries or loose morpheme boundaries (but never before tight morpheme boundaries). This rule is rather complex, and can be stated in the following way:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{X. } \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \text{[}\alpha\text{hi]} \end{array} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 \left[ \text{-syllabic} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{-\} \\ \{\#\} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{xvc} \quad \text{v} \\ \text{[-}\alpha\text{hi]} \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \# \emptyset \\
 \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{-\} \\ \{\#\} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{xvc} \quad \text{v} \\ \text{[-}\alpha\text{hi]} \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \# \text{x} \\
 (\emptyset) / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{v} \quad \text{C} \text{---} = \text{C} \\ \text{[-stress]} \\ \{-\} \\ \{\#\} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{c} \text{xvc} \quad \text{v} \\ \text{[-}\alpha\text{hi]} \\ \text{[-stress]} \end{array} \right\} \text{---} = \text{C}
 \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

The first part of this rule states that all word final vowels in absolute position (i.e. utterance finally, including elicitation forms) are desyllabified following consonants, and also following vowels with the opposite marking for height (but only when there are at least two syllable peaks in the morpheme before the desyllabified vowel). The second part of the rule states that word final vowels in non-absolute position (i.e. utterance medial position) are deleted in the same sets of environments, e.g.

Input	X (ABS)	X (NON-ABS)	Phonemic	
ahisi	ahis <sup>i</sup>	ahis	ahis <sup>i</sup>	'banana'
ahisu	ahis <sup>u</sup>	ahis	ahis <sup>u</sup>	'rifle'
ahue	ahu <sup>e</sup>	ahu	ahu <sup>e</sup>	'turtle'
akio	aki <sup>o</sup>	aki	aki <sup>o</sup>	'dolphin'
tuo	...	...	tuo	'brother'
rue	...	...	rue	'he uprooted'
na-dio	...	...	nadio	'I pushed'

The final part of the rule deals with vowels followed by consonants over internal morpheme boundaries. When there is a preceding consonant that follows an unstressed vowel, there is optional deletion of the vowel, as also there is when there is an immediately preceding unstressed vowel with opposite marking for height (but only when there are at least two syllable peaks in the morpheme before the optionally deleted vowel), e.g.

Input	IX	X (ABS)	X (NON-ABS)	Phonemic	
mol(i)=tiísaá		mol(i)tiisaa	mol(i)tiisaa	mol(i)tísa	'lemon'
vili=hílii		vil(i)hili	vil(i)hili	vil(i)hili	'it is red'
ahue=lií=mau	ahueliimaw	ahu(e)liimaw	ahu(e)liimaw	ahu(e)límaw	'oh, what a turtle'
gova=ovási+e		govaovasi <sup>e</sup>	govaovasi	govaovasi <sup>e</sup>	'he slapped it'
tási=oho		tasioh <sup>o</sup>	tasioh	tasioh <sup>o</sup>	'calm sea'
lóho=loho		lohoh <sup>o</sup>	lohoh	lohoh <sup>o</sup>	'he ran about'

<u>Input</u>	<u>IX</u>	<u>X (ABS)</u>	<u>X (NON-ABS)</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
nátu=hisi		natuhis <sup>i</sup>	natuhis	natuhis <sup>i</sup>	'nandunde type'
rúa=rue		ruaru <sup>e</sup>	ruaru	ruaru <sup>e</sup>	'rough sea'
sio=témate		siotemat <sup>e</sup>	siotemat	siotemat <sup>e</sup>	'kingfisher type'

The following examples also illustrate the fact that when the boundary is a tight boundary, there is no deletion of the preceding vowel whatever the phonological environment:

<u>Input</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
ramula+suúvene	ramulasūvene	'tassles on mat'
meto+máitelu	metomaytel <sup>u</sup>	'our (pcl.excl.) eyes'

There is one exception to this rule that needs to be stated, and that involves the copula *he*. Although this verb may meet the structural description for the desyllabification or deletion of the final vowel, the rule does not in fact apply. So, contrast the derivations of *va-le* 'it will exist' and *va-he* 'it will be':

<u>Input</u>	<u>X (ABS)</u>	<u>X (NON-ABS)</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
va-le	val <sup>e</sup>	val	val <sup>e</sup>	'it will exist'
va-he	...	...	vahe	'it will be'

This rule is necessarily ordered after the rule assigning stress, as stress is part of its structural description. It must also be ordered after rule IX to ensure that at the time of the application of rule X, final sequences of non-high followed by high vowels have undergone glide formation. If the reverse ordering were to hold, we would have underlying forms such as *mesai* 'he is sick' becoming what would be represented as \**mesa<sup>i</sup>* rather than the correct form, which is *mesay*. (Note that sequences of low vowels followed by non-syllabic vowels never occur in the language.)

#### 2.6.2.8. Medial vowel deletion

Word medially over a morpheme boundary (whether it be a tight or a loose boundary), when there is a consonant both preceding and following, a vowel is sometimes deleted. This vowel deletion rule can be stated as:

XI.  $V \rightarrow (\emptyset) / VC \text{ --- } - CV (C) V$

The deletion cannot take place in the initial syllable of a word, nor can it take place when there is only a single syllable following it. For example, there can be no vowel deletion in an underlying form such as *ni-kulu* 'I will swim', nor in *ahine-ke* 'this woman', as this would create consonant clusters in initial position, and with final vowel deletion, also in final position.

A description of the behaviour of this rule is actually somewhat problematic. It might appear that the rule should be collapsed with rule X as this rule also deletes morpheme final vowels. With forms such as *natu-hisi* 'nandunde type' for example, there is a contradiction, with rule X prohibiting the deletion of the vowel before the internal morpheme boundary and rule XI as stated above allowing optional deletion. The rule is in fact not genuinely

optional as suggested above, as there is a complex set of interrelating factors - phonological, grammatical, and even non-linguistic - which combine to determine the relative likelihood of the rule applying to a particular form. Some combinations of factors require that the rule apply always, others condition largely free application, while others produce a situation in which there is almost no likelihood of application. The main (but probably not all) factors are listed below.

There is a hierarchy among the vowels that expresses the likelihood that they will delete in the conditions stated. This can be expressed as:

↓  
 i  
 u  
 e/o  
 a  
 ↓

i.e. front over back, high over non-high and mid over low. High vowels are therefore prone to deletion, whereas low vowels never delete. For example, the compound *hisi-hosi* 'pudding banana' is heard as either *hishos<sup>i</sup>* or *hisihos<sup>i</sup>*, whereas *mola-hosi* 'male' is never heard as anything but *molahos<sup>i</sup>*.

There is also a hierarchy among the consonants adjacent to the vowel which similarly affects the likelihood of the rule applying. Whether or not the consonants are identical is also an influencing factor. Thus:

↓  
 identical alveolar  
 one alveolar, one non-alveolar  
 non-identical alveolar  
 identical non-alveolar  
 non-identical non-alveolar  
 ↓

So for example, if a vowel is followed and preceded by identical alveolar consonants, deletion is highly likely (though of course not when the vowel is *a*, as just mentioned). The same vowel is somewhat less likely to undergo deletion when the adjacent consonants are still alveolar but not identical, and finally, deletion is less likely again when neither is alveolar.

When the following form is a verbal inflectional suffix (5.2.1.2.) deletion is also more likely to take place than when it is a clitic (6.1.3.2.3.). This rule is obligatory when the vowel is *i*, the preceding consonant an alveolar and the following morpheme an alveolar initial suffix. Thus:

<u>Input</u>	<u>IX</u>	<u>XI</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
gati+tei	gatitey	gattey	gattey	'he bit some'
ma+an+tei	maanitey	maantey	mādey	'I will eat some'
ḡani+nau	ḡaninaw	ḡannaw	ḡanaw	'it burnt me'

There is also a geographical factor involved which complicates the situation even further. The more prestigious northern dialects allow much wider application of this rule than do the southern dialects, even following prefix boundaries. So, corresponding to the southern *leheku<sup>u</sup>* 'you and I will swim' from *lehe+kulu*, the northern dialects have *lehku<sup>l</sup>*. Forms such as this are also occasionally heard in the south, so we cannot exclude them from the statement of the rule. We consequently find that under this kind of pressure, certain forms which by rule X it would be predicted retain the morpheme final vowel, do in fact lose it, albeit rarely, and in some circumstances more than others.

This is clearly an aspect of Paamese phonology that is currently under-going change. The only valid way to write this rule would include attested percentage figures to indicate the likelihoods and possibilities, figures which unfortunately are not available at the present.

### 2.6.2.9. Consonant degemination

Rules X and XI create consonant clusters word medially, which are reduced in some circumstances by regular rules. The first such rule degeminates identical non-stop consonants. This rule can be stated as:

$$\text{XII. } \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \boxed{\alpha\text{place}} \\ \boxed{-\text{stop}} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \boxed{\alpha\text{place}} \\ \boxed{-\text{stop}} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \boxed{\alpha\text{place}} \\ \boxed{-\text{stop}} \end{array}$$

Input	IX	X	XI	XII	Phonemic	
hisi=saa			hissaa	hisaa	hisa	'what kind of banana'
tinu-nau	tinunaw		tinnaw	tinaw	tinaw	'island cabbage type'
imo=matuu		immatuu		imatuu	imatu	'former house'
ahe=haau	ahehaaw	ahhaaw		ahaaw	ahāw	'new garden'
qani+nau	qaninaw		qannaw	qanaw	qanaw	'it burnt me'
gati+tei	gatitey		gattey	...	gattey	'he bit some'
ute=tiisaa		uttiisaa		...	uttīsa	'tabu place'

### 2.6.2.10. Resolution of nt sequences

We also need to formulate a rule to account for the fact that nt sequences created by the vowel deletion rules are resolved as d (which is phonetically [nd], as pointed out in 2.1.1.) with a preceding stress (i.e. when the cluster is produced by rule XI), while those without preceding stress (i.e. those sequences produced by rule X) only optionally undergo the change. This rule can be stated as:

$$\text{XIII. } nt \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} d / \begin{array}{c} v \\ \boxed{+\text{stress}} \end{array} \\ (d) / \begin{array}{c} v \\ \boxed{-\text{stress}} \end{array} \end{array} \right\}$$

e.g.

Input	IX	X	XI	XIII	Phonemic	
ma+áni+tei	maanitey		maantey	maadey	mādey	'I will eat some'
manu=táai	manutaay	mantaay		madaay	madāy	'perched flying fox'
véni=tasi		venitas <sup>i</sup>	ventas <sup>i</sup>	vedas <sup>i</sup>	vedas <sup>i</sup>	'knowing the sea'

## 2.6.2.11. Resolution of double vowel sequences

Sequences of identical double vowels are resolved as single short vowels or as long vowels according to the following rule:

$$\text{XIV. } \begin{bmatrix} \overset{v}{\alpha} \\ \alpha \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \overset{v}{\alpha} \\ \alpha \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \begin{array}{l} \overset{v}{\alpha} / \overline{[-\text{stress}] \#} \\ \begin{array}{l} \overset{v}{\alpha} \\ \alpha \\ [+long] \end{array} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{--- (C) } v \\ \overline{[+\text{stress}] \#} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right. \end{array}$$

The first part of this rule states that a word final double vowel reduces to a single (short) vowel when neither vowel is stressed. The second part states that a word final double vowel (one member of which is stressed) and a word medial double vowel (with one vowel either stressed or unstressed) become long vowels, e.g.

Input	X	XIV	
tási=voo	—	tasivo	'putrid sea water in coconut shell'
ná+vee		nave	'I am'
málee		male	'it is unsweet'
vóo		vō	'it stinks'
vée		vē	'it is'
malée=se	malees <sup>e</sup>	malēs <sup>e</sup>	'it is only unsweet'
táa		tā	'one'

Given that stress is part of the structural description of this rule, it must clearly be ordered after the rules assigning stress. It also needs to be ordered after rule IV, to ensure that underlying iu sequences become uu, and then undergo lengthening to produce ū. There is also an ordering relationship with rule VI, this applying first, to reduce certain other sequences of double vowels to single vowels. Finally, it applies after the vowel deletion and desyllabification rules, as the final short vowel outputs are unaffected by this rule.

## 2.6.2.12. A-Raising

There is a rule which raises the low vowel a to one of the mid vowels (e or o) when it is preceded by a consonant and followed by a sequence of consonant (other than h) and a, over a tight morpheme boundary. This rule can be stated as:

$$\text{XV. } \begin{bmatrix} \overset{v}{a} \\ [+lo] \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -lo \\ -hi \end{bmatrix} / C \text{ --- } + C \overset{v}{a} \begin{bmatrix} \\ [+lo] \end{bmatrix}$$

The raising rule shifts the vowel to e with some speakers, while others raise it to o. Others raise it to o following a labial and e following all other consonants, e.g.

Input	IX	X	XIV	XV	
ta+tāhosi	—	—	tatahos <sup>i</sup>	tetahos <sup>i</sup>	'good'
na+tāhosi			natahos <sup>i</sup>	netahos <sup>i</sup>	'I am good'



<u>Input</u>	<u>IX</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>XIV</u>	<u>XV</u>	
<u>ma+tāhosi</u>		matahos <sup>i</sup>		motahos <sup>i</sup>	'we (pl.excl.) are good'
<u>ta+mesai</u>	tamesay			tamesay	'sick'
<u>ma+haa</u>			maha	maha	'I am going'
<u>a+tāhosi</u>		atahos <sup>i</sup>		atahos <sup>i</sup>	'they are good'

### 2.6.3. Morphologically conditioned rules dealing with segments

#### 2.6.3.1. Deletion of final -ke

Certain forms with underlying final -ke delete this obligatorily when there is something following it over a morpheme boundary, and optionally delete it word finally. This rule can be stated as:

$$\text{XVI. } ke \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset / \text{---} - c \\ (\emptyset) / \text{---} \# \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule however only applies with grammatical items and not with lexical items. This suggests that the final -ke in the grammatical forms may have been some kind of formative that became analysed as part of the root. There is in fact a clitic of the form -ke with a demonstrative function (6.1.3.2.2.), though it would seem somewhat distant in meaning and function to be related to this deletable -ke sequence, e.g.

<u>Input</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
<u>ekoke=se=ke</u>	ekose(k <sup>e</sup> )	'right here'
<u>aute=neke=ɲani=ke</u>	awteneɲani(k <sup>e</sup> )	'that place there'
<u>ekoke=neke</u>	ekone(k <sup>e</sup> )	'over there'
<u>muko=neke=se=ke</u>	mukonese(k <sup>e</sup> )	'just like that'
<u>munake</u>	muna(k <sup>e</sup> )	'if'
<u>mueke=neke</u>	muekene(k <sup>e</sup> )	'that muek-breadfruit'
<u>ruruveke=ke</u>	ruruveke(k <sup>e</sup> )	'this ruruvek-fish'

This rule must be ordered after the rule deleting and desyllabifying final vowels to avoid the subsequent desyllabification of the vowel that is left in word final position. It also applies after stress assignment, as the deleted syllable still counts as a syllable.

#### 2.6.3.2. E-Prothesis

There is an optional rule of e-prothesis which can be stated as:

$$\text{XVII. } \emptyset \rightarrow (e) / \text{---} \# \text{CV(C)V} \#$$

This states that e is optionally added before a consonant-initial form of two syllables. This rule is limited in its application to only the following forms:

(i) Intransitive verbs

(ii) Location nouns

It is probable once again that this process with verbs reflects a once productive process of e- prefixation. (See discussion in 2.9.5.) There is also a locative marker of the form a or e found in many Vanuatu languages, which presumably has the same origin as the prothetic e- with location nouns. (See 2.9.4.)

Examples of this process are given below:

	<u>Input</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
(i)	mule	(e)mu <sup>l</sup> e	'it exists'
	gulu	(e)gul <sup>u</sup>	'he swam'
	saa	esa ~ s <sup>a</sup>	'it perched'
	voo	evo ~ v <sup>o</sup>	'it stinks'
(ii)	dano	(e)dan <sup>o</sup>	'down'
	dasi	(e)das <sup>i</sup>	'in the sea'

This rule needs to be ordered prior to the application of the rules deleting and desyllabifying vowels, deriving glides and resolving double vowel sequences as it operates in terms of underlying syllable peaks.

### 2.6.3.3. NV-Deletion

There is a rule which deletes sequences of nasal followed by the front mid vowel before a morpheme boundary, when the following morpheme begins with an identical nasal. This rule can be stated as:

$$\text{XVIII. } \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \boxed{\begin{array}{l} \alpha\text{place} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{array}} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \boxed{\begin{array}{l} -\text{hi} \\ -\text{lo} \\ -\text{back} \end{array}} \end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} - \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \boxed{\begin{array}{l} \alpha\text{place} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{array}} \end{array}$$

This rule only applies when the following nasal is the initial consonant of a possessive suffix. So, note the following examples:

<u>Input</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	
tine-ne	tin <sup>e</sup>	'his intestines'
latine-ne	latin <sup>e</sup>	'his mother'
ahine-nalii	ahinali	'his sister'
mane-nalii	manali	'her brother'
tame-mo	tam <sup>o</sup>	'your father'

Although these forms look as if they could be derived by first applying medial vowel deletion (XI) and then consonant degemination (XII), these rules apply differently in that rule XVIII is obligatory whereas rule XI is optional, and rule XI does not apply when the following morpheme is the final syllable of the word in any case. A separate rule must therefore be set up.

#### 2.6.4. Summary of rule ordering

At various points throughout the preceding sections, arguments were presented where necessary to justify the ordering relationships of particular pairs of rules. These orderings are summarised in the table below. A plus sign in a column indicates that the rule represented by a number at the top of the column is ordered *after* the rule represented by the number in the column on the left. A blank indicates that there is no ordering relationship. A question mark indicates that there is a possible ordering relationship, but no way of proving which ordering is correct.

TABLE 3: Summary of rule ordering

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
I		+	+			+			+	+				+		+		
II									+	+				+		+		
III									+	+				+		+		
IV						+			+					+				
V									?									
VI														+				
VII																		
VIII																		
IX					?					+								+
X												+		+		+		+
XI												+	+					
XII																		
XIII																		
XIV																		+
XV																		
XVI																		
XVII																		
XVIII																		

#### 2.7. Justification of analysis

Given the rather abstract nature of the underlying forms we have set up and the fact that no underlying form is directly reflected on the surface without first applying at least one (and usually more) of the phonological rules, some justification should be offered for the kind of analysis that is proposed. In certain cases we will need to justify the underlying equation of differing surface forms (e.g. medial long vowels and final short vowels, as against medial short vowels and final non-syllabic vowels), and in these cases, as well as in others, also the particular nature of the underlying forms (e.g. the analysis of glides as underlying high vowels and medial long vowels/final short vowels as identical double vowel sequences).

There are three kinds of argument that can be presented in justification of a phonological analysis. Firstly, we have arguments based on linguistic history. Secondly, there are arguments revolving around the notion of the 'simplicity' of underlying forms and phonological rules. Finally, we have arguments dealing with actual phonological alternations. In themselves, the first two kinds of argument are too weak to prove any kind of abstract analysis, and only become important when they are found to back up the evidence presented in the form of phonological alternations.

### 2.7.1. Historical arguments

It is not unreasonable to set up these kinds of underlying forms in the light of the reconstructed history of the language. There has been no intention in this chapter to go into the phonological history of Paamese, though this can be worked out in considerable detail as the parent language (Proto-Oceanic) has had a large amount of reconstructive work done on it.

Historical evidence for the treatment of final short vowels and medial long vowels as underlying double vowels comes in the following examples in which a medial consonant has been lost, producing double vowel sequences:

Proto Oceanic	>	Underlying Form	Surface Form	
*daRa-ŋku	>	raaku	rāku <sup>u</sup>	'my blood'
*suRi-ŋku	>	siiku	sīku <sup>u</sup>	'my bone'
*nako-ŋku	>	naaku	nāku <sup>u</sup>	'my face'
*a laya	>	alaa	ala	'sail'
*a nsapa	>	asaa	asa	'what'
*a toqa	>	atoo	ato	'chicken'
*penako	>	hena	hena	'steal'
*paqoRu	>	haau	hāw	'new'
*toko	>	too	tō	'stay'

(It needs to be kept in mind that the oppositions between certain vowels are neutralised following some vowels. Refer to 2.4.2.)

Historical evidence for the treatment of glides as underlying high vowels also comes in the form of historical changes involving loss of consonants between high vowels and non-high vowels, e.g.

Proto Oceanic	>	Underlying Form	Surface Form	
*masaki	>	mesai	mesay	'sick'
*a ika	>	aie	ay <sup>e</sup>	'fish'
*paqoRu	>	haau	hāw	'new'
*maqudi	>	mauli	mawli	'alive'
*matakū	>	metau	metaw	'afraid'
*a qunsa	>	ausa	aws <sup>e</sup>	'rain'
*a qulo	>	aulo	awl <sup>o</sup>	'maggot'

The above examples also provide considerable evidence that surface non-syllabic vowels word finally derive historically from final single vowels, so in this respect also the underlying forms more closely reflect the reconstructed Proto-Oceanic forms.

### 2.7.2. Arguments for simplicity

Arguments on the basis of simplicity can be looked at in two ways, firstly with respect to the underlying phonological inventory and morpheme structure, and secondly with respect to the rules that operate on the underlying forms.

The surface inventory of vowel contrasts is a rather uneconomical type of system when compared to the underlying system presented in 2.4., as mentioned in 2.2. While there is a long/short contrast word medially, there is no contrast word finally. Also, while there is a word final contrast between syllabic and non-syllabic vowels, there is no such contrast word medially. The surface inventory also includes two glides, while the underlying system has none (and contains therefore, two less phonemes).

The surface morpheme structure rules are far too complex to try explicitly to formulate at this point. This in itself is an argument for the uneconomical nature of this system, as the underlying morpheme structure as described in 2.5. is very simple. The surface morpheme structure for example allows syllables to be of the types CGV and CVG as well as CV, whereas the underlying syllable canon is simply (C)V. This more general statement of the basic syllable canon argues against the underlying status of glides. At the surface level we would need a specific morpheme structure constraint prohibiting medial V:V sequences. However, the vowel sequencing restrictions set out in 2.5. provide a ready explanation for the lack of such surface sequences if the long vowel is analysed as being underlyingly double, as medial sequences of identical double vowel followed by another vowel are simply not allowed.

The stress assignment rules described in 2.6.1. are considerably simplified by the equation of surface diphthongs, medial long vowels, final short vowels and medial non-homorganic vowel sequences on the one hand and medial short vowels and final non-syllabic vowels on the other. Paamese stress is basically antepenultimate, and so we need to know how many syllable peaks a vowel is from the end of a word. Stress can only be assigned at the surface level by a series of quite unrelated, ad hoc rules, whereas at the underlying level of representation we have proposed, a single basic rule is sufficient.

### 2.7.3. Alternations

There are productive alternations between high vowels and glides which indicate that we need to express in some way a relationship between them. Such alternations can be observed in the following circumstances:

- (i) When a surface form such as  $vuel^i$  'it is lost' is reduplicated on the pattern of initial syllable reduplication described in 2.8.1., the actual form is  $vupwel^i$  (with the change from v to p being predictable) rather than  $*vwepwel^i$  as we might expect. This indicates that an underlying root of the form  $vüeli$  should be set up.
- (ii) There are certain nouns that have free forms with initial a- and a corresponding compounding form without it. When the compounding form has an initial high vowel, this becomes a glide in the free form with a preceding a-, e.g.

Underlying Form		Surface Form		
free	compounding	free	compounding	
ausa	usa-	aws <sup>e</sup>	usa-	'rain'
aute	ute-	awt <sup>e</sup>	ute-	'place'
autu	utu-	awt <sup>u</sup>	utu-	'lice'
aimo	imo-	aym <sup>o</sup>	imo-	'house'

(iii) There are also certain verb roots with initial high vowels which, when prefixed by forms with final non-high vowels, become glides, e.g.

Underlying Form	Surface Form	
umo	um <sup>o</sup>	'you work'
ma-umo	mawm <sup>o</sup>	'I am going to work'
usili-e	usilie	'you follow him'
na-usili-e	nawsilie	'he might follow him'
isi	isi	'you weep'
va-isi	vaysi	'he is going to weep'
ili-e	ilie	'you dig it'
ma-ili-e	maylie	'I am going to dig it'

There are also regular alternations between final short vowels and medial long vowels. In fact, whenever a word with a final surface short vowel is followed by any kind of suffix (clitic, derivational or inflectional) or any compounded form, the vowel becomes long. Thus:

Underlying Form	Surface Form	
hulii	huli	'dog'
hulii-se	hulise	'only the dog'
atoo	ato	'chicken'
too-tiisaa	tōtīsa	'first rooster to crow in the morning'
mutii	muti	'he punched'
mutii-e	mutie	'he punched him'
vinaa	vina	'he went up'
vinaa-tu	vināt <sup>u</sup>	'he went up there'

There are also certain surface long vowels that are clearly derived from identical vowel sequences over morpheme boundaries and these alternate with short vowels when there is an adjacent consonant, non-homorganic vowel or zero, e.g.

Underlying Form	Surface Form	
na-gili-e	nagilie	'I dug it'
ni-ili-e	nīlie	'I will dig it'
he-ati-e	heatie	'he will bite it'
va-ati-e	vātie	'he is going to bite it'
lu-guve	luguve	'they (two) tipped over'
lu-uve	lūve	'you two tip over'

Finally, we note that there are regular alternations between surface final non-syllabic vowels and medial short vowels. Some examples were presented above in the compounding forms of nouns. The same kind of alternation holds when a form is followed by a suffix of any kind, e.g.

<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Surface Form</u>	
amalo	amal <sup>o</sup>	'reef'
amalo-se	amalose <sup>e</sup>	'only the reef'
lesi	lesi	'he saw'
lesi-e	lesie <sup>e</sup>	'he saw it'

It is also interesting at this point to note that the Micronesian languages of Woleai and Ulithi (genetically related to Paamese through Proto-Oceanic) have essentially the same kinds of surface contrasts as Paamese between medial short and long vowels and final syllabic and non-syllabic vowels, and it has been convincingly argued that this kind of solution is in fact the most revealing for these languages (Sohn and Bender 1973:22-31; Sohn 1975:18-22).

## 2.8. Reduplication

There are various different kinds of morphological processes in Paamese, including prefixation, suffixation and compounding. There is one further process that involves the reduplication of certain parts of the root to derive a new stem. As reduplication can be described formally as a phonological process, its form will be described in this chapter.

There are three distinct formal types of reduplication in Paamese, which we will refer to by the convenient labels REDup, REDUp and reDUP. These are mainly used to derive verbal stems (which differ semantically from their roots in ways described in detail in 5.2.2.3., i.e. they may change the transitivity of the verb, or say something about the plurality of the participants or the randomness of the state or action).

### 2.8.1. REdup

The morphological process that is referred to as REdup involves the simple reduplication of an initial consonant and a following vowel. The reduplicated syllable and the root are separated by a tight morpheme boundary, so this syllable behaves in exactly the same way as a prefix. Examples of this kind of reduplication are given below:

<u>Root</u>	<u>REduplicated Form</u>	
sitali	si+sitali	'emerge'
mesai	me+mesai	'sick'
tāhosi	ta+tāhosi	'good'
kaa	ka+kaa	'fly'
tokoli	to+tokoli	'touch'
suai	su+suai	'disappear'

We also need to note that there are some minor additional rules dealing with forms reduplicated on this pattern that have initial p- and d-. The reduplicated syllable contains v- and r- respectively, rather than the consonant of the root. Thus:

Root	REDuplicated Form	
pilitu	vi+pilitu	'stick'
pusi	vu+pusi	'kick'
pole	vo+pole	'burnt'
demi	re+demi	'think'

Also, v- initial roots become p- initial before being reduplicated on this pattern, e.g.

Root	REDuplicated Form	
voraa	vo+poraa	'noisy'
vüeli	vü+püeli	'lost'

### 2.8.2. REDUp

This pattern of reduplication differs from that just described in that instead of reduplicating an initial syllable, we reduplicate the first two syllables of a root. The reduplicated part of the root in this construction is separated from the root by a different kind of boundary to that involved in REDup as described above. Instead of a tight boundary, there is an intervening loose morpheme boundary (and the final vowel is therefore subject to deletion under appropriate conditions). Some examples of this kind of reduplication are given below:

Root	REDuplicated Form	
hiteali	hite=hiteali	'laugh'
hotiini	hoti=hotiini	'find'
hulai	hula=hulai	'spray'
saani	saa=saani	'give'

We also need to set up a special rule to back final i to u in disyllables when the preceding syllable has the vowel u and the form is reduplicated. Thus:

i → u / u C —

e.g.

Root	REDuplicated Form	
muni	munu=munu	'drink'
luhi	luhu=luhu	'plant'
uhi	uhu=uhu	'blow'

### 2.8.3. reDUP

The final pattern of reduplication involves the reduplication of the final two syllables of the root. The nature of the boundary that separates the root from the unreduplicated part of the stem is the same as for the REDUp pattern i.e. a loose morpheme boundary, e.g.



Root	reDUPlicated Form	
matou	matou=tou	'dry coconut'
tupasu	tupasu=pasu	'smoky'
tiŋai	tiŋai=ŋai	'lean'
sitali	sitali=tali	'emerge'

It should be noted that when we reduplicate disyllables, the reduplication pattern could be just as easily described in most cases as REDUp or reDUP, e.g.

Root	Reduplicated Form	
loho	loho=loho	'run'
mate	mate=mate	'die'
lua	lua=lua	'two'
ali	ali=ali	'walk'
kaa	kaa=kaa	'travel'

However, the fact that in the reDUP pattern, there is no change in final -i following a syllable with u while there is such a change with disyllables shows that disyllabic reduplication belongs to the REDUp pattern rather than the reDUP pattern. Thus, the reDUPlicated form of tukuli 'creep (of vine)' is tukuli=kuli and not \*tukulu=kulu.

#### 2.8.4. Vacuous reduplication

There are many instances in which reduplication applies vacuously, i.e. a form may syntactically and semantically parallel another form that is reduplicated, yet not itself appear to be reduplicated. We can argue, however, that such forms are in fact reduplicated, and that the effects of the reduplication are wiped out by the regular application of the phonological rules described in 2.6.2. These instances of apparently vacuous reduplication all involve reduplication producing vowel sequences. Thus, while we do get reduplication of the following syllable types:

CV-  
CVV-  
CVCV-  
VCV-  
-CVV  
-CVCV

we do not get reduplication of:

VV-  
-VV

as this would create triple (or quadruple) sequences of vowels, which undergo reduction according to the rules described in 2.6.2.3. Reduplication of V-initial stems also produces the same kind of result, as such stems are always either followed or preceded by another vowel, so meet the structural conditions for the vowel-sequence reduction rules.

## 2.9. Some synchronic implications of phonological change

It has not been the intention of the writer to enter into any detailed discussion of the phonological history of Paamese, despite the fact that there is a lengthy lexicon of reconstructed Proto-Oceanic items (Grace 1969), which is continually being expanded. However, there is one phonological change that has taken place between Proto-Oceanic and modern Paamese which has had wide-reaching implications for the phonology of the language.

The common stress pattern of Oceanic languages is for stress to be penultimate, and this was presumably also a characteristic of the parent language. In 2.6.1. however, it was shown that in Paamese, stress is predominantly antepenultimate. There has therefore been a shift in stress between Proto-Oceanic and modern Paamese. This change in stress weakened the final vowel of the word, and it is now lost altogether or desyllabified in most environments in which it occurs. It is in fact only in certain restricted environments that it is retained, as accounted for in 2.6.2.6, 2.6.2.7., 2.6.2.8. and 2.6.2.11.

The loss and desyllabification of final vowels has led to a disparity between an underlying (C)V syllable canon and a surface syllable structure which allows word final syllables of the type (C)VC. This has therefore created surface closed syllables, and also reduces the actual number of syllables in a surface form.

The justification for calling those final vowels with the phonetic realisations presented in 2.1.2. 'non-syllabic', and therefore belonging to the preceding syllable, comes in the following facts:

- (i) Native speakers, when pronouncing an underlying form such as *ahatu* 'rock', which has the surface form *ahat<sup>u</sup>*, will break up the syllables as *a-hat<sup>u</sup>*, and not as *a-ha-t<sup>u</sup>*.
- (ii) Final syllables of this type cause a non-low vowel to become more open, and therefore constitute a quite different kind of surface syllable to final syllables without a following consonant and non-syllabic vowel (2.1.2.).

An examination of Grace's (1969) Proto-Oceanic finder list reveals that if the parent language allowed any monosyllabic lexical items, then they were certainly extremely uncommon. The preference was most emphatically for polysyllabic lexical roots. (There was evidently no restriction against monosyllabic grammatical words however.) Paamese appears to have maintained this Proto-Oceanic preference however, despite the loss of the final syllable in the surface forms of many words. The maintenance of this preference has prompted the reanalysis of a number of forms and created a large number of underlying trisyllabic (and longer) forms to maintain the superficial preference for forms to be at least disyllabic. There has been a wide range of means by which this target has been achieved, these being described below.

### 2.9.1. Reduplication

The Paamese lexicon contains a large number of underlying disyllabic nominal forms that only ever occur reduplicated (on the pattern described in 2.8.2.). The corresponding unreduplicated forms simply do not exist as meaningful roots. Some of these forms are reconstructed either for Proto-Oceanic or some later stage as disyllables without reduplication, so it would appear that

Paamese has simply reduplicated these forms to avoid their becoming surface monosyllables by final vowel deletion and desyllabification, e.g.

pre-Paamese	Paamese		
	Underlying Form	Surface Form	
*taRa >	taa-taa	tāta	'stone axe'
*pia >	hia-hia	hiahie	'plant type'
*mapu >	mahu-mahu	mahumahu <sup>u</sup>	'cloud'
*ŋoli >	ŋoli-ŋoli	ŋoliŋoli <sup>i</sup>	'edge of reef'
*voka >	voka-voka	vokavoke	'tinea versicolor'
*lumū >	lumū-lumū	lumulum <sup>u</sup>	'moss'

### 2.9.2. Reanalysis of phonetic process

There is a wide range of Oceanic languages which have a prothetic front segment before an initial low vowel, usually [y-] or [e-], though Palauan has a non-syllabic [e̞-] and Motu has [l-]. In Paamese, this originally purely phonetic segment became phonologised as part of the root in disyllabic forms to create an underlying trisyllable. We therefore find forms such as:

Proto-Oceanic	pre-Paamese	Paamese		
		Underlying Form	Surface Form	
*qau >	au >	eau	eaw	'bamboo'
*qando >	alo >	ealo	ealo	'sunshine'
*qasu >	asu >	easu	easu <sup>u</sup>	'smoke'

When these roots occur in compounds and are phonologically bound to a following morpheme, they can no longer appear as a monosyllabic root on the surface, so the e- is not incorporated as part of the root. This has given rise to the situation in which there is synchronic variation between free forms of the root which are e- initial and compounding forms which do not have the e- (4.1.1.2.4.1.2.).

### 2.9.3. Reanalysis of articles

Proto-Oceanic is reconstructed as having a common article of the form \*a, which preceded a common noun phrase in certain contexts (Pawley 1972:58). There is a large number of underlying trisyllabic nouns in Paamese which have an initial a- which are derived from Proto-Oceanic forms of only two syllables, e.g.

Proto-Oceanic	Paamese	
*kai >	aai	'tree'
*patu >	ahatu	'stone'
*laya >	alaa	'sail'
*manu >	amanu	'bird'

Proto-Oceanic	Paamese	
*ika >	ai	'fish'
*toqa >	atoo	'chicken'
*niu >	anii	'green coconut'
*ntuli >	aruli	'ear wax'
*tansi >	atai	'sea'

Clearly, what has happened is that the original grammatical form became phonologised as part of the root to maintain the superficial disyllabicity of the form, creating an underlying trisyllable.

Forms such as these can also form compounds, and become phonologically attached to the following morpheme. As with the forms described in 2.9.2., the reanalysed element was no longer needed to maintain the superficial disyllable, and we have once again a situation whereby a root has two forms, an *a-* initial free form and a special compounding form without the vowel (4.1.1.2.4.1.).

Pawley (1972:32) also reconstructs a personal article of the form \*i, which preceded personal nouns and pronouns. He also reconstructs the pronominal forms \*kinta 'lpl. incl.' and \*nsai 'who'. These are reflected in Paamese with this originally grammatical marker incorporated as part of the root, i.e. *iire* and *isei* respectively. (Note that *isei* has the corresponding clitic form *-sei* which does not retain this article (6.1.3.2.).)

#### 2.9.4. Reanalysis of locative marker

It was mentioned in 2.6.3.2. that there is an optional synchronic process of *e-* prothesis with location nouns of two underlying syllables. It was mentioned at that point that this prothetic vowel is probably derived from an earlier locative marker \*e that is widely reflected in languages of Vanuatu, e.g. Nguna (Schütz 1969:43). Its optional incorporation as part of the root is presumably to maintain this superficial target of disyllabicity.

#### 2.9.5. Reanalysis of verbal prefix

Pawley (1972:48) also reconstructs a verbal tense/aspect marker of the form \*e, for which the original function cannot be inferred because of the wide range of functions in the descendant languages. It was also mentioned in 2.6.3.2. that the optional process of *e-* prothesis that manifests itself with disyllabic intransitive verbs probably derives from this originally grammatical process. Presumably, the fact that transitive verbs did not incorporate the prefix into the root even optionally is associated with the fact that transitive verbs must receive objects, which were originally always cross-referenced on the verb by suffixes, though in modern Paamese not all verbs do in fact have object cross-referencing (5.2.1.2.2.).

#### 2.9.6. Development of bound form nouns

Modern Paamese has one subtype of noun that Pawley does not reconstruct for Proto-Oceanic, namely 'bound form' nouns (see 3.1.4.5.2.). Although these are not all disyllables, most are, and these are also derived from Proto-Oceanic disyllabic forms. While some disyllabic nouns incorporated a preceding

article or rule-inserted vowel as part of the root, as mentioned above, to preserve superficial disyllabicity, some simply become obligatorily bound to some other morpheme, either a full noun or a possessive suffix. The following became obligatorily bound to a possessive suffix. (Note that in Proto-Oceanic, as with many modern Oceanic languages, the suffix is added in some grammatical contexts and not in others.)

<u>Proto-Oceanic</u>	<u>Paamese</u>	
*tama >	tame-	'father'
*poto >	voto-	'buttocks'
*p̄atu >	vatu-	'head'
*natu >	natu-	'offspring'
*nako >	naa-	'face'

The following on the other hand become obligatorily bound to some full noun:

<u>Proto-Oceanic</u>	<u>Paamese</u>	
*puŋa >	huŋa-	'flower'
*ŋkuli >	kuli-	'bark'
*ndau >	lau-	'leaf'
*tansi >	tasi-	'last born'
*sili >	sili-	'sucker'

## 2.10. Sandhi phenomena

The phonological rules described in 2.6. operate only within word boundaries. There is a quite separate set of rules which operates after all the phonological and phonetic rules have applied to produce the surface forms of words. This separate set of rules applies over word boundaries to resolve certain vowel and consonant sequences created by the application of the rules described in 2.6. These rules are described in turn below.

### (i) Defricativisation of v

The first of these rules has the following form:

$$v \rightarrow (p) \text{ } \overset{C}{\#} \text{ } \text{---} \text{ } \# \text{ } [+labial]$$

This rule optionally defricativises v to p when there is an adjacent labial over a word boundary. Note the following examples:

inau na+ve            asuvo vaarei<sup>1</sup>  
 lsg lsg.real.cop *chief precisely*

inaw nave asuv vārey  
 inaw nave asup pārey  
 'I am really the chief'

1. In the examples in this section, the form is presented first of all in its underlying representation, then in its form after the application of the phonological rules, and finally in its form after the application of the sandhi rules.

ki+umo viisite  
2sg.dis.do try.3sg

kūm vīsi<sup>e</sup>  
kūm pīsi<sup>e</sup>  
'Try to do it'

duva maa=maahi+nite  
3sg.real.shoot sore.REDUp.tr.3sg

duv māmāhini<sup>e</sup>  
dup māmāhini<sup>e</sup>  
'He shot it too much'

(ii) Reduction of rr sequences

There is also a rule of the form:

$r \# r \rightarrow (d)$

which states that sequences of rr over a word boundary can become d, e.g.

guri risite  
3sg.real.take back.3sg

gur risi<sup>e</sup>  
gudisi<sup>e</sup>  
'He replaced it'

(iii) Reduction of ns sequences

When ns sequences are created over a word boundary between one of the following:

- (a) A preposition (3.4.),
- (b) a possessive nominal (3.1.3.),

and one of the following:

- (a) the form -saa, which is the clitic form of the interrogative asaa 'what' (6.1.3.2.),
- (b) the form -sei, which is the clitic form of the interrogative isei 'who' (6.1.3.2.)

the sequence is optionally reduced to s by a rule of the form:

$n \rightarrow (\emptyset) / \text{---} = s$

e.g.

<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Surface Form</u>	
one+ne=sei poss.man.const.who	onensey ~ onesey	'whose (manipulative)'
aa+ne=sei poss.ed.const.who	ānsey ~ āsey	'whose (edible)'
mo+ne=sei poss.pot.const.who	monsey ~ mosey	'whose (potable)'
se+ne=sei poss.leg.const.who	sensey ~ sesey	'whose (by law)'
teni=saa rel.what	tensa ~ tesa	'what for?'

## (iv) Vowel insertion

There is an optional rule of vowel insertion, by which a vowel is inserted after a h word finally between a verb and a following consonant-initial word that is not the object. The vowel that is inserted is identical with the vowel of the preceding syllable. The rule can be stated as:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \alpha_{\text{back}} \\ \beta_{\text{hi}} \\ \gamma_{\text{lo}} \end{array} \right] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \alpha_{\text{back}} \\ \beta_{\text{hi}} \\ \gamma_{\text{lo}} \end{array} \right] \text{h} \text{---} \# \text{c}$$

e.g.

na+suuhi            laati ahisi  
1sg.real.scrape out    banana

nasūh lāt ahis<sup>i</sup>  
nasūhu lāt ahis<sup>i</sup>  
'I scrape out the banana'

ki+soohi            revii+ie  
2sg.dis.catch properly.3sg

kisōh revī<sup>e</sup>  
kisōho revī<sup>e</sup>  
'Catch it properly'

## (v) Vowel lengthening

There are certain instances in which long vowels are created in sandhi situations. Firstly, when two identical vowels come together over a word boundary, they can become one long vowel. This rule has the form:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \alpha \end{array} \right] \# \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \alpha \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left( \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \alpha \\ +\text{long} \end{array} \right] \right)$$

e.g.

ko+ve            eehono  
2sg.real.cop child

kove ēhon<sup>o</sup>  
kovēhon  
'You are a child'

ma+hiitaa            alau  
1sg.imm.go down coast

mahīta alaw  
mahītālaw  
'I am going down to the coast'

au+vaa            a+ṅani+e  
3pl.real.go 3pl.real.eat.3sg

awva aṅani<sup>e</sup>  
awvāṅani<sup>e</sup>  
'They went and ate it'

(Note that in adjacent sequences of identical vowels, the two syllable peaks are clearly phonetically distinguishable, whereas in long vowels, there is only one audible syllable peak.)

There is also a vowel lengthening rule that operates only in the following situations:

- (a) When a location noun (3.1.4.2.) follows one of the basic verbs of motion and rest (3.2.2.1.1.).
- (b) When the completive marker *tai* (6.1.3.2.1.) follows the verb with a third person singular object suffix (5.2.1.2.1.).

In these cases, the application of the rule is obligatory.

e.g.

hinaa            ute  
2sg.imp.go up shore

hina ut<sup>e</sup>  
hinā ut<sup>e</sup>  
'Go ashore'

na+doo            vaulēlii  
1sg.real.stay Vauleli

nado vawleli  
nadō vawleli  
'I stayed at Vauleli'

lesi+e            tai  
3sg.real.see.3sg comp

lesi tay  
lesī tay  
'He has seen it'

(vi) Sandhi with *aimo* and *aute*

There is one very restricted optional sandhi rule that operates with the two nouns *aimo* 'house' and *aute* 'place' (and no others) when they are followed by the respective possessive nominals *mo-* and *so-* (3.1.3.). In such instances, the noun and the possessive nominal fuse to become *aimo-* and *auso-* respectively, e.g.

Underlying Form	Surface Form
<i>aimo ma+ku</i> <i>house poss.dom.1sg</i>	aymak <sup>u</sup> ~ aym mak <sup>u</sup>
<i>aute sa+ku</i> <i>place poss.leg.1sg</i> 'my place'	awsak <sup>u</sup> ~ awt sak <sup>u</sup>

(vii) Sandhi with prepositions

Finally, there is obligatory sandhi involved when the noun *aute* 'place' follows one of the prepositions (3.4.). The two words fuse and the preposition loses its final vowel, and the two words stress as a single word. Thus:



Underlying Form

teni aute  
rel *place*  
'of the place'

rani aute  
abl *place*  
'from the place'

eni aute  
sp *place*  
'to/in/at the place'

Surface Form

tenawt<sup>e</sup>

ranawt<sup>e</sup>

enawt<sup>e</sup>

## CHAPTER III

### FORM CLASSES

Before we go on to give an account of the morphology and syntax of the language, we will need to present the various form classes (or classes of roots) along with the distinguishing morpho-syntactic characteristics and semantic content of each. According to the criteria described in the following sections, we must set up the following classes:

- nominal
- verb
- adjective
- preposition
- determiner
- modifier
- interjection

Some of these basic form classes are in turn further divided up into various subclasses.

One of the particular features of Paamese is that in contrast with many other Oceanic languages there is relatively little freedom of movement between these form classes for the same root. Paamese is therefore quite unlike a language such as Fijian in which the verbal root *vosa* '*speak*', for example, can be freely used as a noun meaning 'speech, language, speaking'.

There has been a deliberate choice to avoid exemplification in this chapter, as to do so would simply repeat material that is presented in the body of the grammar. The chapter is merely intended as a basis for later discussion; there is therefore extensive cross-referencing to later chapters where there is ample exemplification of all points mentioned.

#### 3.1. Nominals

Nominals constitute a distinct form class in Paamese on the basis of the fact that they can occur in any of the following syntactic constructions: (a) as verbal subjects with cross-reference on the verb for person and number (b) as verbal objects with cross-reference on the verb depending on whether it is proper or non-proper (c) as prepositional objects or (d) as heads of nominal phrases with associated adjuncts.

Nominals fall into four subclasses - pronouns, indefinites, possessives and nouns. Nouns in turn fall into a number of formally and semantically distinct subclasses. The classification of nominals is summarised below:

Nominals	Pronouns			
	Indefinites			
	Possessives			
	Nouns	Individual Names		
		Location	Absolute	
			Relative	
		Time		
		Descriptive		
		Common	Free	
			Bound	Suffixed
Linked				

In the following sections, we will describe the semantic content of each of these subclasses and the morpho-syntactic justification for the setting up of each.

### 3.1.1. Pronouns

Pronouns constitute a closed set, making reference only to person (first, second and third), number (singular, dual, paucal and plural) and inclusive/exclusive (whether or not the speaker includes the addressee) (4.1.1.1.). Grammatically, pronouns differ from nouns in that:

- (i) Possession must always be expressed by means of pronominal suffixes not directly related in form to the free forms (4.2.3.). Nouns on the other hand express possession by being related to the possessed noun by means of the construct suffix (4.2.3.) or by being phonologically attached, sometimes with an intervening link morpheme (4.2.2.).
- (ii) In the singular, pronouns have special bound forms for use as prepositional and verbal objects (5.2.1.2.1.).

### 3.1.2. Indefinite nominals

The indefinite set of nominals includes all numerals (4.1.2.3.) and in addition the following:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
sav	savo <sup>1</sup>	'another (sg)'
savosav	savo=savo	'other (non-sg)'
tetāi	ta+taai	'any'
koa(n)	koa(ni)	'some'
tei	tei	'some of it/them'
hau	haulue	'many/much'
musav	musavo	'many/much (archaic)'

(Note that the third person singular realis forms of the numbers one to five and the interrogative numeral can also be used as indefinite nominals as well as verbs (5.2.3.1.5.)). Semantically, these nominals refer to an indefinite set of referents (though the numeral *taai* 'one' can also have definite reference). Grammatically, they are characterised by the fact that they can also occur as adjuncts to a nominal phrase head as well as acting as heads themselves (4.1.2.3.).

### 3.1.3. Possessive nominals

There are four members of this subclass, each of which expresses a particular type of socially determined relationship with respect to an entity. This kind of relationship most frequently involves possession (though not always, as pointed out in 6.1.2.3.2.). These nominals are therefore referred to as possessive nominals. They are *ono-* 'manipulative', *so-* 'social relationship determined by law', *mo-* 'social relationship with intent to drink/use domestically' and *aa-* 'social relationship with intent to eat'. Structurally, this class of nominals is distinguished by the following facts:

- (i) They cannot occur except with a pronominal suffix or the construct suffix followed by another nominal phrase head. In this respect, they behave in the same way as suffixed nouns (3.1.4.5.2.1.) though they are morphologically rather irregular (4.2.3.2.).
- (ii) Apart from acting as phrase heads in themselves, they can also relate to another nominal phrase head in a loose kind of syntactic relationship to express the various types of social relationship of that noun as outlined above (4.2.3.2.; 6.1.2.3.2.).

### 3.1.4. Nouns

Nouns, in contrast with the three closed subclasses of nominals described above, constitute an open class. Nouns are in turn subdivided into five subclasses, each as defined below.

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1. From now on, all forms are underlying forms unless two forms are given, in which case surface forms are those in the left column or the top line, respectively.

### 3.1.4.1. Individual names

This subclass comprises those nouns which make reference to specific people or animals by name or epithet. Grammatically, they behave like pronouns in that they are cross-referenced on the verb in object position with the suffix *-e/-ie*, whereas non-proper objects are cross-referenced with the suffix *-nV* (5.2.1.2.2.).

### 3.1.4.2. Location nouns

Location nouns all refer to places, either as institutionalised place names or as nouns referring to non-specific places. They are distinguished structurally in that:

- (i) They mark the spatial case by the absence of a preposition whereas other kinds of nouns mark this case with the preposition *eni* (6.1.2.3.1.).
- (ii) They generally only freely occur in the spatial case, whereas other kinds of nouns are not restricted in this way (6.1.1.3.).

On formal grounds, we can recognise two further subtypes of location nouns as described below; this subclassification also has an approximate semantic correlation.

#### 3.1.4.2.1. Relative location

There are ten known nouns of this type, as listed below. (It will be noted that a number of these nouns have slightly variant forms. No significance can be attached this variation.) The first eight nouns exist in pairs of opposites.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
nesa	nesaa	<i>'up, above, on top'</i>
netan/dan	netano/dano	<i>'down, below'</i>
naim	naimo	<i>'inside'</i>
hale	halee	<i>'outside'</i>
(ve)se-sal(i)	(ve)sě-sali(i)	<i>'nearby'</i>
sautin	sautine	<i>'long way off'</i>
mail	maile	<i>'lefthand side'</i>
matu	matuu	<i>'righthand side'</i>
luhi/luhu	luhii/luhuu	<i>'middle'</i>
tav	tave	<i>'one side'</i>

Semantically, these all have in common the fact that they express location only with respect to something else. They are distinguished grammatically in that they freely enter into prepositionally linked complex nominal phrases (4.2.1.).

#### 3.1.4.2.2. Absolute location

Nouns of this subtype constitute an open class. Most such nouns express location without reference to something else, including:

- (i) All proper names of places, referring to villages, garden plots, islands, ancestral patrilineal homes, towns, cities and countries (including borrowed place names), and also even large stores in towns such as BP 'Burns Philp', Ballande, Fung Kuei, Lo Lam, etc.
- (ii) About a dozen nouns derived from non-location nouns by prefixing na- or n- (4.1.1.2.2.2.).
- (iii) The following seven known underived nouns referring to general locations. The first six forms exist in pairs of opposites:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
ut	ute	'ashore'
alau	alau	'seawards'
tauveieh	tauveiehe	'outside village limits'
tavoial	tavoialo	'inside village limits'
telaim	telaimo	'home'
uhal	uhalu	'place other than home'
alei	alei	'chicken feeding place in bush'

- (iv) The location interrogatives:

kave	kavee	'where'
kekave	kekavee	'whereabouts'

This subclass also includes a few items which express location relative to something else:

- (v) The following four items which express location with reference to both the speaker and the addressee:

TABLE 5: Location nouns relating to speaker and addressee			
		near speaker	near addressee
kele	kelee	+	-
kaisom	keisomo	-	+
akēk	akeeke	-	-
ekok	ekoke	+	+

- (vi) Six forms derived from the basic motion verbs by the prefix ke-/kee-, expressing location in a particular direction with respect to the speaker (4.1.1.2.2.3.).

Location nouns of this type are distinguished grammatically from those described in 3.1.4.2.1. in that they cannot enter into a prepositionally linked complex nominal phrase construction with another nominal phrase relative to which the location is expressed.

### 3.1.4.3. Time nouns

Nouns of this type always make reference to time, either a point in time that is relative to the time of utterance or some other time:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
visuvong	visuvongi	'tomorrow, the next day'
nenganeh	nenganehe	'yesterday, the previous day'
kosa	kosaa	'today, now'
vaitir	vaitiru	'later on'
noais	noaise	'previously'

or it can be durational or independent of any particular time:

līseles	liisēlese	'always, unceasingly'
tueitin	tueitine	'for a long time'

Grammatically, they are characterised by the fact that they only ever occur in the oblique case (marked by zero, or by the prepositions *eni* or *teni*) and in the relative case (marked by the preposition *teni*) (6.1.2.3.1.).

Time nouns are divided into two subclasses, defined on purely syntactic grounds.

#### 3.1.4.3.1. Zero-marked time nouns

This subclass of time nouns marks the oblique case by receiving zero-marking. Its membership includes the following:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
visuvong	visūvongi	'tomorrow, the next day'
nenganeh	nenganehe	'yesterday, the day before'
kosa	kosaa	'today, now'
vaitir	vaitiru	'later on'
līseles	liisēlese	'always'
tueitin	tueitine	'for a long time'
rūran	ruurane	'first thing in the morning after not sleeping all night'

#### 3.1.4.3.2. Prepositionally marked time nouns

This subclass marks the oblique case with either zero or one of the prepositions *eni* or *teni*:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
visokon	visokono	'morning'
vongien	vongiene	'night'
kovanges	kovāngese	'afternoon'
meneal	men+ealo	'daytime'

In this class also belong all time words borrowed from Bislama, such as the days of the week, months and years.

These two classes also differ in that the second type can be pluralised by being followed by one of the pronominal determiners (4.1.2.1.), while the first type cannot. It therefore seems that the second type is more definitely nominal than the first type.

#### 3.1.4.4. Descriptive nouns

These nouns all describe a property or quality attributed to something, or the thing that is characterised by this property or quality. This is an open class, with a good few dozen attested members, e.g.

Surface Form	Underlying Form	
alet	alete	'level, level area'
mung	munge	'uncircumcised, uncircumcised male'
holaso	holasoo	'promiscuous, promiscuous person'
usūs	usu=usu	'persistent, persistent person'
sīkut	siikuti	'skinny, skinny person'

These nouns are grammatically more like adjectives than non-descriptive nouns in that they only freely occur as adjuncts in a copular verb phrase (5.3.2.1.). They seldom occur as subjects or objects of verbs, or as possessors in a possessive phrase etc. They are clearly differentiated from adjectives however in that:

- (i) They do occasionally occur in these kinds of distinctly nominal slots, and
- (ii) they cannot simply follow a head noun as an adjunct like an adjective. To be expressed as adjuncts to a noun, they must be included in a relative clause (4.1.2.2.; 4.1.2.4.).

#### 3.1.4.5. Common nouns

Common nouns are characterised grammatically by the fact that:

- (i) They are free of any of the syntactic restrictions placed on particular subtypes of non-common nouns as described above, and
- (ii) when they are in the object function, they are cross-referenced on the verb by the suffix -nV rather than -e/-le (5.2.1.2.2.).

Semantically, they include anything that can be considered to be either alienable or inalienable (i.e. which enters into either a dominant or subordinate possessive relationship).

There are two basic subtypes of common nouns, free and bound. These classes are determined primarily in structural terms, though they do have rough semantic correlates. Before going on to discuss the formal and semantic characteristics of these two subtypes, we will first of all need to discuss the notions of 'alienable' and 'inalienable'.

An alienable noun is one whose referent has an existence independent of anything else. Such a noun, when it enters into a possessive relationship with another noun, is always semantically related to the possessor in that its referent is in some sense in an active, controlling, owning or using relationship to it. The possessor is able to exercise some choice in the matter of the relationship, and the thing possessed can exist independently of the possessor. For example, the noun 'dog' will be a dog whoever it belongs to, or indeed, whether it belongs to anyone at all.



An inalienable noun is one whose referent has no independent existence of its own, and can only be conceived of in relation to something else, either as a part, a product or a particular type or an abstraction of that thing. For example, it is inconceivable to think of a daughter except as somebody's daughter, or to think of a flame except as the flame produced by something (e.g. burning material, a blow-torch, a rocket engine etc.).

### 3.1.4.5.1. Free form common nouns

By far the largest subclass of common nouns is that which has independent phonological existence, and is never bound to any other morpheme in a possessive construction (4.2.3.). This structural class corresponds roughly to the semantic class of alienable nouns.

### 3.1.4.5.2. Bound form common nouns

There are over two hundred common noun roots in the corpus that belong to this class. They have no morphologically independent existence, and are obligatorily bound to either another root (of any lexical class) in a compounding construction (4.1.1.2.4.) or to the head of another nominal phrase with which they are in a subordinate possessive relationship. Semantically, all members of this class are inalienable nouns (though the converse is not true, as many inalienable nouns are expressed as free forms).

#### 3.1.4.5.2.1. Suffixed nouns

Suffixed nouns are those that express the head of a subordinate possessor nominal phrase as directly attached pronominal suffixes when it is a pronoun or by relating to a noun possessor by means of the construct suffix, which is identical in form to the third person singular pronominal suffix (4.2.3.). When nouns of this type are compounded, the second part of the compound is simply added to the root (4.1.1.2.4.).

This structural subclass of nouns generally consists of inalienable nouns that have animate rather than inanimate possessors. The membership therefore includes the following:

(i) A part of the anatomy of an animal or human:

leato-	'liver'	horato-	'crop (of bird)'
vange-	'belly'	levaue-	'wing/flipper'
ingi-	'lip'	pusi-	'spur (of rooster)'
vatu-	'head'	vatikee-	'tail'

(ii) A product of the body of an animal or human:

mee-	'urine'	taa-	'excrement'
tive-	'saliva'	rahi-	'mucus'
luo-	'vomitus'		

- (iii) Someone that is in a particular kinship relationship to an individual (which could be one's own self):

asoo-	'spouse'	tiitaa-	'offspring'
tame-	'father'	tuo-	'same sex sibling'
mano-	'woman's brother'	matuo-	'maternal uncle'
saaso-	'self'	latino-	'mother'

- (iv) Some abstract thing that exists only in relation to or as a result of some animal or human:

iso-	'name'	ree-	'voice/opinion'
ulu-	'seat of emotions'	uvo-	'weariness caused by lack of sleep'

### 3.1.4.5.2.2. Linked nouns

Linked nouns are those that are structurally determined by the following facts:

- (i) They are phonologically attached to the head of a nominal phrase expressing something with which they are in a possessive relationship, sometimes by means of the link morpheme *-i-* (4.2.2.).
- (ii) They are linked to a compounded stem by *-i-* when it is one of those irregular common nouns that loses its initial *a-* in their compounded forms (4.1.1.2.4.). Otherwise, the compounds are formed in the same way as suffixed common nouns.
- (iii) They can never be linked to a pronoun as the head of a subordinate possessor phrase.

This structural class of nouns generally consists of inalienable nouns that have inanimate possessors. The membership therefore includes the following:

- (i) A part of either a plant or some inanimate thing:

uti-	'seed'	ane-	'contents/edible part'
hini-	'husk'	valenge-	'hollow part'
aroa-	'handle'	mahoseka-	'fork (of tree)'
laui-	'sail (of canoe)'	kele-	'end'

- (ii) A product of a plant or something produced by or composed of some inanimate thing:

toa-	'sap'	mene-	'flame'
maahui-	'billowing smoke'	tahela-	'wash (of vessel)'
vone-	'mark'	suma-	'grounds'

- (iii) Something that is a particular kind of something else:

more-	'good thing'	mari-	'large thing'
mua-	'first born'	nehi-	'burning material'
tupa-	'sapling'	lei-	'place characterised by one thing'
hola-	'short but fully grown tree'	hili-	'someone trying to be something they are not'

(iv) A collectivity of something:

tali-	'group'	hai-	'single instance'
vangi-	'tied bundle'		

(v) Some abstract thing that exists only in relation to or as a result of some inanimate thing:

ane-	'meaning'	rele-	'sound'
hati-	'topic/matter'	vii-	'smell'

The essential difference in the semantic basis of these two formal sets of bound form common nouns is reflected in the following facts:

- (i) The linked nouns can never be linked to a pronominal subordinate possessor, which can be related to the fact that they can only have inanimate possessors.
- (ii) There is a small number of nouns that belong to either form class, often with a difference of meaning which can be related to the different nature of the possessor. So, contrast:

Suffixed Nouns		Linked Nouns	
vulu-	'sleeping place'	vuli-	'hole or mark left by something'
voto-	'buttocks'	vote-	'bottom/base'
vatu-	'head'	vati-	'basis/start'
ulungo-	'head-resting place'	ulungo-	'top of garden'
ngasu-	'nose'	ngasi-	'point of land'
meto-	'eye'	mete-	'centre/knife blade'
tau-	'dorsum'	tau-	'behind'
ingi-	'lip'	ingi-	'rim/edge'

(Note that some of the final vowels vary in the two forms of the root. This variation is unpredictable, and occurs with some forms and not others. See further discussion in 4.2.2.; 4.2.3.1.) Note the following examples in which the first form involves an animate possessor and the second an inanimate possessor with the same root:

vatin	vuas
vati+ne	vūasi
head.const	pig
	'the pig's head'
vatitūnuen	
vati+tuunu+ene	
start.chat.nom	
	'beginning of the story'

### 3.1.4.5.3. Disparities between formal and semantic classes

The various subclasses of common nouns are described above primarily in structural terms, with a number of semantic factors being correlated with these structural distinctions. The semantic and structural classes do not completely overlap however, and are in effect statistical probabilities rather than fully valid generalisations.

The correlation of the free/bound distinction and the alienable/inalienable distinction falls down when we consider the number of formally free nouns that are semantically inalienable. There are therefore many kinship terms, body parts, parts of wholes etc. that are expressed as free forms, as illustrated below:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
avu	avue	'grandparent'
uan	uani	'cross-cousin'
avov	avovo	'maternal uncle'
sūsu	suusuu	'breast'
metat	metate	'pimple'
husi	husio	'muscle'

Similarly, the correlation between the suffixed and linked nouns with the semantic classes of animate inalienable and inanimate inalienable is not complete. There are many suffixed nouns that can occur suffixed with both animate and inanimate possessors (with a change of meaning):

	<u>Animate Possessor</u>	<u>Inanimate Possessor</u>
sii-	'bone'	'thorn (of plant)'
vange-	'belly'	'inside surface (of split bamboo)'
aisīlu-	'lower back'	'outside surface (of split bamboo)'
tino-	'intestines'	'inside (of black palm)'
ralīngo-	'ear'	'tendrils (of vine)'
mee-	'tongue'	'wedge (of handle)'
ungo-	'mouth'	'crater (of volcano)'
taa-	'excrement'	'falling ash (of volcano)'
meto-	'eye'	'operculum (of shellfish); lid (of bottle, saucepan etc.); marker (of planted yam)'

as well as a number of linked nouns that can occur with both animate and inanimate nouns (though still never with pronouns):

voreti-	'small'
more-	'good'
tasi-	'last born'
tali-	'group'
sili-	'descendant'
hili-	'someone trying to be what they are not'

The generalisations contained in 3.1.4.5.2.1. and 3.1.4.5.2.2. also fail to account for a fair number of inalienable nouns with animate possessors that belong to the linked class:

rahi-	'membrane'
lamuli-	'body hair'
hili-	'skin/feathers'
oreli-	'egg'
meela-	'roe (of crab/crayfish)'

and a small number of inalienable nouns with inanimate possessors that belong to the suffixed class:

ue-	'string/handle'
-----	-----------------

This formal class also includes the four possessive nominals *ono-*, *so-*, *mo-* and *aa-*, which are assigned to a quite separate form class on the basis of other distributional criteria as described in 3.1.3. It also includes the form *saaso-* '*self*', which on all other formal criterial belongs to the class of modifiers (3.6.).

### 3.2. Verbs

Verbs constitute a separate lexical class in that they are: (a) cross-referenced for the full person/number categories of the subject (b) cross-referenced for the feature common/proper of the object (c) marked for mood (d) marked for negativity or (e) marked for the partitive. Semantically, they describe actions, processes, states and numbers. Verbs can be divided into a number of subtypes as summarised below:

Verb	Transitive	Free Object	
		Restricted Object	Reflexive
			Non-Reflexive
	Intransitive	Active	Basic Motion
			Common
		Stative	
		Ambient	With Subject
			No Subject
		Numeral	
		Deictic	

The particular justification for each of these subclasses is presented in the following sections.

#### 3.2.1. Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are those which obligatorily take an object which is either (a) a free form immediately following the verb phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb phrase according to whether it is proper or common or (b) in the case of singular pronouns, a bound form attached to the verb in place of the cross-reference suffixes. Transitive verbs are divided into two subtypes, the open-ended free object class and the closed restricted object set.

### 3.2.1.1. Restricted object

Transitive verbs of this subtype are those which can take only certain categories of pronominal object as determined by (a) the particular sub-categorisation of the verb and (b) the category of the subject. These verbs, although transitive, in fact only have a single nuclear participant. The object slot is therefore filled simply to meet the defining grammatical criterion for transitive verbs, namely that there be an object. There are two such categories of restricted object verbs.

#### 3.2.1.1.1. Reflexive verbs

A reflexive verb is one that obligatorily takes a pronominal object that makes the same category distinctions as the subject. There is only a small set of known obligatorily reflexive verbs which appear not to share any particular distinguishing semantic feature. The attested members of this set are listed below (though there are likely to be more):

nii	<i>'sit hunched up'</i>
sii	<i>'happy'</i>
hati	<i>'stop/stand'</i>
tahi	<i>'over-eat'</i>
vinii	<i>'do to excess/death'</i>

Note that obligatorily reflexive verbs clearly differ from free object verbs used reflexively in their semantics. The fact that optionally reflexive verbs involve reflexive meaning is indicated by the fact that the clitic *-risi* '*repetition*' (6.1.3.2.3.) can be used with optional reflexives, but not with these obligatorily reflexive verbs (6.1.1.1.).

#### 3.2.1.1.2. Non-reflexive restricted object verbs

This subset of transitive verbs is defined by the fact that they take a semantically empty third person bound object. There is quite a large number of formally transitive verbs with only one semantic participant that belong to this class (6.1.1.1.).

#### 3.2.1.2. Free object verbs

The final, major, class of transitive verbs comprises those that are defined by the fact that there are two nuclear participant roles expressed as subject and object.

### 3.2.2. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are those that have no object, the only obligatorily expressed argument being the subject. We can distinguish between a number of different types of intransitive verbs, as described below.

### 3.2.2.1. Active verbs

Intransitive verbs of this type all express an action. This is the formally unmarked subclass of intransitive verbs. We can further subdivide the class of active verbs between the major class of 'common' verbs and the minor class of basic motion verbs.

#### 3.2.2.1.1. Basic motion

This subclass of verbs includes the following six verbs which express motion with reference to the speaker:

TABLE 7: Basic motion verbs		
	to speaker	from speaker
motion up	maa	hinaa
motion down	miitaa	hiitaa
level motion	mai	haa

Structurally, this class is defined by the following facts:

- (i) They take the prefix ke(e)- to derive location nouns (4.1.1.2.2.3.).
- (ii) There is a special sandhi rule operating that lengthens the final vowel of these forms when they are followed by a nominal phrase in the spatial case (2.10.).

#### 3.2.2.1.2. Common verbs

This is semantically a residue class, comprising all verbs apart from the six verbs belonging to the class of active verbs. Structurally, they are defined negatively in that they have all of the grammatical characteristics typical of active verbs listed above, but none of the distinguishing characteristics mentioned in the preceding section.

#### 3.2.2.2. Stative verbs

Stative intransitive verbs are those which describe a state or change of state. Structurally, they are defined by the fact that they can take the adjectival derivative prefix ta-, as can nouns (4.1.2.2.).

#### 3.2.2.3. Ambient verbs

Ambient verbs are defined semantically by the fact that they express a general predication about the world, with no obligatory reference to any particular participants. There are two subtypes of ambient verbs, as described below.

### 3.2.2.3.1. Ambient verbs without subject

The majority of ambient verbs belong to this class. They have no nominal phrase filler of the subject slot. However, as all verbs must carry subject cross-reference, there is obligatory third person singular marking on verbs expressing ambient states, and third person plural marking on verbs expressing ambient actions (6.1.2.1.).

### 3.2.2.3.2. Ambient verbs with subject

There is also a class of ambient verbs which, while having no semantic actor or patient, do require that some nominal phrase fill the syntactic slot of subject. The filler of this slot is some nominal phrase that refers to the thing most typically associated with the ambient state or action, but is itself not a patient or an actor. Verbs of this type, with their required subjects, are given below:

<u>Required Subject</u>		<u>Ambient Verb</u>	
ausa	'rain'	use	'rain'
ausa	'rain'	hula=hulai	'drizzle'
easu	'smoke'	tupasu	'smoky'
atano	'ground'	kuluulu	'quake'
alangi	'wind'	ue	'blow in a cyclone'
ahile	'lightning'	hile	'lighten'
aute	'place'	talimaho	'overcast'
aute	'place'	lani	'daylight'

### 3.2.2.4. Numeral verbs

There are only six verbs in this subclass, these being listed below:

hise	'how many?'
taai	'one'
lua	'two'
telu	'three'
hati	'four'
lima	'five'

(Note that the third person singular indicative forms can also be used as indefinite nominals, as described in 4.1.2.3. Numbers higher than five are obligatorily expressed in this way.) Although small, the morpho-syntactic justification for the setting up of this class is strong. Note the following particular characteristics:

- (i) Only the numeral verbs can take the prefix haa-, which means to do something the number of times indicated in the root (5.2.2.1.1.).
- (ii) The numeral verbs, when reduplicated, have a distributive meaning, whereas reduplication with other kinds of verbs has a wide range of other quite different functions (5.2.2.3.2.).
- (iii) They are morphologically irregular in a number of respects. Firstly, they do not undergo the normal root alternations in various morphological environments; secondly, the third person singular indicative is marked by e- instead of Ø-; finally, the reduplicated forms and the form that follows the prefix haa- are also partly irregular (5.2.3.1.5.).



### 3.2.2.5. Deictic verb

There is only a single verb in this subclass, *muko* 'be/do thus'. It is grammatically distinguished from all other intransitive verbs in that it is obligatorily associated with either the proximate clitic *-ke* or the distant clitic *-neke* (6.1.3.2.2.).

## 3.3. Adjectives

Semantically, adjectives limit the reference of a nominal in that they express some distinguishing property or quality pertaining to that nominal. Structurally, they are distinguished from other word classes in that they follow a nominal phrase head as an adjunct. Adjectives can be divided into two subtypes, as described below.

### 3.3.1. Predicative adjectives

This set of adjectives includes any adjective derived from a noun or a stative verb by the prefix *ta-* and also the following adjectives (listed exhaustively for the corpus):

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
havivi	havivii	'small (sg)'
havipi	havipii	'small (non-sg)'
haitamen	haitamene	'large (sg)'
hatetamen	hatetamene	'large (non-sg)'
haite hāu	hai+itee haau	'new'
haite matu	hai+itee matuu	'old'
haisav	hai+savo	'useless'
tiredan	tiredanu	'feral'
anatin	anatine	'true'
temau	temau	'whole, complete'
haulu	haulue	'many, much'

(Note that some of these adjectives are actually derived by compounding; see 4.1.2.2.) These adjectives are able to occur as adjuncts in a copular construction (5.3.2.1.) as well as adjuncts to a head noun in a nominal phrase (4.1.2.2.).

### 3.3.2. Attributive adjectives

There is a small set of adjectives which comprises only the following forms:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
hāha	haahaa	'classificatory (of kin)'
kati	katie	'real, completely genuine'
mau	mau	'whole, complete'
hon	hono	'on its own, containing nothing'

which are characterised by the fact that they can only occur as nominal phrase adjuncts and never as adjuncts to the copula (4.1.2.2.).

### 3.4. Prepositions

This is a minor word class with five members: *teni* (purpose), *eni* (location), *rani* (ablative), *mini* (goal) and *veni* (cause). (Note that the bracketed glosses presented here are grossly oversimplified.) The function of these is to express a particular kind of semantic relationship that holds between the referents of two nouns (4.2.1.) or to express the role a participant plays in an action, state or process (6.1.2.3.1.).

### 3.5. Determiners

This class comprises only three forms, *kailue* 'definite (d1)', *kaitelu* 'definite (pcl)' and *kaile* 'definite (pl/generic)' (4.1.2.1.).

### 3.6. Modifiers

There is a class of forms which cannot easily be characterised semantically, yet which does share the same basic distributional pattern, and this is the class of modifiers. We can also, on distributional grounds, distinguish between phrase-level and clause-level modifiers.

#### 3.6.1. Clause-level modifiers

This class comprises the following:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
<i>vahera/vahesa</i>	<i>vaheraa/vahesaa</i>	the speaker is not sure about the truth of the statement he has made
<i>nahe</i>	<i>nahee</i>	the speaker considers that the statement he makes expresses a probable situation
<i>vesesal(i)</i>	<i>vesěsali(i)</i>	a change of reality has begun at the time of utterance and is almost complete

These modifiers can be characterised semantically as adding some kind of information about the aspect and mood of the event being described. Syntactically, they differ from phrase level modifiers in that they occur only clause-initially, between the subject and the verb or clause-finally, but in no other position.

#### 3.6.2. Phrase-level postmodifiers

Phrase-level modifiers share the following distributional patterns:

- (i) They can be associated with any class of word, be it nominal, verb, adjective or preposition. They always follow the modified item, with the one restriction that they cannot intervene between a verb or preposition and its object, and must follow only the object (6.1.3.2.).
- (ii) A negative verb in Paamese is generally expressed in the partitive, which is formed by the suffix *-tei* (5.2.1.1.2.). This *-tei* also appears as a free form *tei*, which is an indefinite nominal with a partitive type meaning (3.1.2.). The special status of this *-tei* as a verbal suffix is indicated by the fact that the modifiers can follow it, and still precede the object, though normally nothing can intervene between a verb and its object (6.1.3.2.).
- (iii) When they modify a nominal phrase containing either a possessive nominal or one or more adjuncts, they can occur either at the end, or following the first constituent in the phrase (6.1.3.2.).

The most important general fact about this class of modifiers is that they operate at the phrase level or lower.

Phrase-level modifiers can be subdivided into further categories according to whether (i) they are phonologically free or bound and (ii) whether they modify only verb phrases or any kind of phrase.

### 3.6.2.1. Free form modifiers

Members of this subclass all occur as free forms, i.e. they are phonologically independent of the preceding or following word. These are further subdivided as shown below.

#### 3.6.2.1.1. Aspectual modifiers

There are three aspectual modifiers:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
tai	tai	<i>'completive'</i>
netin	netine	<i>'recent completive'</i>
velah	velahi	<i>'ongoing'</i>

These are all characterised by the fact that they can only modify a verb phrase (6.1.3.2.1.).

#### 3.6.2.1.2. Non-aspectual modifiers

This class comprises the following:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
vārei	vaarei	<i>'truly, just so, very'</i>
rāmet	raamete	<i>'too much'</i>
vupu	vupuu	<i>'thoroughly'</i>
vasī	vasiie	<i>'all, totally'</i>
revī	reviie	<i>'properly'</i>
vilai	vilai	<i>'properly'</i>

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
kuh	kuhi	<i>'just right'</i>
sesavon	sesavono	<i>'extraordinarily, wrongly, dangerously'</i>
neli	nelii	<i>'somewhat, rather'</i>
kes	kese	<i>'only, just'</i>
sāso-	saaso-	<i>'self, on its own'</i>

### 3.6.3. Bound form modifiers

This form class shares the distributional characteristics of the free form modifiers, but differs in that they are phonologically bound to the preceding word by means of a loose morpheme boundary. The fact that these are bound by this kind of boundary distinguishes them from all other affixes, as pointed out in 2.3. The content and semantics of this form class is described in 6.1.3.2.3.

This form class is actually the class of clitics. Clitics are often rather difficult to deal with grammatically. Although formally they are clearly word-level constituents, in terms of function, they may operate at the phrase or clause levels. Hamp (1963) provides a good definition of the term 'clitic', which captures their somewhat indecisive status in a grammar. He describes clitics as:

morphemes ... intermediate between words and affixes, when these morphemes are grammatically bound, but phonologically tightly bound to a free word to which they are adjacent.

In Paamese however, clitics clearly fall into the class of modifiers on distributional grounds, although on phonological grounds they are affixes. Most clitics in Paamese are enclitic, being attached to the end of a word. There are, however, also two proclitic forms, which are attached to the beginning of a word.

### 3.7. Interjections

This is marginal form class. The boundaries between what is linguistic and what is not linguistic become difficult to judge when dealing with interjections as many interjections do not fit into the grammatical structure of an utterance, as well as being phonologically unusual in many cases. Even if the forms are segmentally normal, they may have some abnormal intonation pattern. Essentially, an interjection is a word used to express special effect of some kind, usually involving some particular emotional attitude of the speaker.

### 3.8. Multifunctional forms

It was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter that Paamese differs from many other Oceanic languages in that forms are assigned to a single form class, and that form class can normally be changed only by derivational processes. There is however a sufficient number of residual forms which can belong to two (or more) form classes without undergoing morphological derivation, which

indicates that at some earlier stage in its history, this kind of multifunctional root was presumably more common. There are for example about two dozen roots that can behave either as nominals or as verbs, with related meanings. Thus:

	<u>Nominal Meaning</u>	<u>Verbal Meaning</u>
hiidi	'the join along the middle of a woven mat'	'to join two halves of a mat in weaving'
hohoi	'breadfruit meal'	'make breadfruit meal'
kokoraato	'children's buzzer toy made out of coconut leaves'	'crow (of rooster)'
kooti	'public meeting to air dispute'	'hold public meeting to air dispute'
mee	'urine'	'urinate'
rahi	'snot'	'blow nose'
taluhi	'ridge-capping of roof'	'covered; pull blanket over oneself in sleep'
ulunge	'head-resting place in bed'	'sleep with head on something as pillow'
usa	'rain'	'rain'
taataa	'axe'	'cut ground'
taatuku	'penis sheath; nappy'	'wear penis sheath or nappy'
sususuu	'breast; breast milk'	'suck; be at the breast'
hengani	'bait'	'feed'
kuluai	'yam stake type'	'to make this particular kind of yam stake'
mosani	'decoration'	'decorated'
tupanu	'cigarette'	'smoky'
sesane	'bush vegetables'	'gather bush vegetables'

There are also a few verbs which can be either transitive or intransitive with the same form. Those forms attested include the following:

	<u>Transitive Meaning</u>	<u>Intransitive Meaning</u>
luvosi	'deceive, lie to'	'tell lie'
tisi	'write something'	'write'
hiisi	'ask someone'	'pray'
demi	'think about'	'think'
hilesi	'turn something'	'turn'
telasi	'sweep something'	'sweep'
kili	'dig something'	'dig'
kove	'throw something at something'	'throw things'
loosili	'stare at'	'stare'
kilele	'know something'	'know'

The only other instance of overlap that will be mentioned involves the numerals. It was pointed out in 3.2.2.4. that the numbers one to five and the interrogative numeral can be expressed either as verbs, or as indefinite nominals (in which case they have the form of the third person singular realis verb). Thus:

<u>Indefinite Nominals</u>	<u>Numeral Verbs</u>	
ehise	hise	<i>'how many?'</i>
taai	taai	<i>'one'</i>
elua	lua	<i>'two'</i>
etelu	telu	<i>'three'</i>
ehati	hati	<i>'four'</i>
elima	lima	<i>'five'</i>

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NOMINAL PHRASE

In this chapter, we describe the structure of the nominal phrase, so called because it has as its head one of those constituents that meets the syntactic criteria required of nominals (3.1.). The head can be associated with one or more optional adjuncts which restrict the reference of the head in some way.

Nominal phrases are viewed as either simple, containing only a single head, or complex, containing two heads (with a potential therefore for recursion). This view of the structure of the nominal phrase derives from the universal categorisation of nominal phrases in Foley (1976) as either *noun-adjunct* or *noun-noun* constructions. In a complex nominal phrase, the two nominal phrase heads are related in a number of different ways semantically and grammatically.

In the discussion that follows, we begin with simple nominal phrases and a description of those constituents that can occupy the position of head. We then give an account of the adjuncts and the syntactic and semantic relationships of these to the head. Following this, we give a description of the ways simple nominal phrases combine to form complex nominal phrases.

#### 4.1. Simple nominal phrases

##### 4.1.1. The head

The syntactic position of nominal phrase head can be defined by the fact that it is the only obligatorily filled slot in the phrase. The head of the nominal phrase can belong to any one of the subtypes of nominals described in 3.1.

##### 4.1.1.1. Pronouns

A pronominal phrase head can be either free or bound in form according to the nature of the particular syntactic environment. The free forms of the pronouns are set out in table 8 below:

	sg.		dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	inau	incl. excl.	ialue komalu	iatelu komaitelu	iire komai
2.	kaiko		kamilu	kamiitelu	kamii
3.	kaie		kailue	kaitelu	kaile

These forms are used as verbal subjects, as verbal and prepositional objects in the non-singular, and as adjuncts in a copular construction. The forms of the pronouns suffixed to nouns and possessive nominals are presented in 4.2.3., and the forms used as objects of verbs and prepositions in the singular are discussed in 5.2.1.2.1.

Although pronouns are sometimes expressed as suffixes, they clearly still have the syntactic status of phrasal heads, in that they can be qualified by an adjunct or a modifier in the same way as an unbound phrasal head, e.g.

metelalu kailu elu  
 mete+lalue kailue elua  
 eye.3dl dl two  
 'the eyes of the two of them'

which can be analysed as a complex nominal phrase in which the head of the first nominal phrase is meto- 'eye' and of the second phrase the bound pronominal form -lalue '3dl'. (Note that the change in the vowel of the underlying root in the possessive form of this noun is discussed in 4.2.3.1.) It is this suffix which is associated with the adjuncts kailue elua 'two of them'.

Although the pronominal forms are not regularly derivable by morphological processes, there are nevertheless some recurring partials. The paucal forms all end in -telu, which is identical with the verbal root for the numeral 'three' (3.2.2.4.). Similarly, the dual forms all end in -lu or -lue, which are reminiscent of the verbal root lua meaning 'two' (3.2.2.4.). Of the non-singular pronouns therefore, it is the plural forms which appear to be morphologically unmarked. The plural forms are also semantically unmarked, as shown by the fact that when an active ambient verb has an unspecified subject, it is the third person plural form (rather than the dual or paucal) that is used, e.g.

Alesi tahos  
 a+lesi+e tãhosi  
 3pl.real.see.3sg.3sg.real.good  
 'It looks good'

We should make a few observations on the semantic distinctions encoded in this pronominal system. The singular forms are of course used to refer to a single referent and require no further discussion.

The dual forms are generally used to refer to only two referents. However, a speaker who is addressing a large crowd, which would normally be addressed in the plural, will sometimes use the dual inclusive forms instead. This is particularly so if the speaker wants to persuade his audience to a particular point of view. The speaker is effectively speaking to each addressee individually, and the use of the dual in such circumstances is more directly appealing to the individual in the large group.



The conditions governing the use of the paucal and the plural are rather more complex. The basic factor that is involved is the absolute size of the group being referred to. Intersecting with this parameter however is the question of relative size, i.e. whether the group being referred to is contrasted with some larger group within which it is subsumed. When the absolute number is low (say between three and about half a dozen), the paucal is generally used, whether or not there is any contrast with a larger group. (However, the plural will still very occasionally be used even with these low numbers when there is no such contrast.)

When the absolute number is in the middle range (say, between about half a dozen and a dozen or so), the most significant parameter is that of relative number. For instance, one's own patrilineage will be referred to paucally when it is contrasted with the village as a whole, which will be plural. On the other hand, the patrilineage will be expressed in the plural when contrasted with the nuclear family, which will be in the paucal.

As the absolute number increases over the middle range, relative number again becomes less significant, and the plural is generally used for all numbers over a dozen. (However, even with very large numbers, the paucal is occasionally used when the contrast in number is expressed. So, while the entire population of Paama will normally be expressed in the plural, even when contrasted with the country as a whole, it has been heard referred to paucally.)

It can be seen from what was stated above that the rules governing the use of the paucal and the plural are not fixed, and there is a considerable degree of variation. For example, the following exchange was once heard between a group of about ten passing through a village and someone from that village:

- Mauvā                    Hingal  
 mau+vaa                hingalo  
 1pl.excl.real.go Hingal  
 'We have come from Hingal'
- Tahos,                teluva  
 tāhosi                telu+vaa  
 3sg.real.good 2.pcl.imp.go  
 'Alright, you go'

in which the first speaker uses the plural and the second the paucal to refer to the same group. The tendencies described above governing the use of the paucal and the plural are summarised in the table below, with the boxed area representing the area of possible variation:

TABLE 9: Pronominal number distinctions		
Absolute Number	Relative	Non-Relative
low	paucal	paucal
middle	paucal	paucal
high	plural	plural

## 4.1.1.2. Nouns

A noun can be either morphologically simple or morphologically complex, in which case it is derived by some morphological process from one (or more) roots.

There are some nouns in the corpus which appear to involve affixes that do not occur except on this particular noun. We therefore find some semantically related pairs such as the following:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
letau	letau	'woman'
letauli	letaulii	'girl'
oai	oai	'water'
oailu	oailuu	'watery soup'
aim	aimo	'house'
telaime	telaime	'home'
tahel	tahela	'wave'
tahelal	tahelalu	'waves breaking on shore at close intervals'

There is no solution to the problem of forms such as these except to simply list them in the lexicon as unrelated. (Historically, these are presumably compounds of some kind. In fact, the form tahelalu quoted above appears to involve the form tahela 'wave' and the regular Oceanic reflex of the Proto-Austronesian form \*alun, which also means 'wave'.)

Morphologically complex nouns can be derived by the processes of prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding. It will be noted in the discussion that follows however that some morphological processes are more productive than others. Compounding and suffixing are used very productively in the derivation of new stems; prefixation and reduplication on the other hand are very much residual processes, restricted to only a few isolated stems or classes of stems.

## 4.1.1.2.1. Reduplication

The corpus contains a large number of nouns reduplicated on the pattern involving repetition of the initial two syllables described in 2.8.2. Most of these however do not have corresponding unreduplicated stems, so the process of reduplication can no longer be regarded as productive. (Historically, these forms were reduplicated to avoid superficial monosyllables, as pointed out in 2.9.). Some examples of such forms include the following:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
nuenu	nue=nue	'sand grass'
hinahin	hina=hina	'swollen groin glands'
vokavok	voka=voka	'tinea versicolor'
virivir	viri=viri	'napiripiri tree'

There is a small number of forms however which are derived from intransitive verb stems by this process, to produce a noun that refers to some concrete thing that is characterised in some way by the state or action expressed in the verb. Thus,

<u>Verb Stem</u>	<u>Derived Noun</u>
hasu <i>'give birth'</i>	hasuhas    hasu=hasu <i>'uterus'</i>
mee <i>'urinate'</i>	mēme    mee=mee <i>'urethra'</i>
voo <i>'stink'</i>	vōvo    voo=voo <i>'stink-bug'</i>
moti <i>'fall'</i>	motimot    moti=moti <i>'tree crab'</i> (so called because young men fall in search of these)

There is also a single attested instance of nominal derivation involving the reduplication of the final two syllables (2.8.3.). Thus, *matou* 'dry coconut' is related in form and meaning to *matou+tou* 'undiluted coconut milk'.

#### 4.1.1.2.2. Prefixation

There is no fully productive prefix involved in the derivation of Paamese nouns; the only prefixes that are attested are all rather limited in their distributions. Each of these is discussed below.

##### 4.1.1.2.2.1. Ai- INST

The prefix *ai-* is used to derive nouns from verbs. (Historically, this prefix comes from what is reconstructed for proto-Oceanic as the prefix *\*i-*, with the original common noun marker *\*a* incorporated as part of the morpheme.) We can recognise three different, though clearly related, functions for this prefix:

- (i) It is used to indicate a specific instrument or tool by which the action expressed by the verb stem is performed, e.g.

<u>Verb Stem</u>	<u>Derived Noun</u>
lihi=lihi <i>'fan oneself'</i>	ailihilih    ai+lihi=lihi <i>'fan'</i>
haa=haali <i>'file sharp'</i>	aihāhāl    ai+haa=haali <i>'sharpening stone'</i>
silu <i>'shine light'</i>	aisil    ai+silu <i>'torch'</i>
tisi <i>'write/draw'</i>	aitis    ai+tisi <i>'loop of string for making hand-string figures'</i>

- (ii) It is used to indicate the idea that something is used passively (rather than as an instrument) in the action expressed in the verb stem, e.g.

<u>Verb Stem</u>	<u>Derived Noun</u>
sinu <i>'get dressed'</i>	aisin    ai+sinu <i>'shirt/clothes'</i>
taluhi <i>'sleep with blanket'</i>	aitaluh    ai+taluhi <i>'blanket'</i>
tisi <i>'write/draw'</i>	aitis    ai+tisi <i>'sign/notice'</i>
hela=helasi <i>'step on'</i>	aihelhelas    ai+hela=helasi <i>'shoes'</i>

- (iii) Finally, it can express the idea that the referent of the derived noun habitually does the activity or is in some way essentially characterised by the quality expressed in the verb stem, e.g.

Verb Stem		Derived Noun		
loho	'run'	ailoh	ai+loho	'messenger; someone who is habitually sent on errands'
kaaralii	'spin'	aikārali	ai+kaaralii	'children's spinning toy made out of coconut leaves'
maale	'agree'	aimāl	ai+maale	'someone who does what they are told or does what they say they will do'

#### 4.1.1.2.2.2. N(a)- LOC

This prefix is attested on only about a dozen nouns, and is in addition to some extent unpredictable in its form. While it generally has the form *na-* before a consonant-initial stem and *n-* before a vowel-initial stem, there is in one case some irregularity with the following vowel. Those derived forms with initial *nVt-* also optionally reduce this sequence to *d-* in fast speech with no accompanying semantic change. This morphological process must be regarded as residual.

The function of this prefix in those forms where it is used is to derive a location noun (3.1.4.2.) from a common noun (3.1.4.5.). The following derivations include the entire set of forms derived in this way. Note that there is in some cases also an unpredictable semantic shift involved with the derivation of the location noun:

Common Noun Stem			Derived Location Noun		
sīsel	siisele	'road'	nasīsel	na+siisele	'in the bush'
veien	veiene	'beach'	naveien	na+veiene	'on the beach'
poal	poalu	'gully'	napoal	na+poalu	'in the gully'
votout	vote+i+ute	'bottom of garden'	navotout	na+vote+i+ute	'at the bottom of the garden'
eivorohus	eivorohuse	'bush'	neivorohus	n+eivorohuse	'in the bush'
ulungout	ulungo+i+ute	'top of garden'	nulungout	n+ulungo+i+ute	'at the top of the garden'
āh	aahe	'garden'	nāh	n+aahe	'in the garden'
avet	avete	'shelf/bench'	navet	n+avete	'on the shelf/bench'
aut	aute	'place'	naut	n+aute	'somewhere'
aim	aimo	'house'	naim	n+aimo	'inside'
atas	atasi	'sea'	natas/das	n+atasi/dasi	'in the sea'
atan	atano	'ground'	netan/dan	n+etano/dano	'down'

These derived location nouns are functionally equivalent to a common noun marked for the spatial case. Thus:

Kai vita                    en poal  
 kaie viitaa                eni poalu  
 3sg 3sg.real.go down sp gully  
 'He went down into the gully'

and

Kai	vītā	napoal
kaie	viitaa	na+poalu
3sg	3sg.real.	go down loc.gully
		'He went down into the gully'

have the same meaning.

#### 4.1.1.2.2.3. Ke(e)- DIR

This prefix is attested on only six nouns. It derives a location noun (3.1.4.2.) expressing direction with respect to the speaker from one of the six basic motion verbs (3.2.2.1.1.). It will be seen that the verb stem in the derived form sometimes undergoes a change in the initial consonant; this is predictable according to the patterns of verbal morphology described in 5.1.1. The prefix also varies in form between *kee-* and *ke-*; this again is also predictable according to the pattern described in 5.2.3.2.

Verb Stem		Derived Location Noun		
haa	'go'	kēva	kee+vaa	'over there'
mai	'come'	kēmai	kee+mai	'over here'
hinaa	'go up'	kevina	ke+vinaa	'up over there'
maa	'come up'	kema	ke+maa	'up over here'
hiitaa	'go down'	kevīta	ke+viitaa	'down over there'
miitaa	'come down'	kemīta	ke+miitaa	'down over here'

(Although now to be formally analysed simply as location nouns, these forms appear to derive historically from a particular kind of subordinate clause. A wide range of subordinate clauses is marked in Paamese by the preclitic *kee-* which attaches to the initial constituent of the subordinate clause. This clitic evidently became reanalysed as a prefix to the third person singular realis form of the verb (5.2.1.1.1.).)

#### 4.1.1.2.3. Suffixation

There is only one derivational suffix in the morphology of Paamese nouns and that is *-ene*. This morphological process is an extremely productive one. It derives a nominal form from a verbal form. We can recognise a number of different semantic relationships between the verbal form and the derived nominal form:

- (i) The derived noun can be an abstract noun denoting the actual action performed or the state experienced, e.g.

Verb Stem		Derived Noun		
sau	'sing'	sauen	sau+ene	'singing'
tuunu	'tell stories'	tūnuen	tuunu+ene	'story-telling'
mesai	'sick'	mesaien	mesai+ene	'being sick'
hilu	'cough'	hiluen	hilu+ene	'coughing'
tiisaa	'bad'	tīsāen	tiisaa+ene	'being bad'
re+demi	'think'	redemien	re+demi+ene	'thinking'

- (ii) It can denote a particular instance of an action or state, rather than the general state or action itself, e.g.

Verb Stem		Derived Noun		
sau	'sing'	sauen	sau+ene	'song'
tuunu	'tell stories'	tūnuen	tuunu+ene	'story'
mesai	'sick'	mesaien	mesai+ene	'disease'
hilu	'cough'	hiluen	hilu+ene	'cough'
tiisaa	'bad'	tīsāen	tiisaa+ene	'sin'
re+demi	'think'	redemien	re+demi+ene	'idea, thought'

- (iii) It can denote a concrete thing that is the entity directly affected by the activity expressed in the verb stem, or the product of the activity, e.g.

Verb Stem		Derived Noun		
kani	'eat'	anien	ani+ene	'food'
saani	'give'	sānien	saani+ene	'gift'
tisi	'write'	tisien	tisi+ene	'handwriting/scriptures'
huli	'pay'	hulien	huli+ene	'wages'

- (iv) It can denote the place where an action is carried out, e.g.

Verb Stem		Derived Noun		
too	'live'	tōen	too+ene	'living area in village'

It should be noted that there is considerable overlap between functions (i) and (ii) and that the same verb can therefore be suffixed with -ene to derive a noun referring either to the action/state itself, or to a particular instance of the action/state. Functions (iii) and (iv) however tend to be marked only with particular verbs; function (iv) has in fact only been attested on the single verb *too* 'live'.

\* The noun derived with the suffix -ene can actually be structurally quite complex, as there is free incorporation of objects into the derived form. (Note that such syntactically complex derived forms are not used except to derived adjectives by the addition of the prefix *ta-* (4.1.2.2.) or as a nominal phrase head linked to a bound form noun (4.2.2.)) e.g.

umo+ni	katoo	umon	katōen	umo+ni	katoo+ene	'cake making'
	<i>make.tr</i>		<i>cake</i>			
lengasi	aie	lengas	aiēn	lengasi	aie+ene	'fish roasting'
	<i>roast</i>		<i>fish</i>			
luhi+nV	auhu	luhin	auhuen	luhi+nV	auhu+ene	'yam planting'
	<i>plant.comm</i>		<i>yam</i>			

Some speakers even allow the incorporation into the derived noun of other arguments to the verb. Constructions of this kind however are seldom used, and are regarded by many speakers as contrived, and by some as simply unacceptable, e.g.

holu	tahii	hol	Tahīen	holu	tahii+ene	'dancing at Tahi'
	<i>dance</i>		<i>Tahi</i>			
selusi		selūs		selusi		'always speaking'
	liisēlese		liselesēn		liisēlese+ene	
	<i>speaks</i>		<i>always</i>			

loho sale ranaute <i>run away</i> abl. <i>place</i>	loh sal ranautēn	loho sale ranaute+ene	' <i>running away from the place</i> '
hasu teni <i>give birth</i> rel siisele <i>road</i>	has ten sīselēn	hasu teni siisele+ene	' <i>giving birth to illegitimate children</i> '

#### 4.1.1.2.4. Compounding

Compounding is also a very productive noun-deriving process in Paamese. The status of compounds as units at the morphological level (i.e. as grammatical words) rather than at the syntactic level (i.e. as grammatical phrases) is reflected in the fact that the constituent parts are syntactically inseparable. Thus:

- (i) The two parts of a compound cannot be separated by any modifier (including clitics; 3.6.2.), nor can the individual parts take any adjuncts (4.1.2.).
- (ii) It is not possible to left-dislocate any of the constituent stems of a compound as it is with any complex nominal phrase. (Left-dislocation is a very productive method of topicalisation in Paamese, and many other Oceanic languages. As this is a sentence-level rather than a clause-level phenomenon, it is not dealt with in this description except in passing.)

A semantic argument for the special status of compounds involves the fact that the meaning of a compound is very often not predictable from the meaning of its parts. (It will also be seen below that in many instances, the two parts of a compound are in fact often also bound as single phonological units.)

##### 4.1.1.2.4.1. Common noun compounds

The only fully productive compound construction is that in which the first stem in the compound is a common noun (3.1.4.5.).

##### 4.1.1.2.4.1.1. Free form compounds

The second part of a compound can belong to any word class (including, of course, nominals). When compounds are formed from a free form noun (as described in 3.1.4.5.1.) and a root belonging to some other word class, or from two free form nouns, the two parts of the compound appear simply as sequences of two phonologically independent words, e.g.

veta ala  
vetaa alaa  
*breadfruit sail*  
'*sail-breadfruit* (so called because it is said to have been first planted from a seed dropped by a flying fox onto a canoe, tearing the sail)'

aut netan  
 aute netano  
*place down*  
*'world'*

avong elu  
 avongi elua  
*day two*  
*'Tuesday'*

avong kosa  
 avongi kosaa  
*time now*  
*'nowadays'*

riou holauai  
 riou holauai  
*hermit crab climb*  
*'coconut crab'*

avati kor  
 avatio koro  
*moon last*  
*'last month'*

sisel havivi  
 siisele havivii  
*road small*  
*'side track'*

#### 4.1.1.2.4.1.2. Special compounding forms

There is a subset of about sixty free form nouns that can be considered to be irregular in that when they are compounded, the compound is formed on the basis of a root that is different from the free form of the root. These special compounding roots are generally characterised by the loss of an initial segment. There are three forms with initial ea- which lose the e-:

Free	Compounded	
ealo	alo	<i>'sunshine'</i>
ease	ase	<i>'chestnut'</i>
eau	au	<i>'bamboo'</i>

The remainder are a- initial forms which lose the a- in their compounding forms:

Free	Compounded	
ahatu	hatu	<i>'rock'</i>
amati	mati	<i>'tide'</i>
aute	ute	<i>'place'</i>
aimo	imo	<i>'house'</i>
aavi	avi	<i>'firewood'</i>
atano	tano	<i>'land/ground'</i>



The compounding form of the root becomes phonologically bound to the other part of the compound, with an intervening loose morpheme boundary (2.3.). Some examples of compounds formed involving some of the nouns listed above are presented below:

alovanei  
 alo=vanei  
*sunshine.volcano*  
 'hot sun during rumbling of volcano (said to be caused by the volcano)'

utemes  
 ute=mese  
*place.dry*  
 'place that does not have what you want'

auhat  
 au=hatu  
*bamboo.rock*  
 'hard bamboo type'

tōlautan  
 toolau=tano  
*north-east wind.land*  
 'north-north west wind'

It should be noted however that these irregular compounding forms appear to be disappearing. There is synchronic variation between compounds formed on the basis of these irregular roots, and the free forms of the root with the initial vowel retained, e.g.

aim     hāu  
 aimo    haau  
*house new*  
 'new house'

imohāu  
 imo=haau  
*house.new*  
 'new house'

The productiveness of the contrast between free and compounding forms of the roots is being lost most noticeably in those nouns that are seldom used in compounds, and so are almost always heard with the initial vowel. On the other hand, those forms which are frequently compounded and those forms which have related bound form roots (4.2.3.1.) are more resistant to this kind of reanalysis.

#### 4.1.1.2.4.1.3. Bound form compounds

Of course, compounds can also be formed with one of the nouns that belongs to the set of bound form nouns described in 3.1.4.5.2. as the initial element. In these cases, the two parts of the compound simply become one phonological word, linked by a tight morpheme boundary when the first element is a bound form noun, and by a loose morpheme boundary when the first element is a free form noun (2.3.).

Suffixed nouns, when compounded with some following element, regularly front a final back vowel following a consonant or an unlike non-low vowel, possibly because of the presence of the historical link morpheme -i- (4.1.1.2.4.1.3.1.). We therefore note correspondences such as the following according to whether the root is followed by a possessive suffix or a compounded stem:

<u>Suffixed Root</u>	<u>Compounded Root</u>	
luho-	luhe-	'tooth'
vilo-	vile-	'vagina'
vatu-	vati-	'head'
ngasu-	ngasi-	'nose'
lo-	le-	'interior'
ungo-	unge-	'mouth'

(When used as the second part of a compound however, the vowel does not change.) On the other hand, roots such as raa- 'blood', vange- 'belly' and ue- 'rope/string' are invariant. Some examples of compounds formed on the basis of these forms are presented below:

asera  
 ase=raa  
*chestnut.blood*  
 'chestnut type with red fruit'

matoura  
 matou=raa  
*coconut.blood*  
 'coconut type with red husk'

lemesel  
 le+mesele  
*interior.clear*  
 'person who remembers'

uredelem  
 ue+re+delemi  
*string.REdup.swallow*  
 'oesophagus'

vilevo  
 vile+voo  
*vagina.stink*  
 'stinking vagina'

ōtev  
 oo+tevi  
*penis.swell*  
 'erection'

hirēvu  
 hire+vuū  
*neck.bulge*  
 'heron'

When a linked noun is compounded with another root, it is bound to it in the same way that a suffixed noun is (though with no change in the final vowel as noted above for suffixed nouns), e.g.

volakou  
 vola+kou  
*empty container.skinny*  
*'person who is nothing but skin and bones'*

anerātāi  
 ane+raa=taai  
*contents.REDU<sub>p</sub>.one*  
*'single-pointed spear'*

#### 4.1.1.2.4.1.3.1. The link morpheme -i-

There is one difference in the behaviour of compounded linked and suffixed nouns however, and that involves compounds formed with those free form nouns mentioned in 4.1.1.2.4.1.2. as having special compounding forms. When a linked noun is compounded with one of these roots following it, they are joined by the link morpheme -i- (4.2.2.1.). So, note the compounds derived from the following nouns: alau *'nakatambol tree'*, atasi *'sea'*, atano *'ground'*, and ahatu *'rock'*.

līlau  
 lii+i+lau  
*root.link.nakatambol*  
*'ground drum made from nakatambol root'*

volaitas  
 vola+i+tasi  
*empty container.link.sea*  
*'skull'*

meteitan  
 mete+i+tano  
*centre.link.ground*  
*'mound made over planted yam'*

valengeihat  
 valenge+i+hatu  
*hollow part.link.rock*  
*'cave'*

However, note the following example of a compound involving the noun ahisu *'bow'* with a suffixed noun, in which there is no link morpheme:

uehis  
 ue+hisu  
*string.bow*  
*'bow-string'*

#### 4.1.1.2.4.1.4. Obligatorily compounded forms

While compounds can be derived with the second part coming from any of the parts of speech, there are some recurring morphemes that only ever occur in compounds. These presumably belonged unambiguously to one of the parts of speech at some earlier stage, but the specific class membership can no longer be determined. Such obligatorily compounded morphemes include the following:

Surface Form	Underlying Form	
holev	holeve	'large (of fruit)'
nūt	nuute	'pertaining to the bush'
riril	ririle	'circular, winding'
rū	ruu	'large (of body part)'
hos	hosi	'safe, good, benign'
hāu	haau	'new'
matu	matuu	'old'
tau	tau	'next'

Examples include:

asholev  
 ase=holeve  
*chestnut.large*  
*'chestnut type with large fruit'*

oai nūt  
 oai nuute  
*water bush*  
*'rain-water/spring water'*

langriril  
 langi=ririlu  
*wind.circular*  
*'whirlwind'*

molatin hos  
 molatine hosi  
*man good*  
*'mortal person (rather than spirit)'*

ōru  
 oo=ruu  
*penis.large*  
*'person with very large penis'*

#### 4.1.1.2.4.2. Verbal compounds

It was mentioned in 4.1.1.2.4.1. that the only fully productive method of compound formation is that in which the initial element is a noun. There are, however, some forms in which the initial element is instead a verb. The only such forms attested are:

Surface Form	Underlying Form	
luvoluvos asu	luvo=luvosi asue REDUp.deceive rat	'shrub type (so called because its fruit is found under its leaves, luring the rat up the plant to eat it, but it is then obscured by the leaves)'
luvoluvos melau	luvo=luvosi melau REDUp.deceive scrub turkey	'insect type (so called because it rolls itself up into a ball after it entices the scrub turkey to eat it but which cannot be eaten when rolled up)'

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
sō lein ahang	soo leini ahango <i>throw out fire</i>	'breadfruit type (so called because it scatters the coals of the fire when roasted because it is so big)'
kiskisvot	kisi=kisi=vote REDUp.poke.buttocks	'index finger (so called because it is the finger that touches the anus in cleaning after defecation)'
hā kot	haa koto <i>go across</i>	'boundary between the land of two villages'

We must also note the following forms:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
luahin	luahine	'two women'
teluahin	teluahine	'a few women'
lumāli	lumaalii	'two men'
telumāli	telumaalii	'a few men'

which appear to be compounded from the numerals lua 'two' and telu 'three', and the nouns ahine 'woman' and maalii, which is used as an address form in exclamations to men, e.g.

Māli! Kiles            taunehek!  
maalii ki+lesi        taunehe=ke  
man    2sg.dis.see    thing.prox  
'Hey man! Look at this thing!'

They are synchronically irregular however in that they become bound to the verb stem, and also in that the dual forms lose the final -a of the verb. They do not therefore seem to be synchronically analysable.

#### 4.1.1.2.5. Phrasal nouns

The derivation of the following nouns is more a syntactic than a morphological process, though we will for the sake of convenience discuss it at this point. The corpus contains a fair number of complex nominal phrases that function in themselves as nominal phrase heads and can be associated with a number of adjuncts or enter into a complex noun phrase construction. The special status of these kinds of forms however is reflected in the same way as is the special status of compound nouns, i.e. the sum of the meaning of the parts does not equal the meaning of the whole, there is no left-dislocation of any of the parts and the parts are inseparable. Examples of such derivations are given below:

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	
ōn buluk	oo+nV            buluku penis.const    bull	'stockwhip'
tān ahu	taa+nV            ahue excrement.const turtle	'pumice'
utivilen Makaret	uti+vile+nV seed.vagina.const makarete Margaret	'breadfruit type'

haivatin ōn	hai+vati+nV fruit.head.const oo+ne penis.3sg	'his glans penis'
aikol onen maso	ai+kole inst.dislodge fruit one+nV poss.man const masoo evening star	'scorpion'
ahat sen māv	ahatu sen+nV rock poss.leg.const maavi lizard	'rock type on seabed'

#### 4.1.1.3. Other nominal types

In addition to nouns and pronouns, the position of nominal phrase head can be filled by an indefinite or a possessive nominal. The following examples briefly illustrate this:

Āk	hē	havivīs
aa+ku	he	havivii=se
poss.ed.1sg	3sg.dis.cop	small.neg.exp
'Mine (to eat) will be just a bit'		
Tei	vā	tai en ahang?
tei	vaa	tai eni ahango
some of	3sg.real.go comp sp	fire
'Has some of it gone on the fire?'		

All such roots are morphologically simple with the exception of ta+taai 'any', which is derived from the root taai 'one' by initial-syllable reduplication (2.8.1.) and savo=savo 'other', which is derived by reduplication from the singular form savo according to the pattern described in 2.8.2.

#### 4.1.2. Adjuncts

The nominal phrase head can also be associated with one or more adjuncts. Adjuncts can be any of the following:

- (a) One of the determiners
- (b) An adjective
- (c) An indefinite noun or
- (d) A clause.

In this section, we discuss the syntactic placement of each of these various adjunct types with respect to the head and to other adjuncts, and the semantic relationship between the adjunct and the head.

## 4.1.2.1. Determiners

As mentioned in 3.5., there are three postposed nominal phrase determiners; *kailue*, *kaitelu* and *kaile*. These obligatorily mark the nominal phrase as being:

- (i) Definite, and
- (ii) either dual (*kailue*), paucal (*kaitelu*) or plural (*kaile*) in number.

The plural form *kaile* can also mark a nominal phrase as being generic, e.g.

Molatin kailu lūmai  
 molätine kailue luu+mai  
 man dl 3dl.real.come  
 'The two men are coming'

Molatin kaitel telumai  
 molätine kaitelu telu+mai  
 man pcl 3pcl.real.come  
 'The three men are coming'

As the plural determiner *kaile* can mark a nominal phrase as being generic, the following example can have two readings:

Metālo kail ales kail vatte tās  
 metaaloo kaile a+lesi kaile vat=tee taa=se  
 European pl 3pl.real.see 3pl type.indef one.neg.exp

With a generic reading it is:

'(All) Europeans look alike'

and with a plural definite reading, it is:

'The (six or more) Europeans look alike'

These determiners, although they are identical in form to the third person non-singular pronouns (4.1.1.1.), are quite different in behaviour. The following significant differences in the behaviour of these determiners and the corresponding pronouns can be noted:

- (i) The determiners make no reference to person, despite the fact that they are identical in form to the third person pronouns. It is in fact possible for these determiners to be used in non-third person nominal phrases, e.g.

Lohon kail minaveretei  
 lohono kaile mi+na+vere+tei  
 boy pl 2pl.pot.be noisy.part  
 'Boys, don't be noisy'

īr temalikelik kail vasī enaut netan  
 iire ta+malikēliko kaile vasiie enaute netano  
 lpl.incl adj.black pl all sp.place down

romūmoni mukok  
 ro+muumo+nite mukoke  
 lpl.incl.real.do.tr.3sg 3sg.real.thus.prox  
 'We, all the black people of the world, do it like this'

- (ii) The determiners are freely used to mark number with any kind of noun as long as it is countable, whereas pronouns tend to make full number distinctions only when referring to human, or at least animate nouns, e.g.

Āi kailenek avosaini malus  
 aai kaile+neke a+vosainite malu=se  
*handle pl.dist 3pl.real.stick in ground.3sg 3sg.real.straight.*  
 neg.exp  
*'The handles were just stuck straight up in the ground'*

The fact that the same forms are used with different functions means that it is even possible to get sequences of the same form in its different functions, as in:

Kai duvon molatin kail kail aumat  
 kaie duvo+nV molätine kaile kaile au+mate  
 3sg 3sg.real.shoot.comm man pl 3pl 3pl.real.die  
*'When he shot the men, they died'*

#### 4.1.2.2. Adjectives

Adjectives follow the head of the nominal phrase and semantically ascribe to the referent some distinguishing property or quality. There is a small set of underived adjectives (3.3.), as well as the following adjectives that are derived as compounds with a nominal as the first element:

haite matu	hai+itee <i>instance.indef</i>	matuu <i>old</i>	'old'
haite hāu	hai+itee <i>instance.indef</i>	haau <i>new</i>	'new'
haisav	hai=savo <i>instance.other</i>		'useless/valueless'

There is one fully productive adjective-deriving process, involving the addition of the prefix *ta-* to either a noun or a stative verb. The derived adjective is related in meaning to the stem in the following ways:

- (i) When added to a noun it forms an adjective expressing the property that is in some way inherently and permanently characteristic of the referent of the noun stem, e.g.

<u>Noun Stem</u>			<u>Derived Adjective</u>		
ut	ute	'shore'	taut	ta+ute	'uncultured; uncivilised; knowing only the ways of the bush'
das	dasi	'in the sea'	tedas	ta+dasi	'knowing the ways of the sea'
nesa	nesaa	'above'	tanesa	ta+nesaa	'upper'
dan	dano	'down'	tedan	ta+dano	'lower'
lokohis	loko=hisi	'banana pudding'	talokohis	ta+loko=hisi	'yellow'

- (ii) When added to a noun expressing an action or a process (i.e. one that is derived from a non-stative verb by means of the abstract nominaliser *-ene* as described in 4.1.1.2.3.), the prefix *ta-* expresses the idea that there is a purposive relationship between the head of the nominal phrase and the action or process described in the deverbal nominals. Thus:



vulimolas tatin kumalēn  
 vulimolasu tattini kumale+ene  
*coals* adj.roast *sweet potato*.nom  
 'coals for roasting sweet potato'

avong taluhin taunehēn  
 avongi ta+luhi+nV taunehe+ene  
*time* adj.plant.comm *thing*.nom  
 'time for planting things'

tirausis takuluen  
 tirausise ta+kulu+ene  
*shorts* adj.swim.nom  
 'swimming trunks'

molatin taluvolvos min kailēn  
 molātime ta+luvo=luvosi mini kaile+ene  
*man* adj.REDUp.deceive pun.dat 3pl.nom  
 'people to tell lies to'

It is also possible however for a deverbal nominal of this kind to derive an adjective that qualifies a noun that is in some way particularly characterised by the action or process. Thus:

ahin tahas ten sīselēn  
 ahine ta+hasu teni siisele+ene  
*woman* adj.give birth rel *road*.nom  
 'woman who gives birth to illegitimate children'

molatin taselūsien  
 molātime ta+seluusi+ene  
*man* adj.speak.nom  
 'loquacious person'

- (iii) Finally, the adjectival derivative ta- can be added to a stative verb stem to indicate that the quality is either a permanent or inherent characteristic of the head. An adjective derived in this way will contrast in meaning with the verb as an adjunct (expressed in a relative clause) which expresses an impermanent or incidental property of something, e.g.

molatin koan gaih  
 molātime koani gaiho  
*man* indef 3sg.real.strong  
 'a strong man'

molatin tekaih  
 molātime ta+kaiho  
*man* adj.strong  
 'warrior/sorcerer'

The different nature of the properties expressed in these two ways can be further brought out by noting that something can be characterised impermanently and permanently in contrasting ways. It is therefore not contradictory to say:

pūk tatīsa koan tahos  
 puuku ta+tiisaa koani tāhosi  
*book* adj.bad indef 3sg.real.good  
 'a bad book which is good'

as a book that is characterised permanently as 'bad' is usually taken to mean a pornographic book, and there is undoubtedly, in the minds of many, good pornographic and bad pornographic.

## 4.1.2.3. Indefinite adjuncts

One of the defining characteristics of indefinite nouns (3.1.3.) is that they can occur not only as nominal phrase heads, but also as adjuncts to some other head. Thus:

asuv tei kail  
 asuvo tei kaile  
*chief some of pl*  
*'some of the chiefs'*

molatin haulu  
 molätine haulue  
*man many*  
*'many men'*

tauneh koan  
 taunehe koani  
*thing some*  
*'some things'*

The numerals can of course also be used as indefinite adjuncts as they belong in this class. The numerals from one to sixty are listed in the appendix. (This counting system is now generally not known by speakers under thirty or so years of age, and is seldom used even by the oldest people, who generally use instead the borrowed Bislama terms.)

The numerals are built up on the basis of the following synchronically unanalysable forms:

tāi	taai	<i>one</i>
elu	elua	<i>two</i>
etel	etelu	<i>three</i>
ehat	ehati	<i>four</i>
elim	elima	<i>five</i>
hālualim	haalualima	<i>ten</i>

The number six is a compound of the verb lahi 'carry' and taai 'one':

lahitāi	lahi=taai	<i>six</i>
---------	-----------	------------

The numbers from seven to nine are compounds of the bound noun lau- 'leaf' and the verbal roots lua 'two', telu 'three' and hati 'four':

lalu	lau+lua	<i>seven</i>
lautel	lau+telu	<i>eight</i>
lauhat	lau+hati	<i>nine</i>

Although the number ten is probably not synchronically analysable, it is clearly derived historically from the verbal prefix haa- expressing the number of times (5.2.2.1.1.) and the verbal roots lua 'two' and lima 'five', i.e. 'two times five'.

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are compounded with taai dano 'one down'. Thus: taai dano lau+telu 'eighteen'. Twenty is expressed as hanuu mau 'whole person' (i.e. all fingers and toes), and forty as hanuu mau elua 'two whole people', and so on ad infinitum. The intermediate numbers are expressed as compounds of hanuu savo 'another person' and the numbers from eleven to nineteen described above. So, hanuu savo taai dano lau+hati is 'thirty-nine'.

## 4.1.2.4. Clausal adjuncts

We will not enter into any detailed discussion of the mechanics of the expression of clausal adjuncts to the head of a nominal phrase (i.e. relative clauses) as it was pointed out in the abstract that this analysis of the grammar of Paamese would be restricted to levels lower than the clause.

Restrictive relative clauses are expressed by means of the optional subordinator *ke-*, which attaches itself as a clitic to the first constituent of the clause, or the corresponding free form subordinator *kekee*, e.g.

Molatin	kail	(keke)	amualial
molātime	kaile	(kekee)	a+muali=ali
man	pl	sub	3pl.real.REDU <sub>Up</sub> .go to bush
alongen			ave
a+longe+nV			avea
3pl.real.hear.comm			bell

*'Those men who had gone to the bush heard the bell'*

No relative clause can be formally headless. When there is no head semantically, the structural position of the head is occupied by the indefinite noun *koa(ni)* 'some'. Thus:

Koan	(keke)	gaih	aloholoh
koani	(kekee)	gaiho	a+loho=loho
some	sub	3sg.real.strong	3pl.real.REDU <sub>Up</sub> .run

*'The ones who were strong ran'*

This kind of construction is also used to express non-restrictive relative clauses, with the indefinite head functioning as an adjunct to another nominal phrase head:

Molatin	koan	(keke)	gaih	dain
molātime	koani	(kekee)	gaiho	dai+nV
man	some	sub	3sg.real.strong	3sg.real.cut.comm
matou				
matou				
copra				

*'The man, who was strong, cut the copra'*

Clausal adjuncts to the indefinite nominal *koa(ni)* are also used in certain other situations where a clause is semantically the object of a verb or a preposition. The verb *suvali*, when there is a clausal object, requires that this be expressed as an adjunct to the indefinite form:

Kūmoni	hesuval	koan	inau	namūmoni
ki+umo+nite	he+suvali	koani	inau	na+mumo+nite
2sg.dis.do.tr.3sg	3sg.dis.ressemble	some	lsg	lsg.real.do.tr.3sg

*'Do it like I did it'*

The clausal preposition *veni* 'because of', when it has a clausal object, can also express this in the same way:

Hēk	māh	ven	koan	nedain	matou
hee+ku	maahi	veni	koani	na+dai+nV	matou
hand.lsg	3sg.real.sore	caus	some	lsg.real.cut.comm	copra

*'My hand is sore because I've been cutting copra'*

The fact that the *koa(ni)* in these forms is treated as the head of a nominal phrase rather than simply as a marker of subordination is justified by its behaviour in taking clitics and being followed by modifiers, which characteristically attach to and follow respectively the first constituent of the nominal phrase:

Kikur	koan	vārei	mul	nesa
ki+kuri	koani	vaarei	mule	nesaa
2sg.dis.	take	some	precisely	3sg.real.exist
	<i>'Take the one right up on top'</i>			

The subordinator *kee-/kekee* on the other hand does not behave in this way.

#### 4.1.2.5. Ordering of postposed adjuncts

There is a certain degree of freedom in the relative placing of postposed nominal phrase adjuncts. This freedom of order is possible as the adjuncts are related semantically only to the head and not to any of the other adjuncts. There does however appear to be an order that can be set up as the 'preferred' order, in that it accounts for approximately 85% of those nominal phrases examined which contained more than one adjunct. (Note however that it is unlikely that a nominal phrase would contain a filler from each of these syntactic slots. Three or four would appear to be the normal sort of maximum.)

Head	+	Determiner	+	Numeral	+	Ta-		+	Other		+	Relative
						Adjective			Adjectives			Clause

## 4.2. Complex nominal phrases

A complex nominal phrase can be distinguished from a simple nominal phrase in that it has two heads rather than one. (It is of course possible for one of the nominal phrases itself to be grammatically complex, with two heads. This construction therefore allows for multiple recursion.) The referents of the two phrasal heads are in a particular kind of semantic relationship to each other, determined according to the way the heads of the two phrases are related morphologically and syntactically. There are four quite distinct types of grammatical relationships that can hold between the heads of the nominal phrases in this kind of construction, these being referred to as the prepositional, linked, suffixed and appositional constructions. In the sections that follow, we will describe these morphological and syntactic relationships; the semantic distinctions they encode however will be discussed in detail in chapter six, as there are close parallels between the various *noun-noun* relationships and the roles a noun plays in an event with a predicate.

### 4.2.1. Prepositional construction

As was mentioned in 3.4. there are five prepositions in Paamese. These can be used to link two nominal phrases as illustrated below:

komal	min	Siti
komalu	mini	sitii
ldl.excl	pun.dat	<i>Siti</i>
		<i>'Siti and I'</i>

aut ten alang  
 aute teni alangi  
*place rel wind*  
*'windy place'*

sautin ran atas  
 sautine rani atasi  
*long way abl sea*  
*'long way from the sea'*

vesesal ven aim  
 vesēsali veni aimo  
*near ar.dat house*  
*'near the house'*

nesa en hau  
 nesaa eni hau  
*up sp hill*  
*'up the hill'*

The particular semantic relationships between the two nominal phrases expressed by each of the prepositions exactly parallels the semantics of the prepositions as they mark the role of a nominal phrase in an event. These semantic relationships are discussed in detail in 6.1.2.3.1.

#### 4.2.2. Linked noun construction

Those nouns that belong to the class of linked nouns described in 3.1.4.5.2.2. are related to the head of the second nominal phrase by being phonologically bound to it as a single word. When the head of the first nominal phrase has a final -o and the second nominal phrase head has initial a- or o-, then there is a special linking morpheme of the form -i-, e.g.

siliveta  
 sili+vetaa  
*sucker.breadfruit*  
*'breadfruit sucker'*

vatial  
 vati+ealo  
*tree.oak*  
*'oak tree'*

lengaōha  
 lenga+oohaa  
*dry skin.breadfruit seed*  
*'skin of breadfruit seed'*

menāhis  
 mena+ahisi  
*ripe fruit.banana*  
*'ripe banana'*

sokoiāv  
 soko+itaavi  
*remains.link.firewood*  
*'firewood chips'*

Note that the nominal phrase head that is linked in such a construction can itself be one of the nouns derived by means of the suffix *-ene*, with complex incorporation of objects and oblique arguments to the verb (4.1.1.2.3.), e.g.

utimun		melekēn
uti+muni		meleke+ene
<i>one who always does.drink milk.nom</i>		
<i>'habitual milk drinker'</i>		
vatihas	ten	sīselēn
vati+hasu	teni	siisele+ene
<i>type.give birth rel road.nom</i>		
<i>'someone who gives birth to illegitimate children'</i>		

There are some linked nouns that are related in form to suffixed nouns, but with some unpredictable fronting of a final back vowel (3.1.4.5.2.2.). It can be suggested that this fronting is due to the influence of the link morpheme, which is itself front. Although this change is not regular, there is in fact considerable instability in the form of final vowels in bound form nouns. (See also 4.2.3.1.)

A linked noun can also be expressed without reference to any particular referent. In such instances, the obligatorily linked non-referential noun *itee* is attached to the root. (This noun is termed 'obligatorily linked' as it has no use outside this construction.) e.g.

aroaite
aroa+itee
<i>handle.indef</i>
<i>'handle'</i>
laute
lau+itee
<i>'leaf'</i>
sokoite
soko+itee
<i>remains.indef</i>
<i>'remains'</i>

There are however five forms ending in *-si* or *-ti* that have irregular forms when linked to the indefinite noun *itee*:

Root	Indefinite Form		
lasi-	latte	lattee	<i>'branch'</i>
vati-	vatte	vattee	<i>'tree'</i>
hati-	hatte	hattee	<i>'piece'</i>
voreti-	vorette	vorettee	<i>'small'</i>
horati-	horatte	horattee	<i>'hard core'</i>

(Note that *lattee* is regularised by some speakers as *lasi+itee*.) There is clearly no phonological conditioning involved in the derivation of these irregular forms as there are also forms such as the following which have regular indefinite forms:

Root	Indefinite Form		
uti-	utīte	uti+itee	'seed'
tasi-	tasīte	tasi+itee	'last born'
musi-	musīte	musi+itee	'old and worn out'
titi-	titīte	titi+itee	'small'

When the obligatorily linked noun itee is used with a linked noun it indicates that the head of the second nominal phrase is left unspecified. This lack of specification is possible either when the context indicates what the reference of the second head is:

Uhia,	sīn	mul	en	vieite
uhiaa	sii+ne	mule	eni	vie+itee
<i>wild yam thorn.3sg 3sg.real.exist sp vine.indef</i>				
<i>'As for wild yams, there are thorns on the vine'</i>				

or when the referent of the head is not known or considered irrelevant:

Vakili	onen	marīte	vāreis
vakīlii	one+ne	mari+itee	vaarei=se
<i>canoe poss.man.3sg big.indef precisely.neg.exp,</i>			
<i>'His canoe is very big'</i>			

The semantic relationship that holds between two nominal phrases related in this way is generally some kind of part/whole relationship. (See 3.1.4.5.2.2. and 3.1.4.5.3. for further discussion of the semantic relationship between two linked nominal phrase heads.)

#### 4.2.2.1. The problem of -i-

The fact that there is a special link morpheme that is used in such a restricted set of phonological environments seems rather odd. It will be remembered from the discussion of compounds in 4.1.1.2.4.1.3.1. that when one of the sixty or so nouns with special compounding forms are compounded with a linked noun (3.1.4.5.2.2.), the morpheme -i- is also found. For example, the compound derived from valenge- 'hole' and ahatu 'rock' (which has a special compounding form hatu) is valengeihatu 'cave'. This fact further adds to the problem of providing a synchronic analysis for -i-.

In fact, the only solution appears to be to treat it as synchronically residual, reflecting some earlier more widespread nominal phrase linking function. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be sufficient data on related languages to attempt to account for the diachronic development of this particular morpheme. The only suggestions that offer themselves are the following:

- (i) There are some Oceanic languages which do have a suffix of the form -i. For example, the Mota language of northern Vanuatu has the alienable form matai 'eye' derived from the inalienable form mata-. This suffix does not appear to have a linking function in Mota however.
- (ii) Fijian (Lynch 1982) has a linking particle i which relates a possessed nominal phrase to a proper possessor, e.g.

na	tama	i	Tusulu
<i>art father link T.</i>			
<i>'Tusulu's father'</i>			

na vale ne-i        Seci  
 art *house* poss.link *Seci*  
 '*Seci's house*'

na uvi ke-i        Lui  
 art *yam* poss.ed.link *Lui*  
 '*Lui's yam (to eat)*'

In these examples, we see that *i* clearly does have a linking function. (Pawley (pers.comm.) however, suggests that the *i* in these examples actually derives not from an original link morpheme, but that it reflects the Proto-Oceanic proper article \**i*.)

- (iii) Tongan (Pawley, pers.comm.) has a link morpheme of the form '*i*' (derived from Proto-Oceanic \**qi*) which is used in constructions of the following type:

ha mata '*i*    ika  
 art unit link *fish*  
 '*one fish*'

#### 4.2.3. Suffixed noun construction

In this type of construction, the head of the second phrase is expressed as a pronominal suffix attached to one of the suffixed bound form nouns described in 3.1.4.5.2.1., or to one of the possessive nominals described in 3.1.3. The forms of the pronominal suffixes are presented in table 10.

TABLE 10: Paamese pronominal suffixes					
	sg.		dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	-ku	incl. excl.	-ralue -malu	-ratelu -maitelu	-re -mai
2.	-mo		-milu	-miitelu	-mii
3.	-ne		-lalue	-latelu	-le

(It will be noted that the non-singular forms of these suffixes bear a partial formal similarity to the free form pronouns described in 4.1.1.1.)

When the head of the second phrase is a noun rather than a pronoun, this is related to the suffixed noun or to the possessive nominal by means of a suffix which, following the traditional terminology of Micronesian grammars, is called the 'construct' suffix (e.g. Topping 1973:221-22). (This suffix is also called the 'defective' suffix in Sohn 1975:105.) The possessor noun immediately follows the construct suffix, with no modifier or adjunct ever separating the two.

In its surface form, the construct suffix is identical with the third person singular pronominal suffix. (Underlyingly, it should be represented as -*nV* rather than -*ne*, with an underspecified final vowel, as the full specification of the final vowel of the construct suffix can never be made by attaching a suffix to it.) Grammatically, the behaviour of the construct suffix is quite different from that of the pronominal suffix -*ne*, as reflected in the following facts:



- (i) The construct suffix does not vary according to the number of the second nominal phrase head, whereas the third person suffixes do. So, while in the singular we have:

meten  
 mete+ne  
 eye.3sg  
 'his eye'

onen  
 one+ne  
 poss.man.3sg.  
 'his'

meten        huli  
 mete+nV    hulii  
 eye.const dog  
 'the dog's eye'

onen                huli  
 one+nV            hulii  
 poss.man.const dog  
 'the dog's'

in the dual we have instead:

metelalu  
 mete+lalue  
 eye.3dl  
 'their (two) eyes'

olalu  
 o+lalue  
 poss.man.3dl  
 'theirs (two)'

meten        huli kailu  
 mete+nV    hulii kailue  
 eye.const dog dl  
 'the two dogs' eyes'

onen                huli kailu  
 one+nV            hulii kailue  
 poss.man.const dog dl  
 'the (two) dogs''

(Note that in relating two nominal phrases in this way, Paamese appears to be reflecting a feature more typically associated with Micronesian languages than Melanesian languages. The more common Melanesian construction is typified by Fijian, in which there is marking in the possessive suffix for the number of the possessor noun, e.g. (Milner 1972:22).

na nodratou waqa na cauravou  
 art poss.pcl canoe art young man  
 'the (few) young men's canoe'.)

- (ii) Another syntactic difference between the construct suffix and the third person singular pronominal suffix is that when the pronominal suffix is added to a possessive nominal, this constituent can then either precede or follow a possessed nominal phrase head in the same way as a possessive nominal with any pronominal suffix:

onen            eau  
 one+ne        eau  
 poss.man.3sg *knife*  
 'his knife'

eau    onen  
 eau    one+ne  
*knife* poss.man.3sg  
 'his knife'

However, when there is a construct suffix with a following noun, the possessive nominal can only ever follow the possessed nominal phrase head, and it can never precede it:

\*onen            Maki eau  
 one+nV        makii eau  
 poss.man.const *Maki knife*  
 'Maki's knife'

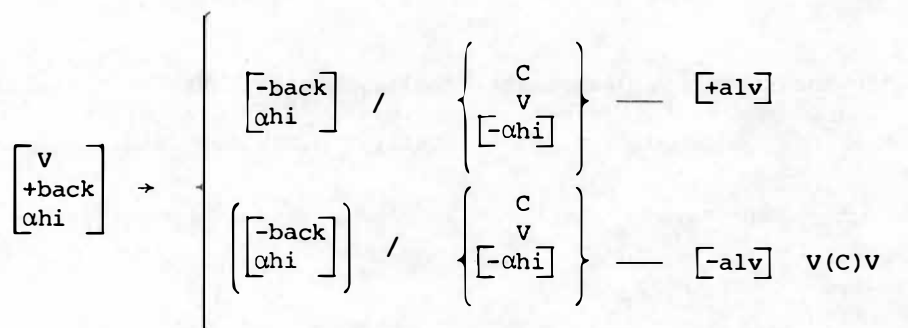
eau    onen            Maki  
 eau    one+nV        makii  
*knife* poss.man.const *Maki*  
 'Maki's knife'

#### 4.2.3.1. Possessive suffixes on nouns

When the noun is a suffixed bound noun, the possessor is expressed by one of these possessive suffixes attached directly onto the noun itself. When the noun root has a final front vowel, or a final back vowel preceded by an identical back vowel or a low vowel, these suffixes are simply added over a tight morpheme boundary (2.3.) with no changes to the preceding vowels. We therefore note the paradigms below involving the roots tau- 'dorsum', sii- 'bone', levi- 'trunk' and vange- 'belly':

	sg.		dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	tauku	incl.	tauralue	tauratelu	taure
		excl.	taumalu	taumaitel	taumai
2.	taumo		taumilu	taumiitelu	taumii
3.	taune		taulalue	taulatelu	taule
1.	siiku	incl.	siiralue	siiratelu	siire
		excl.	siimalu	siimaitelu	siimai
2.	siimo		siimilu	siimiitelu	siimii
3.	siine		siilalue	siilatelu	siile
1.	leviku	incl.	leviralue	leviratelu	levire
		excl.	levimalu	levimaitelu	levimai
2.	levimo		levimilu	levimiitelu	levimii
3.	levine		levilalue	levilatelu	levile
1.	vangeku	incl.	vangeralue	vangeratelu	vangere
		excl.	vangemalu	vangemaitelu	vangemai
2.	vangemo		vangemilu	vangemiitelu	vangemii
3.	vangene		vangelalue	vangelatelu	vangele

Roots with final back vowels with a preceding consonant or a non-identical non-low vowel front this vowel before certain possessive suffixes according to the following rule:



The first part of this rule states that a back vowel is obligatorily fronted following either a consonant or an unlike non-low vowel when the possessive suffix has an initial alveolar consonant (i.e. before the suffixes -ne (and -nV), -ralue, -ratelu, -re, -lalue, -latelu and -le). The second part of the rule states that the vowels is optionally fronted (therefore producing a variable output) following the same segments when the possessive suffix is disyllabic (or longer) and begins with a non-alveolar consonant (i.e. before the suffixes -malu, -maitelu, -mai, -milu, -miitelu and -mii). The only suffixes therefore which do not affect the final vowel are -ku and -mo. This rule accounts for the variation in the vowel of the possessive paradigms of hilu- 'hair' and meto- 'eye' as illustrated below:

	sg.	dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	hiluku incl. excl.	hiliralue hilumalu/ hilimalu	hiliratelu hilumaitelu/ hilimaitelu	hilire hilumai/ hilimai
2.	hilumo	hilumilu/ hilimilu	hilumiitelu/ hilimiitelu	hilumii/ hilimii
3.	hiline	hililalue	hililatelu	hilile
1.	metoku incl. excl.	meteralue metomalu/ metemalu	meteratelu metomaitelu/ metemaitelu	metere metomai/ metemai
2.	metomo	metomilu/ metemilu	metomiitelu/ metemiitelu	metomii/ metemii
3.	metene	metelalue	metelatelu	metele

There is a small set of suffixed bound kin terms that can have special possessive suffixes in the singular (but not in the non-singular), which are involved in distinguishing the gender of the referent. These suffixes have the forms given in table 11 below.

	masc.	fem.
1.	-kulii	-kahine
2.	-malii	-mahine
3.	-nalii	-nahine

In the feminine forms, we can clearly recognise the free form noun ahine 'woman' though the loss of the final vowel of the basic forms of the suffixes with the attachment of this form shows that this morphological process is idiosyncratic; the forms are therefore treated as unanalysable. In the masculine forms, we

can isolate the recurring element *-lii/-alii*, but this has no independent existence, and once again there is morphological unpredictability; these forms too are therefore treated as morphologically underivable within a synchronic analysis.

The only nouns which take these special possessive suffixes are:

natu-	'child'
tuu-	'same sex sibling'
mano-	'brother (of woman)'
haavu-	'grandchild'
ahino-	'sister (of man)'

The forms *natu-* 'child' and *haavu-* 'grandchild' can take either the masculine or the feminine forms of the suffixes, or the ordinary forms, in which case the noun is not specific with respect to the gender of the referent. Thus:

natuku	'my child'
natukulii	'my son'
natukahine	'my daughter'

The remaining forms however obligatorily take one or both of these special suffixes. Thus:

tuumalii	'your brother (of man)'
tuumahine	'your sister (of woman)'

The noun *ahino-* is irregular in that, while it has feminine reference, it can only take the masculine suffixes:

ahinomalii	'your sister (of man)'
*ahinomahine	'your sister (of man)'

(The noun *mano-* of course regularly takes the masculine suffixes.)

Note that the generalisation made above about the construct suffix being formally identical with the third person pronominal suffix also holds for those nouns which take these special suffixes. Thus:

natin	Lukai
nati+nV	lukai
child.const	Lukai
	'Lukai's child'
natali	Lukai
nati+nalii	lukai
child.const.masc	Lukai
	'Lukai's son'
natinahin	Lukai
nati+nahine	lukai
child.const.fem	Lukai
	'Lukai's daughter'

There are two nouns that are somewhat irregular in their behaviour with respect to the addition of possessive suffixes. The first of these is the noun meaning 'same sex sibling'. This has the root *tuu-* when used with the special gender marking suffixes, but *tuo-* when used with the ordinary possessive suffixes. The paradigm based on *tuo-* is also irregular in the first person singular, which is based on the form *tua-*. Thus:

	masc.sg.	fem.sg.	sg.	dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	tuaku	tuukahine	tuaku	incl. tueralue excl. tuomalu/ tuemalu	tueratelu tuomaitelu/ tuemaitelu	tuere tuomai/tuemai
2.	tuumalii	tuumahine	tuomo	tuomilu/ tuemilu	tuomiitelu/ tuemiitelu	tuomii/tuemii
3.	tuunalii	tuunahine	tuene	tuelalue	tuelatelu	tuele

The second irregular noun is that meaning 'elbow/knee'. This has a variable root *ur̥li-* or *ur̥lu-*. The first root is used in those environments in which a final back vowel is fronted, and the second in those environments in which it is not. There is also a special non-singular root of the form *uri-*. Thus:

	sg.	dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	ur̥luku	incl. ur̥liralue/ur̥ralu excl. ur̥lumalu/ur̥limalu/ urimalu	ur̥liratelu/uriratelu ur̥lumaitelu/ ur̥limaitelu/ urimaitelu	ur̥lire/urire ur̥lumai/ur̥limai/ urimai
2.	ur̥lumo	ur̥lumilu/ur̥limilu/ urimilu	ur̥lumiiitelu/ ur̥limiitelu/ urimiitelu	ur̥lumii/ur̥limii/ urimii
3.	ur̥line	ur̥liralue/uriralue	ur̥lilatelu/urilatelu	ur̥llile/urile

The third person singular forms can be used as alienable forms, in which there is semantically no inalienable possessor. A noun of this type can be considered to be semantically alienable in any of the following circumstances:

- (i) When there is physical detachment from the associated possessor and the owner is as a result either not known or no longer considered to be related to the referent of the noun in a subordinate relationship, e.g.

Āk                    leaten  
aa+ku                leate+ne  
poss.ed.lsg *liver*.3sg  
'It's my liver (to eat)'

- (ii) When there is not actual physical detachment from the owner, but the thing is considered with respect to a general class rather than to any particular owner, e.g.

Seda onak                    ten hingen  
seda on+ku                  teni hinge+ne  
scent poss.man.lsg rel *armpit*.3sg  
'It's my underarm deodorant'

Oreliato    āk                    vē                    tītānetai  
oreli+taoo aa+ku            ve                    tiitaa+ne=tai  
egg.chicken poss.ed.lsg 3sg.real.cop *child*.3sg.comp  
'My egg has got a chicken in it'

- (iii) When something is used as a name for a characteristic or in swearing without associating something with a particular owner. Thus, when someone is referred to as 'Cunt!', 'Cock!' or 'Balls!', the third person singular possessed form is used as an address form.

There is a subset of suffixed bound form nouns that has a special free form however which is used when the noun is semantically alienable. A full list of these forms is given in table 12.

TABLE 12: Corresponding free and bound form nouns	
Alienable Form	Inalienable Form
amee 'tongue'	mee- 'tongue'
araa 'blood /wine'	raa- 'blood'
anaa 'face'	naa- 'face'
asii 'bone'	sii- 'bone'
ataa 'excrement'	taa- 'excrement'
avange 'belly'	vange- 'belly'
aise 'name/writing'	iso- 'name'
aralinge 'ear'	ralingo- 'ear'
avito 'navel'	vito- 'navel'
avilo 'vagina'	vilo- 'vagina'
auvo 'weariness caused by lack of sleep'	uvo- 'weariness caused by lack of sleep'
aluho 'tooth'	luho- 'tooth'
ahele 'limb'	hee- 'limb'
oaa 'penis'	oo- 'penis'
angoo 'mouth'	ungo- 'mouth'
aulungo 'pillow'	ulungo- 'head-resting place'
avatu 'head/leader'	vatu- 'head'
avote 'buttocks'	voto- 'buttocks'
angasu 'nose'	ngasu- 'nose'
amete 'eye'	meto- 'eye'
avuli 'hole to put things in'	vulu- 'place'
ahilu 'hair'	hilu- 'hair'

As these forms are semantically alienable, there are some cases, it will be noted above, which have special metaphoric extensions of meanings. These free forms are used in the same environments listed above for the third person singular forms of other bound form suffixed nouns. So, we note the following examples in which there is physical detachment from the owner:

Ahil haulu mul en atan  
 ahilu haulue mule eni atano  
*hair much 3sg.real.exist sp ground*  
*'There is a lot of hair on the ground (as for example, after a haircut)'*

Vatin vē atās  
 vati+ne ve ataa=se  
*head.3sg 3sg.real.cop excrement.neg.exp*  
*'His head was nothing but excrement (said of someone whose head was covered in his cross-cousin's excrement)'*

Asakini suval ara  
 a+saki+nite suvali araa  
*3pl.real.do.tr.3sg 3sg.real.resemble blood*  
*'They made it like blood'*

and the following illustrate their use when there is no particular possessor referred to:

Maki v̄e                      ais tenaut      Vaum  
 makii ve                    aise tenaute    vaumo  
*Maki* 3sg.real.cop *name* rel.place *Paama*  
 'Maki is a Paamese name'

Oai ten ahil hē                      8/-  
 oai teni ahilu he                    ete selene  
*water* rel *hair* 3sg.dis.cop *80 vatu*  
 'The hair-dye will cost 80 vatu'

Finally, the following illustrate their use as epithets or in exclamations:

Avang!	Araling!
avange	aralinge
<i>belly</i>	<i>ear</i>
'Fatso!'	'Nosey-parker!'
Avat!	Ametemau!
avatu	amete=mau
<i>head</i>	<i>eye.ext</i>
'Big-head!'	'What eyes!'

These special free forms are actually not commonly used, and not all speakers even accept that all the above forms exist. In many instances, the alienable forms are simply expressed as the third person singular forms in the same way as any other bound suffixed noun. In fact, when these forms are alienably possessed, it is not possible to use the special alienable forms. Thus, the following is unacceptable:

\*āk                      avat  
 aa+ku                  avatu  
 poss.ed.lsg *head*  
 'my head (to eat)'

and can only be expressed as:

āk                      vatin  
 aa+ku                  vati+ne  
 poss.ed.lsg *head.3sg*  
 'my head (to eat)'

It will be noted in the list of corresponding free and bound form nouns presented in the table above that there are some root-final vowels which are backed in the suffixed forms. It was noted in 4.2.2. that there was some instability with final back vowels in linked nouns, presumably caused by the presence of the link morpheme -i-. In these cases, the backing of the vowel of the root is presumably due to confusion in the nature of the underlying final vowel produced by the application of the rule presented above. The form of the root in the unmarked third person singular with a front vowel presumably in some cases became reanalysed as part of the root. (Historically, the form of the root posited for the bound forms generally corresponds to the reconstructed form and the free form is innovatory in the change in the vowel.)

#### 4.2.3.2. Possessive suffixes on possessive nominals

The same set of possessive suffixes can be added to the four possessive nominals ono-, aa-, mo- and so-. There is however considerable morphological irregularity involved in the paradigms of these forms, so the full paradigms will be given below:

	sg.		dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	onaku	incl.	oralue	oratelu	orere
		excl.	onomalu/onemalu	onomaitelu/onemaitelu	onomai/onemai
2.	onomo		onomilu/onamilu	onomiitelu/onamiitelu	onomii/onamii
3.	onene		olalue	olatelu	olele
1.	aaku	incl.	aaralue	aaratelu	aare
		excl.	aamalu	aamaitelu	aamai
2.	aamo		aamilu	aamaitelu	aamii
3.	aane		aalalue	aalatelu	aale
1.	maku	incl.	moralue	moratelu	more
		excl.	momalu	momaitelu	momai
2.	momo		momilu	momiiitelu	momii
3.	mone		molalue	molatelu	mole
1.	saku	incl.	seralue	seratelu	sere
		excl.	somalu/semalu	somaitelu/semaitelu	somai/semai
2.	somo		somilu/samilu	somiitelu/samiitelu	somii/samii
3.	sene		selalue	selatelu	sele

Of these, only the root aa- is fully regular.

The first fact to note about these paradigms is that the final -o alternates fairly unpredictably with -a and -e according to the particular suffix that follows. The vowel fronting rule that applies with suffixed bound nouns described in 4.2.3.1. does not account for the vowel alternations in the possessive nominal paradigms.

Also, the third person and first person inclusive forms in the ono- paradigm are based instead on the root o-. Where we would for example expect \*oneratelu in the first person paucal inclusive, we in fact have oratelu.

A further point that needs to be made is that three of the four possessive nominals have occasionally variant forms of the root with respect to the initial segment. We note occasional alternations between ono- and eno-; so-, eso- and oso-; and also mo-, emo- and omo-. There is no semantic conditioning involved in the choice of form here, and about the only phonological conditioning that has been noted is that the consonant-initial forms are perhaps more frequently found in running speech than the vowel-initial forms.

The possessive nominals with their obligatory possessive suffixes are used to express the possessor noun when the possessed nominal phrase head is a free form noun rather than a bound form noun, as described in 3.1.4.5.1. The head of the possessed phrase and the possessive nominal are in a kind of loose syntactic relationship to each other. When the possessor is expressed as a pronominal suffix, there are three possible placements for the possessive nominal:

- (i) Immediately following the possessed nominal phrase and its adjuncts:

tauneh taumēn onen  
 taunehe taumeene one+ne  
*thing adj.work poss.man.3sg*  
 'his working things'

merekel haulu onen Ahi  
 merekele haulue one+nV ahii  
*miracle many poss.man.const God*  
 'the many miracles of God'



lohon etel olalu  
 lohono etelu o+lalue  
*child three poss.man.3dl*  
 'their (two) three children'

- (ii) Immediately following the head of the possessed nominal phrase, and before its adjuncts:

tauneh onen taumēn  
 'his working things'

merekel onen Ahi haulu  
 'the many miracles of God'

lohon olalu etel  
 'their (two) three children'

- (iii) Immediately before the head of the possessed nominal phrase:

onen            tauneh    taumēn  
 one+ne        taunehe ta+umeene  
 poss.man.3sg *thing*    adj.*work*  
 'his working things'

When the possessor is a noun however, only the first two orders are possible (though all three orders are possible when the possessor is the interrogative *isei* 'who?'):

tūnuen    onen                    melau  
 tuunu+ene one+nV            melau  
*chat.nom poss.man.const scrub turkey*  
 'the story about the scrub turkey'

tauneh onen                    Maki taumēn  
 taunehe one+nV                makii ta+umeene  
*thing poss.man.const Maki adj.work*  
 'Maki's working things'

\*onen Maki tauneh taumēn  
 'Maki's working things'

But:

vakili onen                    isei  
 vakīlii one+nV                isei  
*canoe poss.man.const who*  
 'whose canoe?'

onen                    isei vakili  
 one+nV                isei vakīlii  
 poss.man.const *who canoe*  
 'whose canoe?'

Each of these possessive nominals expresses a range of types of possessive relationships between the heads of the two nominal phrases involved. We will not go into any detail at this point except to say that *ono-* expresses general manipulative possession while *aa-* generally expresses edible possession, *mo-* potable possession and *so-* possession according to traditional law. The particularities of the semantics of the possession of nominals is reserved for 6.1.2.3.2.

We will at this point specifically note that while the corresponding forms in other Oceanic languages are often referred to as 'classifiers', this is considered an unfortunate choice of term. (Milner 1972:65-66 for example speaks of 'gender' in Fijian.) These forms simply express a particular semantic relationship, and it is possible in fact for one noun to enter into possessive relationships with another noun employing all four possessive nominals (with corresponding semantic differences; see 6.1.2.3.3.).

#### 4.2.4. Appositional construction

The final type of complex nominal phrase construction is that in which one nominal phrase is apposed to another, i.e. two distinct nominal phrases occupying a single syntactic position in a clause with no morphosyntactic marking of any kind of relationship between the two other than simply juxtaposition. Both nominal phrases have identical referents, though reference is made from a different perspective with each of the two nominal phrases. Apposition is used in the following particular circumstances.

##### 4.2.4.1. Location nouns

Location nouns cannot occur in most syntactic environments. To be used in environments other than the spatial case (6.1.2.3.1.) they are usually apposed to the generic term aute 'place', which is a common noun and therefore not subject to the syntactic restrictions placed on location nouns, e.g.

Aut	Tanei	mulamun	adōen	tahos
aute	tanei	mulamune	a+doo+ene	tāhosi
<i>place Tanei 3sg.real.precede 3pl.real.stay.sp 3sg.real.good</i>				
<i>'Before, when they lived at Tanei, it was good'</i>				

Nales	aut	kail	Vaum
na+lesi	aute	kaile	vaumo
<i>lsg.real.see place pl Paama</i>			
<i>'I saw the parts of Paama'</i>			

Mahit	meselen	molatin	tāi	tenaut	Vauleli
ma+hite	mesele+ni	molātine	taai	tenaute	vaulēlii
<i>lsg.imm.say clear.tr person one rel.place Vauleli</i>					
<i>'I will talk about someone from Vauleli'</i>					

Aut	Tahi	muas	aut	Līro
aute	tahii	muasi	aute	liiroo
<i>place Tahi 3sg.real.beat place Liro</i>				
<i>'Tahi beat Liro (at football)'</i>				

(Note that in the last example presented above, it can be seen that a location noun can also refer to the inhabitants of the place expressed. The noun remains structurally a location noun however.) Sometimes, rather than use the generic term aute in apposition, a more specific common noun referring to a kind of place is used, e.g.

āh	Lāu	veien	Lumalel
aaha	laau	veiene	lumalele
<i>garden Lau</i>		<i>beach Lumalel</i>	
<i>'the garden of Lau'</i>		<i>'Lumalel beach'</i>	

poal	Nahoravoavo	vanei	Ulvelah
poalu	nahoravoa=voa	vanei	ulvelahi
<i>gully</i>	<i>Nahoravoavo</i>	<i>volcano</i>	<i>Lopevi</i>
	<i>'Nahoravoavo gully'</i>		<i>'Lopevi volcano'</i>

(Note that the fact that the first part of the apposed construction can take adjuncts and modifiers indicates that these constituents are clearly not compounds of any kind, but a separate type of complex nominal phrase.)

#### 4.2.4.2. Terms of address

A title of some kind or a term of address (usually, but not always, expressing some kinship relationship) can be apposed to a specific name of a person, or to a noun referring to a particular kind of individual, e.g.

Avu	Lukai	mauliris	tai	
avue	lukai	mauli+risi	tai	
<i>grandfather</i>	<i>Lukai</i>	<i>3sg.real.well.rep</i>	<i>comp</i>	
	<i>'Grandfather Lukai is well again'</i>			
Nales	natumali	Tion		
na+lesi	natu+malii	tione		
<i>1sg.real.see</i>	<i>offspring.2sg.masc</i>	<i>John</i>		
	<i>'I saw your son John'</i>			
Skultīsa	Mail	Pōl	romūmotei	kosa
skultiisaa	maile	poole	ro+muumo+tei	kosaa
<i>teacher</i>	<i>Mail</i>	<i>Paul</i>	<i>3sg.neg.real.work.part</i>	<i>today</i>
	<i>'Teacher Mail Paul is not working today'</i>			

A particular type of this kind of apposition is that in which the first part of the complex nominal phrase is a pronoun rather than a noun, e.g.

Kami	lohon	kail	minaveretei
kamii	lohono	kaile	mi+na+veretei
<i>2pl</i>	<i>child</i>	<i>pl</i>	<i>2pl.pot.make noise.part</i>
	<i>'You boys, don't make a noise'</i>		
Komai	tuak	kail	maumai
komai	tuaku	kaile	mau+mai
<i>1pl.excl</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>pl</i>	<i>1pl.excl.real.come</i>
	<i>'We brothers have come'</i>		

#### 4.2.4.3. Apposition of specific to generic

In this kind of appositional phrase, we find that there is a generic term preceding a hyponym of that term, e.g.

Sīv	Marata	sōn	telai	tai	Vauleli
siivi	marataa	sooni	telai	tai	vaulēlii
<i>ship</i>	<i>Marata</i>	<i>3sg.real.throw anchor</i>	<i>comp</i>	<i>Vauleli</i>	
	<i>'The Marata has anchored at Vauleli'</i>				

Tauneh vasī kail mesalo kailenek lah  
 taunehe vasiie kaile mesaloo kaile=neke lahi  
*thing all pl shellfish pl.dist 3sg.real.carry*

kat vasī  
 kati vasiie  
*accompany all*

*'Everything, all the shellfish, were carried with it'*

#### 4.2.4.4. Phrases expressing measure

One further type of phrase of this type is that in which the first nominal phrase expresses a measure of something, and the second the thing that is measured, e.g.

aisīs lautakul  
 aisiise lau+takule  
*thatch slab leaf.sago*  
*'sago leaf thatch slab'*

atuvol auh  
 atūvolo auhu  
*basket yam*  
*'basket of yams'*

kilo ahis  
 kiloo ahisi  
*kilogram banana*  
*'kilogram of bananas'*

#### 4.2.5. Shifting of second head

Most of the examples presented in 4.2. of complex nominal phrases involve phrases in which neither head has any associated adjuncts. It is of course possible that one or both heads may have some adjuncts, e.g.

komai min lohon kail ten sukul  
 komai mini lohono kaile teni sukulu  
*lpl.excl pun.dat child pl rel school*  
*'us and the school children'*

telaim kail onomai  
 telaimo kaile ono+mai  
*home pl poss.man.lpl.excl*  
*'our homes'*

tauneh keke avuli eni sitoa ten polaua  
 taunehe kekee a+vuli+e eni sitoaa teni polauaa  
*thing sub 3pl.real.buy.3sg sp store rel bread*  
*'things bought in the store for the bread'*

It was mentioned in 4.2.3.2. that the possessive nominal with its morphologically and syntactically bound possessor can also be placed immediately following the head and preceding the adjuncts associated with the head. This optional shifting of the second nominal head is also possible in a complex nominal phrase involving prepositions (4.2.1.), e.g.

tauneh ten polaua keke avuli en sitoa  
 taunehe teni polauaa kekee a+vuli+e eni sitoaa  
*thing rel bread sub 3pl.real.buy.3sg sp store*  
*'things bought in the store for the bread'*

In these examples of variation, the shifting of the head appears to be purely stylistic, and not to have any effect on the meaning of the complex phrase. There are some circumstances however in which this kind of constituent shifting can cause ambiguity as the neat boundaries between nominal phrases are no longer clear, and the adjunct could in fact be taken to refer to either head. Thus:

lohon olalu elu  
 lohono o+lalue elua  
*child poss.man.3dl two*  
*'their two's child/their two's two children'*

tauneh onen tovuli kail  
 taunehe one+nV tovulii kaile  
*thing poss.man.const old lady pl*  
*'the old ladies' thing/the old lady's things'*

It is also possible, when the head of the possessor phrase is directly bound to the head of the possessed phrase in either the linked noun construction (4.2.2.) or the suffixed noun construction in which the noun directly takes the possessive suffixes (4.2.3.1.) that such ambiguity will be created and will be unavoidable as there is no recourse to the shifting of constituents. Thus:

aven molatin kail  
 ave+nV molātine kaile  
*body.const person pl*  
*'the men's bodies/the parts of the body of the men'*

lauāi takou haulu  
 lau+aaī ta+kou haulue  
*leaf.tree adj.dry many*  
*'many dry leaves of the tree/many leaves of the dry tree/dry leaves of many trees'*

## CHAPTER V

### THE VERB PHRASE

In this chapter, we describe the structure of the verb phrase. Verb phrases are characterised by the fact that they have as their head a member of the class of verbs, as defined in 3.2. It should be noted that the term 'verb phrase' is not used in the sense commonly used in transformational treatments of languages, where it includes the object, and perhaps also a number of other obliquely marked arguments to the verb. Rather, we are using it in the sense most usually used in descriptions of Oceanic languages, where it simply includes the verb and all its associated verbal adjuncts and modifiers (but not the nominal arguments associated with it). The reason for this is that the constituent we are describing can be neatly defined by the grammatical facts that it is bounded on the left by the subject-mood prefixes (5.2.1.1.1.) and on the right by the inflectional suffixes mentioned in 5.2.1.2.

#### 5.1. Verb roots

Many verbs in Paamese differ in the forms of their roots according to the nature of the morpho-syntactic environment they occur in. Most instances of such variation are to be observed root-initially, though there is also some root-final variation as well. This root variation will be described first of all, as it can be observed in all syntactic functions a verb can fulfill, i.e. in both the head and the adjunct slots in the phrase.

##### 5.1.1. Root-initial alternation

Verbs in Paamese can be assigned membership to six classes according to the nature of the variation in the initial segment or segments of the root. In this respect, Paamese is typical of many central Vanuatu languages, which exhibit similar patterns of root-initial alternations (Pawley 1972:117-18; Tryon 1974:325-47). Table 13 summarises the full range of root-initial alternations for all six classes.

TABLE: 13 Verb root-initial alternation				
Class	Root Form			
	A	B	C	D
I	t-	t-	r-	d-
II	k-	k-	k-	g-
III	k-	∅-	k-	g-
IV	h-	h-	v-	v-
V	∅-	∅-	∅-	mu-
VI	∅-	∅-	∅-	∅-

Each of the four root forms is used in a specific set of morpho-syntactic environments, which are presented in table 14; this list covers all morpho-syntactic environments in which a verb root can occur.

TABLE 14: Distribution of verb root forms according to morpho-syntactic environment	
Root Form	Used in environments
A	as second part of compound noun construction (4.1.1.2.4.)
B	in all affirmative irrealis moods of the verb (5.2.1.1.1.) when there is some preceding derivational morpheme when there is no preceding morpheme and the verb carries the nominaliser -ene (4.1.1.2.3.)
C	as an adjunct to a verb phrase head (5.3.1.3.)
D	in the realis mood of the verb (5.2.1.1.1.1.1.) in the negative form of the verb (5.2.1.1.2.)

A verb is entered in the lexicon in its A-form root. Although one should not speak in terms of the 'derivation' of one form of a root from another, as derivation properly refers to any morphological process that produces a new stem from either an underived root or another underived stem, it is nevertheless possible to express the relationship between the various forms of the roots by means of a set of correspondence statements relating to the 'basic' A-forms. We therefore have the following set of correspondence statements.

$$I. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} t_I \\ k_{II,III} \end{array} \right\} : \boxed{+voiced} / \sqrt{D}$$

This states that in verbs belonging to class I (all of which are t- initial) and classes II and III (all of which are k- initial), the initial voiceless segment of the root corresponds to a voiced segment in the D-Form of the root, i.e. d- and g- respectively.

$$II. k_{III} : \emptyset / \sqrt{B}$$

Verbs belonging to class III have an initial k- in the A-Form of the root, which does not appear in the B-Form, and the root is therefore vowel-initial.

$$III. t_I : r / \sqrt{C}$$

Verbs belonging to class I have a correspondence between initial t- in the A-Form and initial r- in the C-Form.

$$IV. h : v / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sqrt{C} \\ \sqrt{D} \end{array} \right\}$$

All verbs which have initial h- have v- initial roots in both the C- and D-Forms of the root. Finally, we have the correspondence:

$$V. \emptyset_V : \mu / \sqrt{D}$$

which states that verbs with an initial vowel or consonant in their A-Form which belong to class V have a D-Form with a prothetic mu-. All other verbs (i.e. those belonging to class VI) have invariant roots in all environments.

The choice of the A-Form root as 'basic' over any of the other three forms ensures maximum economy in the statement of these correspondences. While it is possible to set up the same number of correspondence statements with each separate root form being treated as basic, the total number of situations in which each correspondence statement would apply is least with the A-Form as basic, there being eight separate situations in which the statements would apply (i.e. three with the first statement presented above, one each with the second and third, two with the fourth and one with the fifth). Treating the B- and C-Forms as basic however in both cases requires nine separate applications of the correspondence statements, while the setting up of the D-Form as basic requires fourteen.

It should be pointed out that while there are very clear relationships in most instances between the forms of the initial segments of a root in the various forms in which they appear (e.g. the t-, r- and d- initials in class I are all alveolar), it is apparently quite impossible to relate all the forms in one column to the forms in another column by single non-arbitrary features of any kind.

The only possible generalisations we can make involve the D-Forms of the root, which, it can be argued, involve an underlying process of prenasalisation. The first correspondence statement presented above states that there is voicing and therefore also prenasalisation, of initial t- and k- (2.1.1.). We could therefore propose that the relationship be expressed underlyingly as:



<u>A-Form</u>	<u>D-Form</u>
t-	Nt-
k-	Nk-

There is already a rule in the language which resolves underlying sequences of nt as d (2.6.2.10.) and this could easily be generalised to deal with correspondences such as these.

By this analysis, we will also need to treat the v- of class IV verbs as surface realisations of underlying Nh-. There is of course no non-disjunctive set of features by which the segments h and v are related, and there is certainly no feature of nasality involved. We could suggest that to maintain the generalisation, h- be treated underlyingly as p-, which becomes v- (arbitrarily) when prenasalised and h- (again, arbitrarily) when not. Thus:

<u>A-Form</u>	<u>D-Form</u>
p- → h-	Np- → v-

We can also treat the process of mu- prothesis in class V verbs as a further manifestation of this process of prenasalisation.

This analysis, however, must be rejected on the following grounds:

- (i) This treatment of the h-/v- alternation is arbitrary, having no external justification.
- (ii) It is shown in 5.1.1.1. that there is also arbitrariness with regard to the membership of a verb in the various classes, meaning that the process of 'prenasalisation' has unpredictable manifestations in any case.
- (iii) To insist that there is a consistent relationship between A- and D-Form roots in this way suggests that we should also look for a similar relationship with the B- and C-Form roots, which, as already mentioned, is quite impossible unless we set up completely arbitrary features.

(Interestingly however, the treatment of D-Form roots as due to underlying prenasalisation, although synchronically not justifiable, possibly does have historical validity. The h-/v- alternation certainly goes back to a Proto-Oceanic \*p-/\*mp- alternation. Lynch (1975) also argues that for many of those languages which have similar patterns of root alternations, this is the result of the reduction of a mood marker of the form \*na or \*ma to prenasalisation of the root.)

#### 5.1.1.1. Alternation class membership

Membership of the various alternation classes is not predictable, as the following minimal pairs attest:

titilu	(I)	'sew'	titilu	(V)	'drip'
tii	(I)	'pull vine'	tii	(V)	'punch'
tee	(I)	'insufficient'	tee	(V)	'open hand'
tela	(I)	'belch'	tela	(V)	'extend arm'
teini	(I)	'throw down'	teini	(V)	'line up'
too	(I)	'stay'	too	(V)	'clean'
tavēlahi	(VI)	'long'	tavēlahi	(V)	'apply colour'

kani	(II) 'shine/twinkle'	kani	(III) 'eat'
kati	(II) 'tight'	kati	(III) 'bite'
kaa	(II) 'differ'	kaa	(V) 'fly'
soo	(IV) 'hit (of shot)'	soo	(V) 'slip'

There are however some tendencies and generalisations that can be noted. These are that:

- (i) All labial-initial verbs have invariant roots (i.e. belong to class VI);
- (ii) all h- initial verbs belong to class IV;
- (iii) all vowel-initial verbs and the few attested d-, n- and ng- initial verbs belong in class V, undergoing mu- prothesis in their D-Forms;
- (iv) t- initial verbs generally belong in class I, k- initial verbs generally in class II and s-, l- and r- initial verbs generally in class VI, though there is some unpredictability as shown by the percentage figures shown in the following table.

	I	II	III	V	VI
t-	70%			23%	7%
k-		59%	34%	7%	-
s-				17%	83%
l-				14%	86%
r-				7%	93%

(Note that the small number of t- initial verbs belonging in class VI are all statives, e.g. teahui 'many', tōvūeli 'not exist', tāhosi 'good', tiisaa 'bad', temalee 'easy' etc. Pawley (1972:45) reconstructs \*ta- as a stative derivative. This is presumably the origin of the modern Paamese adjectival derivative of the same form, described in 4.1.2.2. As an adjectivaliser, this never undergoes root alternation, and it appears to have been reanalysed as part of the verbal root with the form t- or ta- in examples such as these. One piece of evidence to back up this claim is the fact that there is a root hosi 'safe, good, benign' mentioned in 4.1.1.2.4.1.4. as being obligatorily compounded, and indeterminate with respect to form class. That this was originally a verb root is indicated by the fact that the northern dialect of Paamese does in fact have a rarely used verbal root hosi 'good' and this is the normal root for 'good' in neighbouring southeast Ambrymese (Parker 1970). It is from this form that tāhosi 'good' is presumably derived. Not all t- initial statives belong in this class however. The following for example, belong in class I: tahoo 'fat', taingeinge 'ignorant', tausaa 'good'. The following also belong in class V: tinu 'hot', taluhi 'covered', taho 'open'. Apart from this single instance, there is no correlation between the grammatical and semantic classes of verbs set up in 3.2. and these conjugational classes.)

### 5.1.1.2. Exemplification

In this section, we will choose one verb from each class and present it in a number of different structural environments to briefly illustrate the behaviour of the root. It is difficult to find many verbs which can appear in all environments presented in the table in 5.1.1., so we will give the verb only in those environments in which it does occur.

To illustrate the behaviour of class I verbs, we have chosen the verb *taasili* '*disperse, separate*'. When used as a verb phrase adjunct, it has the root form *raasili*, as in:

Aloh            rāsil  
a+loho        raasili  
3pl.real.run *disperse*  
'*They ran in all directions*'

When used in the realis and the negative, the root has the form *daasili*:

Adāsil  
a+daasili  
3pl.real.*disperse*  
'*They dispersed*'  
  
Irodāsilitei  
i+ro+daasili+tei  
3pl.dis.neg.*disperse*.part  
'*They will not disperse*'

Finally, we have the root form *taasili* in all other environments:

Itāsil  
i+taasili  
3pl.dis.*disperse*  
'*They will disperse*'  
  
tāsilien  
taasili+ene  
*disperse*.nom  
'*dispersal*'

Secondly, we note the class II verb *kelesi* '*exchange*', which has the form *gelesi* in the realis and the negative:

Gelesi  
gelesi+e  
3sg.real.*exchange*.3sg  
'*He exchanged it*'  
  
Nirogelestei  
ni+ro+gelesi+tei  
1sg.dis.neg.*exchange*.part  
'*I will not exchange it*'

and the form *kelesi* elsewhere:

Hekelkelesi  
he+kele=kelesi+e  
3sg.dis.REDUp.*exchange*.3sg  
'*He will exchange it*'

Navul            kelesi  
 na+vuli        kelesite  
 1sg.real.buy exchange.3sg  
 'I bought it back'

Next, we present the verb kiliilini 'stick into', which has the form giliilini in the realis and the negative:

Agilīlin            pōs  
 a+giliilini        poose  
 3pl.real.stick in post  
 'They stuck in the posts'

Irogilīlidei            pōs  
 i+ro+giliilini+tei        poose  
 3pl.dis.neg.stick in.part post  
 'They will not stick in the posts'

and the form iliilini in B-Form environments:

īlīlin            pōs  
 i+iliilini        poose  
 3pl.dis.stick in post  
 'They will stick in the posts'

and finally, the form kiliilini elsewhere:

Sal            kilīlini  
 sali            kiliilini+e  
 3sg.real.spear stick in.3sg  
 'He speared it and it stuck in'

To exemplify the behaviour of h- initial verbs, we have chosen the verb haali 'sharpen'. In C- and D-Form environments such as the following, the root has the form vaali, as shown by:

Dā            vāl        āi  
 daa            vaali    aai  
 3sg.real.cut sharpen wood  
 'He cut the end of the wood into a point'

Nevāl            telai  
 na+vaali        telai  
 1sg.real.sharpen axe  
 'I sharpened the axe'

Nirovālitei  
 ni+ro+vaali+tei  
 1sg.dis.neg.sharpen.part  
 'I will not sharpen it'

while in other environments, there is no change in the root form:

aihāhāl  
 ai+haa=haali  
 inst.REDU.p.sharpen  
 'sharpening stone'

hālien  
 haali+ene  
 sharpen.nom  
 'sharpening'

Nihāli  
 ni+haalite  
 1sg.dis.sharpen.3sg  
 'I will sharpen it'

The verb oho 'white' is chosen to illustrate the fact that in D-Form environments such as the following, class V verbs undergo mu- prothesis:

Muoh  
 muoho  
 3sg.real.white  
 'It is white'

Romuohotei  
 ro+muoho+tei  
 3sg.real.white.part  
 'It is not white'

yet otherwise do not change:

Heoh  
 he+oho  
 3sg.dis.white  
 'It will be white'

tasih  
 tasi+oho  
 sea.white  
 'calm sea'

taoh  
 ta+oho  
 adj.white  
 'white'

Finally, the verb voo 'stink' is chosen to illustrate the fact that there is no change in the form of the root in any environment with a class VI verb. Thus:

tasivo  
 tasi=voo  
 sea.stink  
 'putrid sea water in coconut shell'

vōvo  
 voo=voo  
 REDUp.stink  
 'insect type'

Vō  
 voo  
 3sg.real.stink  
 'It stinks'

Hevo  
 he+voo  
 3sg.dis.stink  
 'It will stink'

It should also be noted at this point that there are some homophonous verbal prefixes (i.e. those which have the same form but different functions). Sometimes, a functional difference will be signalled only in the differing forms of the root. Such a prefix is *lu-*, which can be used to express the third person dual realis (with a following D-Form root), and the second person dual imperative (with a following B-Form root). So, contrast the following forms of the verb *kati* 'bite' (class III):

Luati	Lugati
lu+ati+e	lu+gati+e
2dl.imp.bite.3sg	3dl.real.bite.3sg
'You two bite it!'	'They (two) bit it'

and the verb *uhi* 'blow' (class V):

Lūhi	Lumūhi
lu+uhite	lu+muuhi+e
2dl.imp.blow.3sg	3dl.real.blow.3sg
'You two blow it!'	'They (two) blew it'

### 5.1.1.3. Root alternation and reduplication

The mechanics of reduplication are dealt with in 2.8. There are however, some irregularities in the REduplication pattern of some verbs which were not pointed out, namely, those verbs in classes I and V.

The REduplication of class I verbs is irregular in that while we would predict that in their C-Forms, the roots would be *r-* initial, they are in fact *t-* initial. Thus:

Mual	tetaun
muali	ta+taunu
3sg.real.walk	REdup.play
'He is strolling along'	
*Mual retauun	

The REduplication of class V verbs is also irregular in that consonant-initial roots reduplicate on the basis of their A-Form roots, while vowel-initial roots reduplicate on the basis of their D-Form roots. Thus, while *kaa* 'fly' is REuplicated as *ka+kaa*, *uasi* 'hit' is REuplicated as *mu+muasi*. (This irregularity can be explained as a strategy to avoid vacuous reduplication, as discussed in 2.8.4. If *uasi* were to be reduplicated on the basis of a vowel-initial root, the regular phonological rules of the language would eliminate all trace of this derivational process having taken place.)

### 5.1.2. Root-final alternation

Transitive (but not intransitive) verbs are also assigned membership to four classes according to the nature of the variation of the final segment of the root. Table 16 summarises the full range of root-final alternations for each of the four classes.

TABLE 16: Verb root-final alternations			
Class	Root Form		
	X	Y	Z
1	-e	-a	-aa
2	-o	-a	-aa
3	-a	-a	-aa
4	-V	-V	-V

Each of these three root forms is used in a specific set of structural environments, as set out in table 17, which covers all possible morpho-syntactic environments in which a verb root can occur.

TABLE 17: Distribution of verb root forms according to morpho-syntactic environment	
Root Form	Used in environments
X	word finally before common object cross-reference suffix -nV (5.2.1.2.2.2.) before reduplicated part of root (2.8.2.; 2.8.3.)
Y	before bound object pronoun (5.2.1.2.1.) before proper object cross-reference suffix -e/-ie (5.2.1.2.2.1.)
Z	before partitive suffix -tei (5.2.1.2.3.) before nominalising suffix -ene (4.1.1.2.3.)

The alternations that hold in the forms of the roots can be covered by two correspondence statements relating to a 'basic' form. Thus:

$$V_{1,2,3} : a / \sqrt{Y}$$

$$V_{1,2,3} : aa / \sqrt{Z}$$

These statements, as formulated, treat the X-Form as basic. To treat the Y- or Z-Forms as basic however would complicate the correspondence statements as we would need to make a separate statement for each of the first three classes. The choice of the X-Form as basic is further justified by the fact that when there is no following suffix, this is the vowel that is found.

### 5.1.2.1. Alternation class membership

The vast majority of transitive verbs have invariant final segments, and therefore belong to class 4. The entire corpus contains only about a dozen members of class 1 (though this is over a third of all attested -e final transitive roots), a single member of class 2 (there being only one -o final transitive verb anyway, i.e. *tuvo* 'shoot') and a handful of verbs in class 3 (though all -a final verbs belong in this class, e.g. *hitoa* 'make into a spear', *kookoa* 'soften'). It is therefore only in the case of -e final roots that there is a possibility of contrast in class membership. We do in fact have the following minimal pair:

sehe (1)    'open'                                    sehe (4)    'scoop'

(It should be noted that as the criteria for assigning membership to these four classes are completely independent of the criteria for assigning membership to the six classes described in 5.1.1., the classes set up in 5.1.1. and 5.1.2. do in fact cross-cut.)

### 5.1.2.2. Exemplification

In table 18, we present verbs from each class in each of the structural environments presented in the table in 5.1.2. The X-Form of the root is represented by the common object form, the Y-Form by the second person singular object form and the Z-Form by the partitive form. (All examples quoted are in the third person singular realis.)

Class	Root	Common object	2sg object	Partitive
1	kilele 'know'	gilelenV	gilelaki	gilelaatei
2	tuvo 'shoot'	duvonV	duvako	duvaatei
3	kookoa 'soften'	kookoanV	kookoako	kookoatei
4	sare 'catch'	sarenV	sareko	saretei
	uhi 'blow'	muuhinV	muuhiko	muuhitei

### 5.2. Verb phrase head

The syntactic position of verb phrase head can be defined by the fact that it is the only obligatorily filled slot in the phrase occupied by a member of any of those subtypes mentioned in 3.2. (thereby paralleling the definition of the position of head in the nominal phrase, as described in 4.1.1.).



### 5.2.1. Verb phrase inflection

As mentioned in 3.2., there are certain categories that are obligatorily marked on a verb phrase. These are expressed either as prefixes to the head of the phrase or as suffixes to some constituent, usually the last in the phrase (which, in the case of a verb phrase without any adjuncts, will also be the head).

#### 5.2.1.1. Inflectional prefixes

There are three orders of inflectional prefixes in Paamese, as set out below:

Subject    +    Mood    +    Negative    +    STEM  
marker       marker       marker

The subject and mood prefixes are normally clearly distinguishable morphologically, though with some conjunctions of categories there is morphological fusion, producing portmanteau morphemes that mark both subject and mood categories in a single form. The negative marker is always morphologically distinct from the other orders of prefixes.

##### 5.2.1.1.1. Subject-mood marking

The head constituent of a verb phrase is cross-referenced for the person/number categories of the subject (4.1.1.1.), and also expresses mood. The forms of the subject-marking prefixes are set out in table 19 below.

	sg.		dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	na-	incl. excl.	lo- malu-	to- matu-	ro- ma-
2.	ko-		mulu-	mutu-	mu-
3.	∅-		lu-	telu-	a-

(As stated in the description of the phonology, there is a morphophonemic rule which raises the final vowel in prefixes of the form Ca- when the verb root also has an initial Ca- (with root-initial consonants other than h-; see 2.6.2.12.)

Following the subject marker, there is marking on the verb for the various mood (or mood-like) categories. There are six morphologically distinct categories, marked as set out below:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Marking</u>
realis	∅-
immediate	va-
distant	portmanteau
potential	na-
prohibitive	potential + partitive
imperative	portmanteau

There are two categories, the distant and the imperative, which have portmanteau subject-mood prefixes. The distant subject markers are set out in table 20.

sg.			dl.	pcl.	pl.
1.	ni-	incl. excl.	lehe- male-	tehe- mate-	rehe- mahe-
2.	ki-		mele-	mete-	mehe-
3.	he-		lehe-	tele-	i-

We also need to set up one special allomorphic rule to deal with variation in the forms of the prefixes ni-, ki- and i-:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{hi} \\ -\text{back} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \rightarrow \left[ +\text{back} \right] / \text{---} - \text{c} \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{hi} \\ +\text{back} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

This rule is optional, and has the effect of backing the vowel i to u when the initial syllable of the following stem contains the vowel u. Thus, the first person singular distant form of the verb huli 'buy' can be either nihuli or nuhuli.

These distant markers cannot be analysed synchronically as being bimorphemic as there is no predictability in the form of the vowel of what we would want to treat as the subject marker, nor is the recurring element he-, which we would want to treat as the mood marker, found in all parts of the paradigm. Historically however, it seems likely that these forms were analysable. The he- could conceivably be derived from a Proto-Oceanic desiderative marker of the form \*pia (Pawley 1972:57). (It is perhaps noteworthy that in one of the Kadavu dialects of Fijian, Pawley (pers.comm.) reports that there is a desiderative prefix of the form via, which has as one of its alternants the form ve.) The irregularity in the vowels of the subject markers could be attributed to the fronting effect of the original future marker \*i, also reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic by Pawley (1972:48).

The portmanteau imperative subject prefixes are:

sg.	∅-	pcl.	telu-
dl.	lu-	pl.	alu-

In form, the singular, dual and paucal prefixes are the same as the subject markers for the third person. (Note that the imperative root is in the B-Form and the realis in the D-Form so there is no ambiguity, as pointed out in 5.1.1.2.) The plural form appears to be unanalysable.

It should also be noted that the first person singular immediate form is actually irregular, being expressed as the portmanteau prefix ma-, rather than the sequence of na-va- as we would expect.

### 5.2.1.1.1.1. The semantics of mood

We need to recognise four basic semantic parameters to deal with Paamese modality. The first three of these correspond to those discussed in Chung and Timberlake (forthcoming):

- (i) Actuality - whether a narrated event exists in the speaker's world or in some other possible world.
- (ii) Response form addressee - whether or not the addressee is obliged to make a non-actual event real.
- (iii) Attitude of speaker - whether or not the speaker expects a non-real event to become real, and whether or not the speaker desires that a non-real event should become real.

The fourth parameter is not strictly modal, as it involves the connection of an event with the time of the utterance. According to this view of modality, we can recognise six semantic mood categories, which can be broken down into a number of subclasses as set out in table 21.

		anticipatory		non-anticipatory	
		connected to time of utterance	not connected to time of utterance	desiderative	non-desiderative
non-actual	non-obligatory	immediate	distant	prohibitive	potential
	obligatory	imperative			
actual		realis			

These six basic mood categories are mapped on a one-to-one basis onto the six morphological categories described in 5.2.1.1.1. above.

It should be noted that there is no inflectional marking on the verb form for any tense or aspect categories, only for mood (though the category of connection with time of utterance may be more accurately considered as being aspectual than modal). The Paamese verbal system therefore appears to be atypical for an Oceanic language, as Oceanic languages are predominantly reported to mark aspectual categories inflectionally. (This is also true of Proto-Oceanic as it is reconstructed by Pawley (1972:41-44).) It is also possible however, that more Oceanic languages may turn out to have mood systems rather than tense-aspect systems, if more careful analyses were to be carried out.

## 5.2.1.1.1.1.1. Realis

The realis mood corresponds to what Chung and Timberlake call the indicative, which they describe as neutral modality, expressing an actual event in which the speaker and the addressee have no special involvement. This means that the realis simply states a real fact and there is no response elicited from the addressee on the basis of that statement.

The realis in Paamese is unmarked for any category of tense or aspect, and it can be used to express events that are prior to the present, events simultaneous with the present or events that are intended to express general truths for which temporal specification is irrelevant. So, the sentence:

Letau kail amūmon           alok  
 letau kaile a+muumo+ni   aloko  
 woman pl    3pl.real.do.tr pudding

can have any of the following readings:

*'The women made the pudding (anterior to present)'*

*'The women are making the pudding (simultaneous with present)'*

*'Women make pudding (no temporal specification)'*

As the realis is unmarked for tense, it is compatible with various temporal markers that relate an event in temporal space either prior to or simultaneous with the present, e.g.

Letau kail amūmon           alok    nenganeh  
 letau kaile a+muumo+ni   aloko   nenganehe  
 woman pl    3pl.real.do.tr pudding yesterday  
*'The women made the pudding yesterday'*

Letau kail amūmon           alok    kosa  
 letau kaile a+muumo+ni   aloko   kosaa  
 woman pl    3pl.real.do.tr pudding now  
*'The women are making the pudding now'*

Letau kail amūmon           alok    līseles  
 letau kaile a+muumo+ni   aloko   liisēlese  
 woman pl    3pl.real.do.tr pudding always  
*'Women always make pudding'*

It follows from the fact that the realis expresses only actual events that it cannot be used to express events subsequent to the present, and that it will be incompatible with temporal markers that locate an event in this area of temporal space, such as vesesalii 'nearly', vaitiru 'later on', visūvongi 'tomorrow' etc.

The realis is also unmarked for aspect, and so this category is compatible with marking for various aspectual categories, e.g.

Letau kail amul               amūmon       alok  
 letau kaile a+mule           a+muumo+ni   aloko  
 woman pl    3pl.real.exist 3pl.real.do.tr pudding  
*'The women {<sup>are</sup>  
 were} making pudding (progressive)'*

Letau kail amūmon alokotai  
 letau kaile a+muumo+ni aloko=tai  
 woman pl 3pl.real.do.tr pudding.comp  
 'The women {*have*/*had*} made the pudding (completive)'

#### 5.2.1.1.1.1.2. Imperative

The imperative mood describes a non-actual event in which the speaker expresses an obligation for the addressee to perform an action, e.g.

Kaik hā	hale	Alumai	vesesal
kaiko haa	halee	alu+mai	vesēsali
2sg 2sg.imp.go	outside	2pl.imp.come	near
'You go outside!'		'You all come close!'	

Since it is essential that an agent have control over an event to be able to perform it, it is not possible to use an imperative with a stative verb unless an active change of state is to be expressed, e.g.

Hē	rēri
he	reerii
2sg.imp.cop	ready
'Get ready!'	

A verb phrase carrying imperative marking cannot be marked at the same time with the negative (5.2.1.1.2.). Thus:

*Aluromaitei	vesesal
alu+ro+mai+tei	vesēsali
2pl.neg.come.part	near

cannot be used to express:

'Don't come back!'

This can be expressed only using the prohibitive mood, as pointed out in 5.2.1.1.1.1.3.2.

#### 5.2.1.1.1.1.3. Non-anticipatory moods

There are two mood categories that have in common the fact that they both express non-real events, and they do not commit the speaker to any expectation that the event will necessarily become real. Rather, the realisation of the event remains only a possibility. These two categories are the potential and the prohibitive.

##### 5.2.1.1.1.1.3.1. Potential

The potential is the unmarked of the two non-anticipatory moods, and simply indicates that a non-real event may become real. It is often used as a warning that something the addressee regards as unpleasant might happen, e.g.

Sīm           nemavul  
 sii+mo       na+mavulu  
*bone.2sg 3sg.pot.break*  
*'Your bones might break (i.e. Watch out or your bones*  
*might break)'*

Piliv dōs                                       muol                       sāk   nakuri  
 pilive doo=se                                   muolo                       saake na+kuri+e  
*Philip 3sg.real.stay.neg.exp 3sg.real.swim shark 3sg.pot.take.3sg*  
*'Philip is just swimming back and a shark might get him'*

Konaum           vinīk  
 ko+na+umo       vinii+ko  
*2sg.pot.work overdo.2sg*  
*'You might overwork yourself'*

### 5.2.1.1.1.3.2. Prohibitive

The prohibitive differs from the potential in that while both express the possible realisation of a non-real event, the prohibitive also carries an additional reference to the desire of the speaker that the event should not become real, which is not expressed in the potential.

The prohibitive is frequently used in the second person forms as a negative imperative. (It should be noted that the imperative prefixes cannot co-occur with the negative marker as pointed out in 5.2.1.1.1.2.) e.g.

Konametautei  
 ko+na+metau+tei  
*2sg.pot.afraid.part*  
*'Don't be afraid (i.e. It is possible that you will be*  
*afraid, and I desire that you not be afraid)'*

(The form of these paraphrases owes something to Wierzbicka (1972).) The prohibitive can of course be used in all persons other than the second person, e.g.

Lohon kail anāmaitei                       naim  
 lohono kaile a+na+amai+tei               naimo  
*child pl 3pl.pot.come.part inside*  
*'Children should not come inside (i.e. Children might*  
*come inside, and I desire that they not come inside)'*

Sai natehetei                               tirausis onen  
 saie na+tehe+tei                           tirausise one+ne  
*Sai 3sg.pot.cut.part shorts poss.man.3sg*  
*'Sai shouldn't have cut his shorts (i.e. Sai might have*  
*cut his shorts, and I desire that he hadn't cut them)'*

Inau nenesautei  
 inau na+na+sau+tei  
*1sg 1sg.pot.sing.part*  
*'I ought not to sing (i.e. I might sing, but I desire*  
*that I not sing)'*

There are many impersonal verbs in Paamese, which express actions but which are formally predicates to nouns inalienably possessed by the performer of the action, and never have first or second person subjects. The referent of this possessed noun is one that is typically associated with the activity expressed in the verb. We therefore find sentences such as:

Luhom      gīs  
 luho+mo    giiso  
*tooth.2sg 3sg.real.smile*  
 'You smiled (i.e. Your teeth smiled)'

This cannot be expressed as:

\*Kogīs  
 ko+giiso  
 2sg.real.smile

The prohibitive of such verbs can also only be expressed in the third person. Thus:

Luhom      nakīsotei  
 luho+mo    na+kiiso+tei  
*tooth.2sg 3sg.pot.smile.part*  
 'Don't smile (i.e. Your teeth might smile, and I desire that they not smile)'

Although there is no obvious partitive component to the meaning of the prohibitive, the morphological marking is treated as being a potential form of the verb marked for the partitive. The development of this particular kind of discontinuous marking will be discussed in 5.2.1.2.5.3. below. There is clear evidence that the prohibitive is in fact a complex form based on the potential in the way that subordinate verbs in a sentence undergo mood agreement. Rather than mark the partitive -tei on the subordinate verb, they mark only the potential, e.g.

Munasōdei	auv	nahina
mu+na+sooni+tei	auve	na+hinaa
2pl.pot.throw.part	<i>throwing stick</i>	3sg.pot.go up
'Don't throw throwing sticks up'		

But:

*Munasōdei	auv	nahinātei
mu+na+sooni+tei	auve	na+hinaa+tei
2pl.pot.throw.part	<i>throwing stick</i>	3sg.pot.go up.part

#### 5.2.1.1.1.1.4. Anticipatory moods

Finally, there are two mood categories that have in common the fact that they express events that are non-real at the time of utterance, but which express the expectation of the speaker that at some subsequent time, the events will certainly become real. These two categories are the immediate and the distant.

## 5.2.1.1.1.1.4.1. Immediate

The immediate form of the verb expresses the idea that there is some connection between the time of an utterance and the non-real event that is expected by the speaker to become real. For an event to be considered as having some connection with the time of utterance, it is necessary that there be some agency operative at the time of the utterance by which the non-real event will ultimately become real.

Such an agency can be explicit in the utterance, as in:

Avu	vite	ngani	valū
avue	vitee	ngani+e	va+luue
<i>grandfather</i>	<i>3sg.real.say</i>	<i>3sg.real.eat.3sg</i>	<i>3sg.imm.vomit</i>
<i>'Grandfather says when he eats it he feels like vomiting'</i>			

where the causal factor involved in the achievement of the reality of vomiting is stated, i.e. the act of eating. The agency can also be non-explicit, as in:

Rais	vomas
raise	vo+maso
<i>rice</i>	<i>3sg.imm.cooked</i>
<i>'The rice is nearly cooked'</i>	

where the causal factor (presumably, the burning fire and the boiling water) is operative but not stated, hence the immediate form of the verb is used. If the rice were about to go onto the fire however, and the water had not yet started boiling, this utterance would be inappropriate. It is also possible for the utterance itself to be regarded as a causal factor. So, in:

Kovahā	hale
ko+va+haa	halee
<i>2sg.imm.go outside</i>	

the mere fact of the utterance being made is the causal factor involved in the event of going outside and this is reflected in the use of the immediate form of the verb. This example can therefore be paraphrased as:

*'I expect that you will go outside as a result of my saying this'*

Such forms are very frequently used as polite imperatives; they are considered polite as there is no expression of obligation to the addressee as there is in the imperative mood (5.2.1.1.1.2.), only an expectation on the part of the speaker that the event will become real.

The fact that the subject of the verb has an intention or a will to perform some action is regarded as a causal factor in the achievement of the reality of an event. So, the immediate form is also used to express intention or will, e.g.

Navong	kevakili	avotai	kā	kosa	īr
navongi	ke+vakilii	a+va+tai+e	kaa	kosaa	iire
<i>time</i>	<i>sub.canoe</i>	<i>3pl.imm.cut.3sg</i>	<i>cl</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>lpl.incl</i>
rodai	en	telai			
ro+dai+e	eni	telai			
<i>3sg.real.cut.3sg obl axe</i>					

*'When a canoe is to be cut today, we cut it with an axe'*



Avatuva                    kail en hisuput  
 a+va+tuva+ta            kaile eni hisūputi  
 3pl.imm.shoot.prop 3pl    obl bow  
*'They are going to shoot each other with bows'*

Mahā                    Līro    kāk  
 ma+haa                liiroo kee+ke  
 1sg.imm.go Liro        sub.prox  
*'I am going to Liro now'*

Kovalesi?  
 ko+va+lesi+e  
 2sg.imm.see.3sg  
*'Would you like to see it?'*

The immediate form is also used with the time noun *vesesalii* 'nearly', which indicates that a change of reality has already begun to take place at the time of the utterance, and that it is in fact almost complete. This temporal marker is therefore incompatible with the distant form of the verb, e.g.

Oai    vesesali    vavus  
 oai    vesesalii    va+vusi  
*water almost        3sg.imm.finish*  
*'The water has nearly run out'*

\*Oai    vesesali    hēvus  
 oai    vesesalii    hee+vusi  
*water almost        3sg.dis.finish*

Note that the immediate form of the verb can have temporal reference anterior to the present, as, along with all mood categories, there is no reference to tense, e.g.

Tāta    onak                    vāmai,                    vāmai                    tai  
 taataa    ona+ku                va+amai                va+amai                tai  
*father poss.man.1sg 3sg.imm.come 3sg.imm.come comp*  
*'If my father were coming, he would have come by now'*

#### 5.2.1.1.1.1.4.2. Distant

The distant form of the verb on the other hand expresses a non-real event that has no connection with the time of utterance. So, it can express an event in which the agency that is involved is not yet operative at the time of utterance, or in which there is no will or intention to perform some act, only an expectation that it will become real, e.g.

Kai    hetīn                    polaua  
 kaie    he+tii+nV                polauaa  
 3sg    3sg.dis.knead.comm    dough  
*'He will knead the dough'*

The distant form of the verb must be used to express an event that is to become real at some mentioned time in the future, as, by mentioning a future time, any connection with the present is removed. So, while it is acceptable to say:

Oai hēvus en kovanges  
 oai hee+vusi eni kovāngese  
*water* 3sg.dis.*finish* obl *evening*  
 'The water will run out in the evening'

it is not possible to express this in the immediate form:

\*Oai vavus en kovanges  
 oai va+vusi eni kovāngese  
*water* 3sg.imm.*finish* obl *evening*

A stative verb can often not occur in the immediate form, only in the distant form. This is because a change of state is normally a gradual process that has no obvious agency involved. So, in:

Mail heto  
 maile he+too  
*Mail* 3sg.dis.*bald*  
 'Mail is going bald'

although the subject has in fact begun to go bald, there is no active cause involved which could be seen operating at the time of the utterance and continuing into the future. The only circumstances in which:

Mail vato  
 maile va+too  
*Mail* 3sg.imm.*bald*

would be acceptable would be, say, if a group of people were gathered around with scissors about to cut off all the subject's hair.

Note that as the distant form relates an event only to the time of utterance, and not necessarily to the present, it is possible to use this in the past. Thus:

Kovit nirovitealitei en tisien onom  
 ko+vite ni+ro+viteali+tei eni tisi+ene ono+mo  
 2sg.real.*say* 1sg.dis.neg.*laugh*.part obl *write*.nom poss.man.2sg  
 'You said I shouldn't laugh at your writing'

#### 5.2.1.1.1.1.5. Mood marking in subordinate clauses

It has been the writer's expressed intention not to enter into any discussion of the question of interclausal relations, except for passing comment in 4.1.2.4. to relative clauses (which were treated as clausal adjuncts to nominal phrase heads). We will, at this point, however, discuss the nature of mood marking in clauses that are subordinated to another clause under what is often referred to as the matrix sentence node (rather than the nominal phrase node, as with relative clauses).

In subordinate clauses of these types, there is a dependency relationship between the mood and polarity marking of the main clause and the mood marking of the subordinate clause, as summarised in table 22.

Main clause mood	Main clause polarity	
	Positive	Negative
potential	potential	potential
prohibitive	potential	---
realis	realis/immediate	immediate
immediate	immediate	immediate
imperative	immediate/distant	---
distant	distant	distant

From this table, it can clearly be seen that there is a reduction in the number of mood/polarity oppositions made in the subordinate clause. Thus:

- (i) There is no distinction between positive and negative polarity in a subordinate clause. All marking is formally positive, e.g.

Kirovātei                      kīhol?  
 ki+ro+vaa+tei                kii+holu  
 2sg.dis.neg.go.part 2sg.dis.dance  
 'Won't you go to dance?'

- (ii) The opposition between the potential and prohibitive moods is not made in subordinate clauses; the subordinate clause can only have a verb that is marked for the potential, e.g.

Munasōdei                      auv                      nahina  
 mu+na+soonitei                auve                      na+hinaa  
 2pl.pot.throw.part throwing stick 3sg.pot.go up  
 'Don't throw throwing sticks up'

- (iii) The opposition between the imperative and the two anticipatory moods is neutralised in subordinate clauses, with the anticipatory moods being the only formally marked categories, e.g.

Sāni                                vāmai  
 saanite                            va+amai  
 2sg.imp.give.3sg 3sg.imm.come  
 'Give it to me'

Sāni                                hēmai  
 saanite                            hee+mai  
 2sg.imp.give.3sg 3sg.dis.come  
 'Give it to me'

(Note that there appears to be no semantic difference expressed by the differing use of the distant or immediate form as the realisation for the general category of anticipatory mood. Speakers accept and use both in free variation.)

- (iv) When the main clause is negative realis, there is a neutralisation of the opposition between the immediate and the realis moods in the subordinate clause, with the only acceptable form being the immediate mood, e.g.

Kai	rosādei	vāmai
kaie	ro+saani+tei	va+amai
3sg	3sg.real.neg.give.part	3sg.imm.come
	<i>'He didn't give it to me'</i>	

This use of the immediate category follows from the semantic characterisation of the moods presented above. A verb that is subordinate to a negative verb cannot be describing a real event, and must therefore be expressed as anticipatory. The immediate mood is used to indicate the close connection that holds between the main and subordinate events.

#### 5.2.1.1.2. Negative marking

Negation is marked by means of the prefix ro- added between the subject markers and the root; the affirmative is marked by the absence of any morpheme in this position.

Semantically, the negative either denies the fact that an event is real in the case of a realis verb or denies the fact that the speaker expects that an event will become real in the case of an irrealis verb. It is therefore semantically incompatible with the imperative, prohibitive and potential moods which, although irrealis, express no expectation on the part of the speaker that an event will become real.

We can distinguish between two distinct kinds of negation, the partitive negative and the non-partitive negative. Formally, these differ in that in the case of the former, the verb is obligatorily marked for the partitive by means of the suffix -tei (5.2.1.2.3.), whereas in the case of the latter, the verb is only optionally marked for the partitive.

The partitive negative is that most frequently encountered in elicitation and in ordinary texts. It is used to negate the following kinds of verbs:

- (i) Transitive verbs with non-generic objects, e.g.

Kai	rongadei	veta
kaie	ro+ngani+tei	vetaa
3sg	3sg.real.neg.eat.part	<i>breadfruit</i>
	<i>'He didn't eat the breadfruit'</i>	

- (ii) Any intransitive verb, e.g.

Inau	naromesaitai	
inau	na+ro+mesai+tei	
1sg	1sg.real.neg.sick.part	
	<i>'I am not sick'</i>	
Oai	rogurutei	velah
oai	ro+guru+tei	velahi
water	3sg.real.neg.boil.part	ong
	<i>'The water is not boiling yet'</i>	

Guri                      rotelutei  
 guri+e                    ro+telu+tei  
 3sg.real.take.3sg 3sg.real.neg.three.part  
 'It wasn't three he took'

(Note that intransitive generic verbs are negated only with the partitive construction. Thus:

Būsi    rogukulutei  
 buusii ro+gu+kulu+tei  
 cat    3sg.real.neg.REdup.swim.part  
 'Cats don't swim'

Inau    naromemesaitei  
 inau    na+ro+me+mesai+tei  
 lsg    lsg.real.neg.REdup.sick.part  
 'I never get sick')

The non-partitive negative however is only used to negate transitive verbs with generic objects, as in:

Lohon    kail    naromumuas                      kail  
 lohono    kaile    na+ro+mu+muasi                    kaile  
 child    pl    lsg.real.neg.REdup.hit 3pl  
 'I never hit children'

Letau    kail    aropipile                              pī  
 letau    kaile    a+ro+pi+pilee                        pii  
 woman    pl    3pl.real.neg.REdup.play marbles  
 'Women never play marbles'

Pūk    onak                    iromumuas                              molatineni  
 puuke    ona+ku                    i+ro+mu+muasi                        molātine=nite  
 book    poss.man.lsg 3pl.dis.neg.REdup.hit person.obl.3sg  
 'My book will never be used to hit people with'

These examples can also be expressed in the partitive negative however, with no apparent change of meaning:

Lohon    kail    naromumuastei                              kail  
 lohono    kaile    na+ro+mu+muasi+tei                        kaile  
 child    pl    lsg.real.neg.REdup.hit.part 3pl  
 'I never hit children'

The fact that negation generally involves the expression of the partitive is not surprising. Many languages in the world show a relationship between the partitive and the negative. French, for instance, requires that a negative verb have an object that is marked for the partitive:

Il ne mange pas de pain  
 \*Il ne mange pas du pain  
 'He is not eating bread'

It would appear that in expressing a verb with a non-generic object in the partitive, we are asserting the fact that the patient is not unaffected simply partially, but that it is in fact completely unaffected. Similarly, by marking a negative intransitive verb with the partitive, we are asserting that the action or state is completely unachieved, rather than only partially unachieved.

Verbs which take the non-partitive negative differ in that there is no particular object specified, and it is not meaningful to speak of the partitive form of something which has no particular reference. (The fact that even this kind of verb can optionally take the partitive as mentioned above can be put down to analogy, as the negative and the partitive are apparently coming to be reanalysed simply as discontinuous negative marking, and the distinction between partitive and non-partitive is simply being lost in the negative.)

### 5.2.1.2. Inflectional suffixes

There are three sets of inflectional suffixes: those expressing bound pronominal objects, those expressing the common-proper marking of a free form object, and that which marks the verb as being partitive. There is a certain amount of asymmetry in the behaviour of these suffixes, as some forms are currently undergoing reanalysis, as will be described below.

#### 5.2.1.2.1. Bound pronominal objects

It was mentioned in 4.1.1.1. that a singular pronominal object to a verb (and also to a preposition) can be expressed as a suffix. There are two sets of bound object markers:

	I	II
1.	-nau	-inau
2.	-ko	-iko
3.	-e	-ie

The first set is used with the greatest number of verbs in the language. The second set is used only with roots ending in -e and only those belonging to class 4 according to the criteria set out in 5.1.2., e.g.

		1sg.obj.	2sg.obj.	3sg.obj.
tehe	'cut'	tehe-inau	tehe-iko	tehe-ie
longe	'hear'	longe-nau	longe-ko	longe-e
lesi	'see'	lesi-nau	lesi-ko	lesi-e

There is one special point that needs to be mentioned and that is the fact that verbs assigned to class 1 according to the criteria set out in 5.1.2. cannot take the first person singular bound object -nau (though they can take the second and third person objects), and can only take the free form object. Thus:

Gilela                    inau  
 gilela+a                inau  
 3sg.real.know.prop lsg  
 'He knows me'

but:

\*Gilelanau  
 gilela+nau  
 3sg.real.know.lsg

## 5.2.1.2.2. Object cross-reference

When a transitive verb is followed by a free form object, this is cross-referenced on the verb according to whether it is common or proper with certain phonological categories of verb stems.

## 5.2.1.2.2.1. Proper objects

When the object is an individual name (3.1.4.1.) or a pronoun (3.1.1.), this is marked on certain categories of verbs by a suffix that has the same form as the third person singular bound object suffix, i.e. -e/-ie. This cross-reference is obligatory with verbs in all final sequences but -Ci (though, it should be pointed out, the vast majority of transitive verbs do in fact end in -Ci, so there is no cross-reference on most verbs). We can observe the behaviour of this suffix in:

Agilela            inau  
a+gilela+a        inau  
3pl.real.know.prop 1st  
'They know me'

Adehei            kaik?  
a+dehe+ie        kaiko  
3pl.real.cut.prop 2sg  
'Are you circumcised?'

Adilɪ              Sai  
a+dilii+e         saie  
3pl.real.inject.prop Sai  
'Sai got an injection'

Nalonge           Siti  
na+longe+e        sitii  
lsg.real.hear.prop Siti  
'I heard Siti'

Contrast these examples with:

Nales            Mail  
na+lesi          maile  
lsg.real.see Mail  
'I saw Mail'

\*Nalesi           Mail  
na+lesi+e        maile  
lsg.real.see.prop Mail

## 5.2.1.2.2.2. Common objects

When the verb has a common object, this is cross-referenced with certain phonological categories of verbs by the suffix -nV. (As the final vowel is always deleted by the regular phonological rules of the language, and this suffix can never be followed by any other suffix which would reveal the underlying nature of the final vowel, it is left unspecified simply as -V. It is included in the statement of the form of this morpheme however, as, if it were not, it would necessitate a change in the stated phonotactic patterns of the language to allow for a single underlying consonant-final form. The stress rules also treat this suffix as being vowel-final underlyingly. The reader is referred to the relevant sections of chapter two for a justification of the underlying phonotactics mentioned above.) This cross-reference marker is added to all transitive verbs except those with final -Ci in which the consonant is alveolar. (Note once again, that the majority of verbs do in fact end in the sequence -Ci as noted above, and the most common preceding consonant is one of the alveolar consonants.) Thus:

Nagilelen        sauen  
na+gilele+nV    sautene  
lsg.real.know.comm sing.nom  
'I know the song'

Aduvon            aman  
a+duvo+nV        amanu  
3pl.real.shoot.comm bird  
'They shot the bird'

Komūhin                    amaru  
 ko+muuhi+nV                amāruu  
 2sg.real.blow.comm conch  
 'You blew the conch shell'

Adilīn                        hēk  
 a+dilii+nV                    hee+ku  
 3pl.real.inject.comm arm.lsg  
 'I got an injection in the arm'

but:

Nales                        huli  
 na+lesi                        hulii  
 1sg.real.see dog  
 'I saw the dog'

\*Nalesin                      huli  
 na+lesi+nV                    hulii  
 1sg.real.see.comm dog

### 5.2.1.2.3. The partitive

The partitive suffix has the form *-tei*. When it is used with an intransitive verb, it expresses the idea that the action or the state depicted in the verb is attained only a little, and is not a major performance of the action or a complete achievement of the state, e.g.

Mail vit                        hesautei  
 maile vite                      he+sau+tei  
 Mail 3sg.real.say 3sg.dis.sing.part  
 'Mail said he would sing a bit'

Asuv kai vasselūstei            minik  
 asuvo kaie va+seluusi+tei        mini+ko  
 chief 3sg 3sg.imm.speak.part pun.dat.2sg  
 'The chief would like to speak briefly to you'

When it is used with a transitive verb, it indicates that the referent of the object is an indefinite subset of the total possible class of objects. So, in the following example:

Mādei                        rais  
 ma+ani+tei                      raise  
 1sg.imm.eat.part rice  
 'I would like to eat some rice'

the object *raise* 'rice' does not refer to any particular quantity of rice, only to some indefinite quantity of rice.

### 5.2.1.2.4. Co-occurrence restrictions on inflectional suffixes

The bound pronominal object suffixes described in 5.2.1.2.1. and the object cross-reference suffixes described in 5.2.1.2.2. are mutually exclusive. The category of the partitive described in 5.2.1.2.3. does co-occur with these categories. There are, however, restrictions on the co-occurrence of these formal categories in the inflectional suffixing position in the word. In fact, the only instance normally in which there can be more than one inflectional suffix slot filled is when there is a co-occurrence of a second person singular bound object and the partitive, which occur in the order just presented, e.g.

Rolesikotei  
 ro+lesi+ko+tei  
 3sg.real.neg.see.2sg.part  
 'He didn't see you'



Otherwise, whenever the partitive and any of the other inflectional categories co-occur, it is only the partitive that is marked. When there is a bound third person singular object or an object cross-reference suffix, this is simply expressed as -Ø. Thus:

Longe		Rolongetei	
longe+e		ro+longe+tei	
3sg.real.hear.3sg		3sg.real.hear.part	
'He heard him'		'He didn't hear him'	
Longen	rēk	Rolongetei	rēk
longe+nV	ree+ku	ro+longe+tei	ree+ku
3sg.real.hear.comm	voice.lsg	3sg.real.hear.part	voice.lsg
'He heard my voice'		'He didn't hear my voice'	
Longe	Mail	Rolongetei	Mail
longe+e	maile	ro+longe+tei	maile
3sg.real.hear.prop	Mail	3sg.real.neg.hear.part	Mail
'He heard Mail'		'He didn't hear Mail'	

When there is a first person singular object, this can only be expressed as a free form when the verb is inflected for the partitive, and the pronoun does not occur before the partitive suffix as a bound form as is the case with the second person object as mentioned above, e.g.

Longenau			
longe+nau			
3sg.real.hear.lsg			
'He heard me'			
Rolongetei	inau		
ro+longe+tei	inau		
3sg.real.hear.part	lsg		
'He didn't hear me'			
*Rolongenautei			
ro+longe+nau+tei			
3rd.real.neg.hear.lsg.part			
'He didn't hear me'			

(Actually, some speakers have accepted forms like that given above marked with an asterisk, though only once in the entire period spent in the speech community was this kind of form actually attested in free speech.)

#### 5.2.1.2.5. Asymmetry in inflectional suffixes

As mentioned in the introduction to the current section, there is a certain amount of asymmetry in the distribution of the three sets of inflectional suffixes.

##### 5.2.1.2.5.1. Object cross-reference suffixes

It was pointed out in 5.2.1.2.2. that only some phonological classes of verbs actually allow any kind of cross-referencing on the verb for the nature of the object. The situation can be summarised in table 23.

TABLE 23: Object cross-referencing on the verb		
	Proper obj.	Common obj.
alveolar C plus i	-∅	-∅
non-alveolar C plus i	-∅	-nV
any V plus V; any C plus V other than i	-e/-ie	-nV

This particular instance of asymmetry cannot be related to any known fact of any other Oceanic language. On internal grounds, it might appear that there was no original proper marker, and that the third person singular object marker has been generalised to cover this function, though it has not yet come to be used in the full set of environments in which the common marker is used.

#### 5.2.1.2.5.2. First person singular objects

While the second person and third person singular object markers can be attached to any kind of verb, there are some restrictions on the distribution of the first person singular suffix as mentioned in 5.2.1.2.1. Verbs belonging to class 1 as defined by the criteria set out in 5.1.2. cannot take this suffix. Also, as pointed out in 5.2.1.2.4., there can normally be no bound first person singular object with verbs inflected for the partitive. These facts, and the fact that the bound form is almost identical in form to the free form (whereas the other bound forms are quite different from their corresponding free forms) suggest that either:

- (i) It is gradually losing its status as a bound form, and becoming re-analysed as a free form, but this process has only taken place in a few limited environments, or
- (ii) there was originally no first person singular bound form, and the free form came to be treated as a bound form, but there are still some residual environments in which the form is free.

While there is no internal evidence favouring either of these solutions, it does appear that it is the first solution which is correct, as Pawley (1972:61) does in fact reconstruct the first person singular bound form \*nau which would regularly produce the modern Paamese bound form.

#### 5.2.1.2.5.3. The suffix -tei

There is a number of problems involved in the treatment of this suffix, which has been glossed a 'partitive'. It was pointed out in 5.2.1.1.2. that it is obligatorily marked on certain types of negative verbs. At that point, semantic arguments were presented for the analysis of this as a partitive marker. We can at this point also add that there is a further argument that

can be presented in favour of the treatment of this suffix in its clearly partitive function (as described in 5.2.1.2.3.) and its 'negative' function as having the same basic function. This is the fact that a partitive negative construction cannot in fact separately mark the partitive. Thus:

\*Marongadeitei                      rais  
 ma+ro+ngani+tei+tei                raise  
 lsg.imm.neg.eat.part.part rice  
 'I would not like to eat some rice'

The first problem involving this partitive suffix however is the fact that it does nevertheless appear to be in the process of developing two quite distinct functions, a genuinely partitive function, and a second function as part of a discontinuous negative marker. It was again pointed out in 5.2.1.1.2. that the prefix ro- and the suffix -tei are coming to be used together to mark the negative in those environments in which it would not be predictable semantically. The obligatory marking of the partitive in the prohibitive is also a problem, as there seems to be no way in which the meaning of the prohibitive (described in 5.2.1.1.1.3.2.) can be derived from that of the potential (5.2.1.1.1.3.1.) and the partitive. It would appear therefore that the partitive has acquired a distinctly negative function here also.

The second problem relating to this suffix involves its co-occurrence possibilities, as described in 5.2.1.2.4. It appears to be 'pushing out' certain categories (i.e. the third person singular object and object cross-reference markers). This fact can be accounted for by noting that there is no partitive suffix reconstructed for proto-Oceanic and it would appear to be a recent Paamese innovation. There is in fact an indefinite nominal of the form *tei* 'some of it/them' (3.1.2.) which appears to have been reanalysed as a partitive suffix in these constructions. As this is a recently innovated category, it would appear in some sense reasonable to speak of it as 'marked' in relation to the object marking categories. As is noted in many languages of the world, unmarked categories are more likely to be morphologically unmarked also. Hence, the marked partitive category 'pushes out' the lesser marked object categories.

Historically therefore, there was probably no inflectional suffix -tei, only an indefinite nominal of the form *tei*. This came to be reanalysed also as an inflectional suffix, with a partitive meaning, and occupied the single inflectional suffix slot of the verb phrase, pushing out certain unmarked classes of suffixes. As its presence is semantically predictable with most negatives, it is now coming to be reanalysed as part of a discontinuous negative marker, a fact which is reflected in the discontinuous marking of the prohibitive mood.

Lynch (pers.comm.) has pointed out that there appears to be some kind of areal tendency in Oceanic languages to develop discontinuous negative marking, though this develops by different strategies in each instance. In Lenakel (spoken on Tanna in Vanuatu), for example, the negative is marked discontinuously by the prefix *is-* and the suffix -aan, e.g.

i-*is*-aung+n-aan  
 lsg.neg.eat.neg  
 'I didn't eat'

The prefix *is-* is apparently the historically prior negative prefix, and the suffix -aan is apparently related to the nominalising suffix:

n-aung†n-aan  
 nom.*eat*.nom  
 'food'

(The prefix n- is derived from the Proto-Oceanic common article \*na.) We can see the relationship between nominalisation and negation in this instance by looking at Kwamera, which is closely related to Lenakel, and also spoken on Tanna. Kwamera expresses negation by means of a special negative verb followed by the verb in nominalised form, e.g.

i-ak-apwa            n-aveng†n-ien  
 1sg.non-past.*not* nom.*eat*.nom  
 'I don't eat'

### 5.2.2. Verbal derivation

Verb stems can be either morphologically simple or morphologically complex, though there are actually rather few fully productive derivational processes in Paamese verbal morphology. Those processes reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic as being fully productive have been either lost altogether in modern Paamese or drastically reduced in their distributions. The loss of productivity in morphological processes has however been compensated for by the lexicalisation of verb phrase adjunct constructions as described in 5.3.1.3.

#### 5.2.2.1. Prefixation

##### 5.2.2.1.1. Haa- TIMES

Historically, this prefix derives from the Proto-Oceanic prefix \*paka-, which is reconstructed by Pawley (1972:45) as having two functions. In its original function as a causative derivative, it has been completely lost in Paamese. (Causatives are expressed in the modern language by periphrasis.) It is however retained in its original function as a marker of the number of times an action is carried out when added to one of the numeral verbs. Thus \*paka-tolu is reconstructed with the meaning 'do three times'. We therefore find the following derived verb stems in Paamese:

haa+raa(i)	'once'
haa+lua	'twice'
haa+relu	'three times'
haa+hati	'four times'
haa+lima	'five times'
haa+hise	'how many times?'

e.g.

Lok	vati	mauasik	vahārel
lo+ku	vati+e	ma+uasi+ko	va+haa+relu
<i>interior</i> .1sg	3sg. <i>real</i> .want.3sg	1sg. <i>imm</i> .hit.2sg	3sg. <i>imm</i> .times.three
'I want to hit you three times'			

Hatte	hehālu	nituvak	ven	selūsienenek
hat+tee	he+haa+lua	ni+tuva+ko	veni	seluusi+ene=neke
occasion	3sg. <i>dis</i> .times.two	1sg. <i>dis</i> .shoot.2sg	caus	<i>speak</i> .nom. <i>dist</i>
'(Do it) twice, and I'll shoot you for saying that'				

Kai muasinau           vāhis?  
 kaie muasi+nau       vaa+hise  
 3sg 3sg.real.hit.lsg 3sg.real.times.how many  
 'How many times did he hit me?'

### 5.2.2.1.2. Ma- STAT

Pawley (1972:42) reconstructs for Proto-Oceanic the verbal prefix \*ma-, to which he assigns the function of a stative derivative. The status of this prefix in modern Paamese is rather marginal. There is a small number of correspondences between non-stative roots without ma- and a corresponding stative stem with ma-. The following list is exhaustive for the corpus:

Root		Derived stative form in ma-	
loko	'pudding (compounding form)'	ma+loko=loko	'sticky (of food)'
lumi	'fold'	ma+lumu=lumu	'wrinkled'
riduu	'sink'	ma+riduu	'sunken'
sisile	'blaze'	ma+sisile	'burnt down'
sive	'split'	ma+sive	'split'

There are many other forms such as:

mahola=hola       'torn'  
 marua=rua       'collapsed'

which have a stative meaning and are clearly historically derived from the original stative marker. Even though many such verbs do in fact have corresponding unreduplicated forms, as in:

mahola           'torn'  
 marua           'collapsed'

we cannot say that synchronically these should be analysed as containing the stative derivative. It is just as possible to argue that the ma- has become reanalysed as part of the root and that the forms are reduplicated on the reDUP pattern of reduplication described in 2.8.3.

### 5.2.2.2. Suffixation

#### 5.2.2.2.1. -tu DEST

This suffix is derived from the more general Proto-Oceanic direction marker \*watu/\*atu (Pawley 1972:49), which apparently marked an action as re-directed from the speaker towards the addressee or a distant goal. In modern Paamese, this suffix is only ever used with the three basic verbs of motion away from the speaker (3.2.2.1.1.). We therefore have the following pairs:

haa ~ haa+tu       'go'  
 hinaa ~ hinaa+tu   'go up'  
 hiitaa ~ hiitaa+tu   'go down'

The difference between each of the pairs is that the form carrying the suffix -tu expresses motion away from the speaker to a specific place or addressee, whereas the form without the -tu does not make any reference along these lines, e.g.

Inau nedaingeingeni	keke nihītāt
inau na+daingeinge+ni+e	kekee ni+hiitaa=tu
lsg lsg.real.ignorant.tr.3sg sub	lsg.dis.go down.dest
vuol nitōs	Līro nesa
vūoli ni+too=se	liiroo nesaa
no lsg.dis.stay.neg.exp	Liro above

*'I don't know if I will go down (to you) or stay at Liro Nesa'*

Tāta Alen kai vit	vahā	Sado
taataa alene kaie vite	va+haa	sadoo
father Alan 3sg 3sg.real.want	3sg.imm.go	Sado

en Sulai vis	rovītāttei
eni sulai visi	ro+viitaa+tu+tei
obl July 3sg.real.finish	3sg.real.go down.dest.part

*'Uncle Alan wanted to go to Santo in July, but in the end didn't go'*

#### 5.2.2.2. Residual transitive suffixes

One of the most characteristic features of Oceanic languages is the presence of two so-called transitive suffixes, derived from the Proto-Oceanic forms \*-Ci and \*-Caki (in which the symbol C represents a thematic consonant). Both of these express objects that fulfill particular sets of semantic roles in an event.

Paamese, along with some other languages of central Vanuatu, it would also appear, has lost the original \*-Caki suffix altogether, and retained \*-Ci in only a rather small number of residual forms. The result is that in the modern language, there are about five attested transitive/intransitive pairs of verbs distinguished by the suffix -si, a further five distinguished by the suffix -ti, and a larger number (possibly a couple of dozen) distinguished by the suffix -ni. Those verbs which have corresponding transitive forms in -ti are:

Intransitive		Transitive	
tau	'defecate'	tauti	'defecate on'
siho	'have diarrhoea'	sihōti	'defecate on with runny faeces'
sii	'fart'	siiti	'fart on'
kahi	'make pudding'	kahiti	'make into pudding'
luva	'free, undone'	luvati	'release, undo'

and those which have corresponding transitive forms in -si are:

Intransitive		Transitive	
tangi	'wail'	tangisi	'bewail, cry for'
hela	'step'	helasi	'step on'
mea	'urinate'	measi	'urinate on'
hau	'carry'	hausi	'carry'
ua	'hit'	uasi	'hit'

Finally, some of those transitive/intransitive pairs distinguished by the presence or absence of *-ni* are presented.

<u>Intransitive</u>		<u>Transitive</u>	
saki	'do'	sakini	'cause'
umo	'work'	umoni	'do'
saa	'give'	saani	'give'
soo	'throw'	sooni	'throw'
tio	'push'	tioni	'push'
tivii	'throw down'	tiviini	'throw down'
hite	'speak'	hiteni	'say'

(and a number of others). There are also two verb pairs which mark the transitivity contrast also by a difference in the form of the vowels:

<u>Intransitive</u>		<u>Transitive</u>	
lee	'see'	lesi	'see'
nii	'burn'	niti	'burn'

(It should be noted, however, that there is a single intransitive/transitive pair that appears to be related by a morpheme that may be derived from an earlier \*-Cakini:

usa	'rain'	usaini	'rain on'.)
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#### 5.2.2.2.3. *-ni* TR

It is pointed out in 6.1.3.2. that the preposition *eni* (which carries a wide range of functions; 6.1.2.2.1.) optionally becomes a clitic attached to the next preceding word in the utterance, with the form *-ni*. This cliticised preposition is currently undergoing reanalysis in post-verbal environments as a derivative suffix, and is coming to take over the functions of the original transitive suffixes that have been either lost altogether or severely restricted in their distributions in Paamese as mentioned in the preceding section. The syntax and semantics of this kind of derivation are discussed in more detail in 6.1.2.1.2.3.

Possibly, the motivating factor in the reanalysis that is taking place is the fact that of those transitive/intransitive pairs contrasted by suffixes derived from Proto-Oceanic \*-Ci, the *-ni* suffix is most frequent and has come to be reinterpreted as the basic form of the transitive suffix. There is nevertheless a difference between the *-ni* derived from original \*-Ci and the *-ni* derived from *eni* by cliticisation in that there is no corresponding intransitive form with an obliquely marked object in the latter instance. Thus, while there is a contrast between:

Auvolun	teksas
au+volu+ni	teksase
3pl.real.dance.tr	<i>European dancing</i>

and:

Auvol	en	teksas
au+volu	eni	teksase
3pl.real.dance	obl	<i>European dancing</i>
'They danced European style (i.e. They danced the Texas)'		

there is no contrast between:

Kai s̄ān                    mane  
 kaie saani                manee  
 3sg 3sg.real.give money  
 'He gave the money'

and:

\*Kai s̄ā                    en mane  
 kaie saa                    eni manee  
 3sg 3sg.real.give obl money

### 5.2.2.3. Reduplication

Of the various morphological processes involved in the derivation of verb stems, reduplication is certainly the most productive. The forms of the reduplicated parts of verb roots are described in 2.8. and will not be repeated here.

Verbal reduplication has a fairly wide range of semantic functions in Paamese, and can in some cases even change the lexical class to which a form belongs (i.e. reduplication can derive an intransitive verb from a transitive verb). It appears however that we can reduce these functions to two basic functions. Firstly, a reduplicated verb can differ semantically from its corresponding unreduplicated form in that it necessarily describes an event that is not viewed as having a single spatial or temporal setting, or a single specific patient or set of patients involved in the action. An unreduplicated verb on the other hand is not marked in any way for this semantic parameter. Secondly, reduplication with numeral verbs has a distributive function.

#### 5.2.2.3.1. Non-specific setting/patient function

The semantic parameter presented first actually subsumes a number of minor semantic distinctions. These are discussed below.

- (i) *Habitual*. An event that is viewed as habitual is one that has no single temporal setting, and holds for all conceivable times, e.g.

Taunehek agekani?  
 taunehe=ke a+ga+kani+e  
 thing.prox 3pl.real.REdup.eat.3sg  
 'Is this edible?'

Inau naromemesaitei  
 inau na+ro+me+mesai+tei  
 lsg 1sg.real.neg.REdup.sick.part  
 'I never get sick'

Mules                                    mematil  
 mule+se                                ma+matilu  
 3sg.real.exist.neg.exp 3sg.real.REdup.sleep  
 'He only ever sleeps'



- (ii) *Random*. Similarly, an event that is viewed as random is one that has no single spatial setting, with the event occurring in a scattering of places, in a variety of directions, e.g.

Alālāpo  
 a+laa=laapoo  
 3pl.real.REDup.fall  
 'They fell down all over the place'

Halela kail amukeka  
 halēlaa kaile a+muke+kaa  
 bird type pl 3pl.real.REdup.fly  
 'The halela-birds flew in all directions'

- (iii) *Habitual/Random*. Of course, it is possible for a reduplicated verb to describe an event that is both random and habitual at the same time, e.g.

Kai vanehan enaute vasī  
 kaie vane=hane enaute vasiie  
 3sg 3sg.real.REDup.copulate sp.place all  
 'He is promiscuous (i.e. copulates anywhere, anytime)'

- (iv) *Simultaneous plural action*. To indicate that an action is performed by a large number of actors all at once, the verb can be reduplicated. This is a particular instance of random activity; we can regard the plurality of actors acting in different places at the same time as constituting a lack of any one particular spatial setting (if we assume that we need a separate spatial setting for any individual actor), e.g.

Molatin kail adetangosa mukok  
 molātine kaile a+da+tangosaa muko=ke  
 person pl 3pl.real.REdup.rise 3sg.real.thus.prox  
 'The people went up like this'

- (v) *Transitive > Intransitive shift*. The most important syntactic function of verbal reduplication in many Oceanic languages, particularly those of Micronesia, is its ability to change a verb from transitive to intransitive. Although this function of reduplication in Paamese may well be historically related to this kind of behaviour in other Oceanic languages, it does appear to be semantically parallel in some way with the other functions of reduplication described immediately above. It may be wrong therefore to ascribe to reduplication a basically syntactic function in this instance, especially as there is no full productivity involved. (Only about three dozen transitive-intransitive pairs related by reduplication have been attested, and about half of these are very rare, or even questioned by some informants.) Semantically, a transitive-intransitive pair that is related by reduplication differs in that the reduplicated verb describes an action that does not affect any particular patient or set of patients, but simply affects any of the general set of possible patients. So, contrast:

Taksi lahi  
 taksii lahi+e  
 taxi 3sg.real.carry.3sg  
 'The taxi is carrying him'

Taksi lahilah  
 taksii lahi=lahi  
*taxi* 3sg.real.REDUp.carry  
 'The taxi is occupied'

Kai vut                    tāta onen  
 kaie vuti                taataa one+ne  
 3sg 3sg.real.abuse father poss.man.3sg  
 'He abused his father'

Kai vutuhut  
 kaie vutu=hutu  
 3sg 3sg.real.REDUp.abuse  
 'He swore'

#### 5.2.2.3.2. Numeral distributive function

When any of the numeral verbs (3.2.2.4.) are reduplicated, the meaning is that of distribution, i.e. indicating that the participants perform an action in groups of the number indicated in the root, e.g.

Mehehol                helualu  
 mehe+holu            he+lua=lua  
 2pl.dis.dance 3sg.dis.REDUp.two  
 'You will all dance two by two'

#### 5.2.2.3.3. Distribution of reduplication patterns

As was mentioned in 2.8., there are actually three quite distinct formal types of reduplication in Paamese, depending on what part of the word is reduplicated. Reduplication can involve the initial syllable, the initial two syllables or the final two syllables.

There does not appear to be any consistent semantic difference between these three types of reduplication. The various functions of reduplication described above can be expressed often by more than one reduplication pattern, the only apparent restriction being that final reduplication can never be used to derive an intransitive verb from a transitive verb. Otherwise, we find that there is considerable unpredictability in which verb will take which kind of reduplication. Note the following, for example, which reduplicate only the initial syllable to mark the intransitive form:

lengasi                'roast'  
 ramusi                'lick'  
 sieni                 'put it'  
 pusi                  'kick'  
 sile                  'send on errand'

and the following which reduplicate the initial two syllables to mark the same function:

kani                  'eat'  
 loosili                'stare at'  
 lehe                  'pull'  
 hulai                 'spray'  
 sehe                  'scoop'

Sometimes however, we do find that there are verbs which can be reduplicated on both patterns, in which case we are likely to find one of the following contrasts in function:

	<u>REDUp</u>	<u>REdup</u>
I	detransitive	habitual/random
II	habitual interrupted	habitual uninterrupted

So, contrast:

Naromumudei	pia
na+ro+mu+muni+tei	piaa
lsg.real.neg.REdup.drink.part	beer
'I don't drink beer'	

Naromunumudei
na+ro+munu+munu=tei
lsg.real.neg.REDUUp.drink.part
'I am not drinking'

on the one hand, and:

Lait vihiram
laite vi+hiramu
light 3sg.real.REdup.flicker
'The light flickered on and on'

Lait virahiram
laite vira=hiramu
light 3sg.real.REDUUp.flicker
'The light flickered, and went off, and flickered again, etc.'

on the other.

#### 5.2.2.4. Compounding

Unlike nominal compounding (described in 4.1.1.2.4.), compounding as a derivational process in the formation of verbs is a rather marginal morphological process in Paamese. There are, however, certain morphologically complex verbs comprising two lexical roots, of which the first is a verbal root (either transitive or intransitive) and the second a nominal root (including the special compounding roots described in 4.1.1.2.4.). Syntactically, all such compound verbs are intransitive. There is only about a dozen compound verbs attested in the corpus, these being listed below:

holau=ai
climb.tree
'climb a tree/copulate'

taa=taa=hilu
REDUp.cut.hair
'preen feathers'

kalialii=vatu
shake.head
'shake one's head'

kasi=hele
wash.hand
'wash one's hands'

taa=vatu
cut.head
'nod one's head'

too=natu
exist.offspring
'rear an adopted child'

sai=vatu  
glance.head  
'look upwards'

kaa=leve  
travel.the very one  
'walk with feet firmly on the  
ground'

kaa=luhi  
travel.middle  
'walk in the middle of a  
line of people'

kuri=maile+ni  
take.left hand.tr  
'take with the left hand'

kulu=molakolo  
wash.bachelor  
'dye one's hair'

suusuu=vatu  
suck.head  
make into little mound'

too=leve  
exist.the very one  
'sit down with legs together (so  
that you won't fart)'

too=luhi  
exist.middle  
'sit in the centre seat of a three-  
seat canoe'

kuri=matuu+ni  
take.right hand.tr  
'take in the right hand'

lee=lee=savo  
REDUp.look.other  
'look elsewhere'

### 5.2.3. Minor classes of verbs

The inflectional and derivational morphology of verbs described in 5.2.1. and 5.2.2. above applies for the great majority of verbs in the language. There are, however, some minor classes of verbs which are irregular in some aspects of their morphology. The irregularities in some cases involve the forms of the root, and in other cases the forms of the prefixes.

#### 5.2.3.1. Root irregularities

##### 5.2.3.1.1. Kani 'eat/burn'

There is a verb *kani*, which is both a transitive verb meaning 'eat' and an intransitive verb meaning 'burn'. (Presumably, we should treat these as two homophonous forms.) It behaves the same way as verbs belonging to the class III set of root-initial alternations as described in 5.1.1. except that instead of changing the *k-* to *g-* in those environments required the D-Form of the root, it changes it to *ng-*. So, contrast:

a+ngani  
3pl.real.eat/burn

i+ani  
3pl.dis.eat/burn

(Note that in dialects other than the southern variety of the language, this verb is regular, having the root *gani* alternating with *kani* and *ani*.)

##### 5.2.3.1.2. Risi 'return'

The verb *risi* 'return' can form its paradigm regularly on the basis of this root, which belongs to the class VI set of root-initial alternations (i.e. the root is invariant), e.g.

Kiris	kīmai	Sai eris	emai
ki+risi	kii+mai	saie erisi	emai
2sg.dis. <i>return</i>	2sg.dis. <i>come</i>	<i>Sai</i> 3sg.real. <i>return</i>	3sg.real. <i>come</i>
'Come back'		'Sai came back'	

There is also an alternative form of the root used only where the D-Form is required, and this is *disi*. Thus:

Sai edis	emai
saie edisi	emai
<i>Sai</i> 3sg.real. <i>return</i>	3sg.real. <i>come</i>
'Sai came back.'	

#### 5.2.3.1.3. Mai, maa, miitaa

The three basic verbs of motion towards the speaker, *mai* 'come', *maa* 'come up' and *miitaa* 'come down' have irregular roots in the singular imperative, in which there is a prothetic a-. The non-singular imperatives are formed on the basis of the regular root. Thus:

	<u>sg.</u>	<u>dl.</u>	<u>pcl.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
<i>come</i>	amai	luu+mai	telu+mai	alu+mai
<i>come up</i>	amaa	lu+maa	telu+maa	alu+maa
<i>come down</i>	amiitaa	lu+miitaa	telu+miitaa	alu+miitaa

The same irregular root of the verb *mai* 'come' (but not of *maa* and *miitaa*) is used in the form that takes the prefixes marking the immediate and potential moods. We therefore find the irregular paradigms below:

	<u>sg.</u>		<u>dl.</u>		<u>pcl.</u>		<u>pl.</u>
Immediate	1	ma+amai	incl.	lo+va+amai	to+va+amai	ro+va+amai	ro+va+amai
			excl.	malu+va+amai	matu+va+amai	ma+va+amai	ma+va+amai
	2	ko+va+amai		mulu+va+amai	mutu+va+amai	mu+va+amai	mu+va+amai
	3	va+amai		lu+va+amai	telu+va+amai	a+va+amai	a+va+amai
Potential	1	na+na+amai	incl.	lo+na+amai	to+na+amai	ro+na+amai	ro+na+amai
			excl.	malu+na+amai	matu+na+amai	ma+na+amai	ma+na+amai
	2	ko+na+amai		mulu+na+amai	mutu+na+amai	mu+na+amai	mu+na+amai
	3	na+amai		lu+na+amai	telu+na+amai	a+na+amai	a+na+amai

(Based on the regular root, these paradigms would be of the form \*ma+mai 'lsg. imm.come', \*na+na+mai 'lsg.pot.come' etc.)

#### 5.2.3.1.4. Haa, hinaa, hiitaa

The three basic verbs of motion away from the speaker, *haa* 'go', *hinaa* 'go up' and *hiitaa* 'go down', also have irregular roots in the non-singular imperative (though in the singular form of the root, where there is zero-prefixation (5.2.1.1.1.), the regular form of the root is used). Following non-zero imperative markers, these verbs optionally take the C- or D-Forms of the root with initial v- instead of h-. The imperative paradigms of these verbs are therefore:

<i>go</i>	haa	luu+haa ~ luu+vaa	telu+haa ~ telu+vaa	alu+haa ~ alu+vaa
<i>go up</i>	hinaa	lu+hinaa ~ lu+vinaa	telu+hinaa ~ telu+vinaa	alu+hinaa ~ alu+vinaa
<i>go down</i>	hiitaa	lu+hiitaa ~ lu+viitaa	telu+hiitaa ~ telu+viitaa	alu+hiitaa ~ alu+viitaa

The verb haa 'go' is further irregular in that the realis form, when followed by the clitic -vee functioning as an interrogative of place, can either have the root haa or hei. Thus:

Salas vāve?	Salas veive?
salase vaa=vee	salase vei=vee
Salas 3sg.real.go.where	Salas 3sg.real.go.where
'Where has Salas gone?'	'Where has Salas gone?'

#### 5.2.3.1.5. Numeral verbs

The numeral verbs exhibit a number of irregularities in their root forms, reflecting their marginal status as verbs (i.e. they are more frequently expressed as morphologically related forms belonging to the class of indefinite nominals, as described in 3.1.2.). There are only six members of this class, expressing the numbers one to five, and the numeral interrogative 'how many':

taa(i)	'one'
lua	'two'
telu	'three'
hati	'four'
lima	'five'
hise	'how many'

The morphological irregularities lie in the following facts:

- (i) While all roots are invariant (i.e. belonging to class VI root-initial alternations), except hati 'four', which belongs to class IV, there are irregular third person singular realis forms, which have a root in e- and the regular zero-prefixation (except taa(i) 'one', which is regular). Thus:

3sg.real	
taa(i)	'one'
elua	'two'
etelu	'three'
ehati	'four'
elima	'five'
ehise	'how many'

The regular behaviour of these verbs in other environments requiring the D-Form of the root is shown by the following examples:

Naguri	rovattei
na+guri+e	ro+vati+tei
1sg.real.take.3sg	3sg.real.neg.four.part
'I didn't take four'	

Hatte tās nauvā Līro, heroluetei  
 hat+tee taa=se nau+vaa liiroo he+ro+lua+tei  
 occasion *one.neg.exp* 1sg.real.*go Liro* 3sg.dis.*neg.two.part*  
 'I have only been to Liro once, there won't be a second time'

- (ii) In reduplication and with the TIMES prefix haa- (5.2.2.1.1.), the t-initial forms change this to r-. e.g.

<u>Times</u>	<u>Reduplicated</u>	
haa+raa(i)	raa=taa(i)	'one'
haa+lua	lua=lua	'two'
haa+relu	re+telu	'three'
haa+hati	hati=hati	'four'
haa+lima	lima=lima	'five'
haa+hise	...	'how many'

e.g.

Kaik kikamen hairātas  
 kaiko ki+kame+nV hai+raa=taa=se  
 2sg 2sg.dis.*pick.comm fruit.REDUp.one.neg.exp*  
 'Just pick one of the fruit'

Lok vati mouasik vahārel  
 lo+ku vati+e ma+uasi+ko va+haa+relu  
 interior.1sg 3sg.real.*want.3sg* 1sg.imm.*hit.2sg* 3sg.imm.*times.three*  
 'I want to hit you three times'

#### 5.2.3.1.6. Interrogative verbs

The interrogative verbs kosaa 'do what (intr)' and koseini 'so what (tr)' are irregular in the nature of their root alternations according to the morpho-syntactic environment the form occurs in. The C- and D-Forms of the root have a regular distribution (as accounted for by the discussion in 5.1.1.), e.g.

Kogosein tūmali?  
 ko+goseini tuu+malii  
 2sg.real.*do what brother.2sg.masc*  
 'What did you do to your brother?'

Rais gosa?  
 raise gosaa  
 rice 3sg.real.*do what*  
 'How is the rice getting on?'

Nian kosein rais  
 ni+tani koseini raise  
 1sg.real.*eat do what rice*  
 'I will be unable to eat all of the rice'

In those environments however, which require the B-Form of the root, normally involving loss of the initial k-, we have two different forms of the root:

asaa/aseini immediate  
 isaa/iseini distant

e.g.

Kaik kovāsa?	Avāseini?
kaiko ko+va+asaa	a+va+aseini+e
2sg 2sg.imm.do what	3pl.imm.do what.3sg
'What are you going to do?'	'What's to be done about it?'
Kīha kīsa?	
kii+haa kitisaa	
2sg.dis.do 2sg.dis.do what	
'If you go, what will you do?'	

### 5.2.3.2. Prefix irregularities

It will be remembered from the discussion of the stress rules in 2.6.1. that a morpheme final vowel cannot be stressed unless it is the only stressable syllable in a word. There is one subclass of verbs however which has a special form of the prefix when the final vowel is assigned stress and that prefix is the only prefixed syllable attached to the verb. The stressed form of the prefix differs from the unstressed form in the following respects:

- (i) There is a following u after -a final prefixes.
- (ii) There is a following homorganic vowel following prefixes ending in any vowel other than -a.

We therefore find the following correspondences between the sets of monosyllabic prefixes:

<u>Unstressed</u>	<u>Stressed</u>	
na-	nau-	'1sg.real'
ma-	mau-	'1pl.excl.real'
a-	au-	'3pl.real'
lo-	loo-	'1dl.incl.real'
mu-	muu-	'2pl.real'
ni-	nii-	'1sg.dis'
ki-	kii-	'2sg.dis'
he-	hee-	'3sg.dis'
ro-	roo-	'3sg.real.neg'

(Note that polysyllabic prefixes such as matu- '1pcl.excl.real' and lehe- '1dl.incl.dis' do not have separate stressable forms as the prefix-final vowel is never stressed; stress will always go on the first of the two vowels of the prefix.)

Verbs which require that these vowels undergo this kind of accretion do not have this requirement in the immediate and the potential paradigms. Therefore, the prefixes na- '3sg.pot', ma- '1sg.imm' and va- '3sg.imm' are invariant. Also, distant forms of verbs which have root-initial h- only optionally take the stressed forms of the prefixes given above.

These special prefix forms are required only with a fairly small number of verbs, these being a subset of underlying disyllabic intransitive verbs with initial v-, m- or h-. (Historically, these verbs all had initial labials, with \*p shifting to h in Paamese.) There are also disyllabic intransitive verbs with initial v-, m- and h- which take the ordinary forms of the prefixes, so we must recognise two distinct subclasses of such verbs. The membership of these subclasses includes the following:



	Taking regular prefixes		Taking special prefixes	
h-	hanu	'whistle'	hane	'shoot'
	hasu	'give birth'	halu	'tabu'
	hisu	'shout'	haa	'go'
	hela	'step'	hele	'stuck'
			hilu	'cough'
			holu	'dance'
			huta	'jump'
			hute	'blunt'
m-	mange	'open mouth'	mai	'come'
	masu	'have in abundance'	mate	'die'
	maa	'come up'	mene	'ripe'
	male	'ripe (of tubers)'	moti	'fall'
	malu	'straight'		
	mese	'dry'		
	made	'rotten'		
	maho	'healed'		
v-	vii	'whistle with fingers in mouth'	vere	'noisy'
	voo	'stink'	vinu	'die out'
		visi	'finish'	

There is no apparent semantic factor in common with each of the two sets of verbs. Phonologically also, there appears to be no conditioning factor involved in the question of whether or not a verb takes the regular or the special forms of the prefixes. The only solution seems to be to recognise two subclasses of disyllabic intransitive verbs with initial m-, v- and h-.

Interestingly, there is one language that appears to be fairly closely related to Paamese, in which there is a similar situation. The language is that of the Big Nambas of north Malekula, described by Fox (1979). In this language, there is a distinct subclass of monosyllabic intransitive verbs (historically derived from disyllabic verbs by vowel loss) which takes a separate set of prefixes to all other verbs, and these prefixes differ in the nature of the vowel only. Fox (1979:49-50) lists just over three dozen members of this subclass, which is exhaustive for his corpus. The Big Nambas set of verbs does not just involve verbs with historic initial labials, but involves a wide range of initial segments. Interestingly however, a comparison of labial initial members of this set in Big Nambas and verbs of this type in Paamese reveals that wherever there is a cognate form in both languages, it is also found to be a member of this special subclass of verbs. Presumably therefore, this kind of irregularity is derived from an irregularity in some earlier proto-language, and is not simply a Paamese innovation.

#### 5.2.3.3. Prefix-root fusion

The final class of verbal irregularities is restricted to only a single verb, i.e. the copula *he*. A phonological peculiarity in the behaviour of this verb was pointed out in 2.6.2.7., where it was shown that this verb is the only form in the language which does not undergo final vowel desyllabification and

deletion. This verb is further irregular, however, in that when there is a prefix which itself ends in *he-*, then there is a reduction of the double sequence of *he* to a single occurrence of the syllable. Thus:

Hē	rēri	*Hehe	rēri
he	reerii	he+he	reerii
3sg.dis.cop	<i>ready</i>	3sg.dis.cop	<i>ready</i>
	<i>'He will be ready'</i>		

In cases like this, therefore, we have fusion of the root and the final syllable of the prefix. (Note, however, that when the prefix ends in a syllable other than *he*, this fusion does not take place, e.g.

Ihe	rēri
i+he	reerii
3pl.dis.cop	<i>ready</i>
	<i>'They will be ready'.)</i>

### 5.3. Adjuncts

As with a nominal phrase, a verb phrase can contain one or more adjuncts. Verbal adjuncts always follow the head. All of the inflectional categories mentioned in 5.2.2. which are marked as suffixes are normally attached to the last filler of the adjunct slot; if there is no filler of this slot, then these suffixes are simply attached directly to the verb phrase head.

We need to distinguish between two different types of adjuncts in the Paamese verb phrase. On the one hand, we have tightly bound adjuncts, while on the other we have loosely bound adjuncts. A tightly bound adjunct is defined by the fact that it must *always* be followed by the suffixes expressing the various inflectional categories mentioned in 5.2.2., and no constituent can ever intervene between such an adjunct and the head of the verb phrase. A loosely bound adjunct however is defined by the fact that the suffixed inflectional categories can be attached either to the verb phrase head, or to the final adjunct in the verb phrase, and that there can be some constituent intervening between the adjunct and the head.

Members of any of the following form classes can function as a verb phrase adjunct: (a) verbs (b) adjectives (c) prepositions (d) modifiers (e) nominals or (f) prepositional phrases.

Before we go on to describe the various types of verb + adjunct constructions, there is one important aspect of the behaviour of the verb phrase head that needs to be pointed out. This is that the transitivity of the verb phrase is determined solely by the transitivity of the final adjunct of the phrase, and is unrelated to the transitivity of the head. If the final adjunct is a transitive verb, therefore, or a preposition, then the verb phrase will be transitive and will require some kind of object. The head verb can therefore be either transitive or intransitive, as the following examples show:

Nagur	vul	āi
na+guri	vuli	aai
1sg.real.take	<i>break</i>	<i>wood</i>
	<i>'I took hold of the wood, thereby breaking it'</i>	

Nado                   vul   āi  
na+doo                vuli   aai  
lsg.real.exist break wood  
*'I sat on the wood, thereby breaking it'*

On the other hand, if the final adjunct is an intransitive verb, or belongs to any form class other than the class of prepositions, the phrase as a whole will be intransitive, and will need to undergo transitivity by the addition of -ni as described in 5.2.2.2.3. if an object is to be expressed, e.g.

Kiselūs	meraus	Kipus	meraunies
ki+seluusi	merau=se	ki+pusi	merau+nite=se
2sg.dis.speak	soft.neg.exp	2sg.dis.kick	soft.tr.3sg.neg.exp
<i>'Just speak softly'</i>		<i>'Just kick it softly'</i>	

However, with those verbs described in 5.2.2.2.2. as having related transitive/intransitive forms involving the historical suffix \*-Ci, retained residually in Paamese as -si/-ti/-ni with a small number of verbs, the head of a verb phrase containing an adjunct can only be the intransitive form. Thus:

Agahit                   alok  
a+gahiti                aloko  
3pl.real.make pudding pudding  
*'They made the pudding'*

Agah                    kolen        ato  
a+gahi                 kole+nV    atoo  
3pl.real.make pudding cover.comm chicken  
*'They covered the chicken over in the pudding'*

Navelas                merales  
na+velasi              meralese  
lsg.real.step on coral  
*'I stepped on the coral'*

Navel                 vārein       merales  
na+vela              vaarei+ni   meralese  
lsg.real.step precisely.tr coral  
*'I stepped right on the coral'*

Kitioni  
ki+tioni+e  
2sg.dis.push.3sg  
*'Push it'*

Kitio                 kati  
ko+tio                kati+e  
2sg.dis.push intense.3sg  
*'Push it hard'*

### 5.3.1. Tightly bound adjuncts

Prepositional and verbal adjuncts to a verb phrase are normally tightly bound to the head, as are adjectival adjuncts to a non-copular verb phrase head.

## 5.3.1.1. Adjectives

The only attested instances of adjectives occurring as tightly bound verb phrase adjuncts are:

kani=ani hatetamene REDUp.eat large.non-sg 'be a large eater'	kuri mau+ni take whole.tr 'take whole'
muni mau+ni drink whole.tr 'drink on one's own'	telemi mau+ni swallow whole.tr 'swallow without chewing'
kani mau+ni eat whole.tr 'eat on one's own'	

The attributive adjective hono 'on its own, containing nothing' can also be used quite productively as a tightly bound verb phrase adjunct to indicate that an action is performed for no reason, in vain or to no effect, e.g.

Kai mulū kaie muluue 3sg 3sg.real.vomit 'He just dry retched'	honos hono=se containing nothing.neg.exp
Kai gāka kaie gaa=kaa 3sg 3sg.real.REDUp.travel 'He is naked'	honos hono=se containing nothing.neg.exp

When an adjective is used as a verb phrase adjunct, the phrase is syntactically intransitive. If the verb phrase is to take an object, it must first of all be transitivised by adding -ni (5.2.2.2.3.). So, note the examples above involving mau 'whole' as an adjunct to a transitive verb.

The fact that these adjuncts are to be considered as being tightly bound to the head is indicated by the fact that the partitive suffix -tei (5.2.1.2.3.) can only be attached to the adjunct and not to the head, e.g.

Inau naronganian inau na+ro+ngani+ani 1sg 1sg.real.neg.REDUp.eat large.non-sg.part 'I am not a big eater'	hatetamedei hatetamene+tei
*Inau naronganiadei inau na+ro+ngani=ani+tei 1sg 1sg.real.neg.REDUp.eat.part large.non-sg	hatetamen hatetamene

## 5.3.1.2. Prepositions

Prepositions are only occasionally encountered as adjuncts to a verb phrase head. The preposition mini, which normally marks the punctual dative case in the clause (6.1.2.3.1.), is attested as an adjunct to only two verbs, with no obvious semantic relationship to its function as a role-marker at the clause level of analysis:

saki mini	selu mini
do pun.dat	utter pun.dat
'treat'	'abuse, tell off, advise'

The preposition *veni*, normally a marker of the causal case (6.1.2.3.1.), is also attested as an adjunct in the single verb phrase below:

saki veni  
do caus  
'argue about, dispute over'

Finally, the ablative preposition *rani* (6.1.2.3.1.) is quite productively used as a verb phrase adjunct, in which case it indicates that an action is performed only on some of the intended set of objects, leaving some unaffected, e.g.

Inau mahina	mail	vasɪn	uhia	keke
inau ma+hinaa	ma+ili	vasii+nV	uhiaa	kekee
lsg	lsg.imm.go up	lsg.imm.dig	all.comm	wild yam sub

nagil rani  
na+gili rani+e  
lsg.real.dig abl.3sg

'I am going to go up and dig all the yams that I only dug some of before'

Asa teimun	nenahit	rani	keke	molamatu
asaa tei=mune	na+na+hite	rani+e	kekee	mola=matuu
what some of.add	lsg.pot.say	abl.3sg	sub	ancestor

orer kail agilela?  
ore+re kaile a+gilela+a  
poss.man.lpl.incl pl 3pl.real.know.3sg

'What else have I perhaps not told that our ancestors knew?'

(The prepositions *eni* and *teni* (6.1.2.3.1.) are apparently never used as verb phrase adjuncts.)

Prepositional adjuncts are all formally transitive in this kind of construction, as the above examples indicate.

The fact that prepositional adjuncts should be considered to be tightly bound to the head can be shown by the fact that the object suffixes follow the preposition rather than the verb. Thus:

\*Nagili ran  
na+gili+e rani  
lsg.real.dig.3sg abl

The partitive suffix *-tei* also behaves in the same way:

Irosak	vedei	*Irosakitei	ven
i+ro+saki	veni+tei	i+ro+saki+tei	veni
3pl.dis.neg.do	caus.part	3pl.dis.neg.do	part caus
'They will not argue about it'			

### 5.3.1.3. Verbs

By far the most frequently encountered verb + adjunct construction in Paamese is that in which the filler of the adjunct slot is itself a verb stem.

We therefore have what is sometimes termed a 'serial verb' construction. In such a construction in Paamese, there is only one set of inflectional affixes present, with the prefixes being attached to the head and the suffixes being attached to the final filler of the adjunct slot (or, if there is no adjunct of course, to the head itself).

Verb serialisation of this kind is a fairly widespread feature of the syntax of Oceanic languages. It is attested, for example, in some other languages of Vanuatu, on Epi (Tryon, pers.comm.), in the language of the Big Nambas of Malekula (Fox, 1979:72-81), and on South-east Ambrym (Parker 1970). It is also reported in some of the Oceanic languages of Papua New Guinea, for example Nakanai on New Britain (Johnston 1980:189-218). Although not a restricted phenomenon, it has received little attention in published surveys of Oceanic grammar, or in attempts at syntactic reconstruction (Pawley 1973; Clark 1973). (Pawley (pers.comm.) however suggests that serial verb collocations in Oceanic languages appear for the most part to be secondary developments.)

Verb serialisation is often treated in descriptions of languages which do exhibit this phenomenon as a process that appears in some cases to be lexical and in others to be syntactic. In Nakanai, for example, Johnston describes certain constructions as 'compounds' and others as 'chained clauses', yet there would appear to be very little difference in the form of these two constructions. Thus, Johnston describes matapapaa 'look for' as a compound in:

Eau mata-pa-paa      la viso taku  
1sg look.redup.seek art knife poss.1sg  
'I am looking for my knife'

but tie soata 'climb up' as a chained clause in:

Egite tie so-ata (te) la gove  
3pl climb go up prep art mountain  
'They climbed up the/a mountain'

The main reason presented for treating the first construction as a compound rather than as a chained clause is that there is very often semantic unpredictability involved in such constructions.

We cannot justify the treatment of constructions of this type in Paamese as compounds however. The construction presented in 5.2.2.4. is regarded as a compound construction on the grounds that the verb and compounded nominal are treated phonologically as a single word for the purposes of assigning stress and dealing with underlying final vowels (2.6.). However, when the second part of a verb phrase paralleling the structure presented for the first Nakanai example above in Paamese is itself a verb, then the two verbs are treated as separate phonological words. Thus:

Eas	dupás	kísiril	vā	naim
easu	dupasu	kisɻrilu	vaa	naimo
	smoke	3sg.real.smoky	go through	3sg.real.go inside
	'The smoke went through (the gaps in the wall) inside'			
*Eas	dupas(u)	kísiril	vā	naim
easu	dupasu=kisɻrilu		vaa	naimo
	smoke	3sg.real.smoke	go through	3sg.real.go inside

A second argument against the compound status of these constructions in Paamese relates to the fact that some verbs (described in 5.3.1.3.1.) can occur as loosely bound adjuncts, and can follow certain kinds of nominal arguments to the head verb, e.g.

Inau narogā                      ut        vinīnautei  
 inau na+ro+gaa                  ute        vinii+nau+tei  
 1sg 1sg.neg.real.travel ashore do to excess.1sg.part  
 'I didn't travel by shore too much'

This is clearly not a word level construction.

There is, nevertheless, a considerable amount of lexicalisation in the syntactic process of serialisation. This lexicalisation is manifested in the following ways:

- (i) *Semantic unpredictability.* As just mentioned for the Nakanai example, it is very often not possible with Paamese serial verbs to predict the meaning of the serial construction from the meanings of the head and the verbal adjunct or adjuncts. We would therefore be justified, in such cases, in treating the construction as a dictionary entry on its own. For example, the verb tetohoni normally means 'estimate, guess', yet when it is used as a verb phrase adjunct, it indicates that the action is performed in imitation of something or someone else, e.g.

Sai mūm                      tetohoni        min        Morasi  
 saie muumo                  tetohoni+e    mini        morasii  
 Sai 3sg.real.do estimate.3sg pun.dat Morasi  
 'Sai did it, imitating Morasi'

- (ii) *Functional restriction.* There is a fairly large number of verbal adjuncts to a verb phrase head which do not occur as heads themselves. Their verbal status however is indicated by the fact that they undergo reduplication, a morphological process that is productive only with verbs (5.2.2.3.), and also by the fact that they are often able to take objects without undergoing prior transitivity with the addition of the suffix -ni (5.2.2.2.3.) (remembering that only transitive verbs and prepositions can take objects in this way). A further argument for the verbal status of these forms lies in the fact that they take the regular inflectional suffixes that are required with verbs (5.2.1.2.). The fact that there are such verbs which only ever function as verb phrase adjuncts suggests that in the history of the language, this kind of lexicalisation took place on a fairly large scale, and the meanings of these forms as verb phrase heads and as adjuncts diverged so widely that they were no longer felt to represent the same morpheme. Subsequently, the normal processes of lexical loss and replacement resulted in the situation where some of these forms as verb phrase heads ceased to exist.

Another aspect to the question of functional restriction is the fact that there are very many verbs also which can only function as phrasal heads, and never as adjuncts, even though semantically such a construction would appear to make perfect sense. So, for example, speakers rejected the following verb + adjunct constructions:

\*Kaik komusau                  tīsān        sauen  
 kaiko ko+musau                  tiisaa+ni    sautene  
 2sg 2sg.real.sing bad.tr        song  
 'You sang the song badly'

\*Inau naromual                  veretei  
 inau na+ro+muali                  vere+tei  
 1sg 1sg.real.neg.walk noisily.part  
 'I don't walk noisily'

## 5.3.1.3.1. Reanalysis of verbal adjuncts as loosely bound

It was mentioned above that verbal adjuncts are to be treated as being tightly bound to the verb phrase head. This is illustrated by the fact that in such constructions, the head cannot normally take the inflectional suffixes marked on the phrase, and that these are obligatorily marked on the final filler of the adjunct slot. Thus:

Eas	rodupas	kisirilutei	vahā	naim
easu	ro+dupasu	kisīrilu+tei	va+haa	naimo
<i>smoke</i>	3sg.real.neg.smoky	<i>go through</i> .part	3sg.imm.go	<i>inside</i>
<i>'The smoke went through (the gaps in the wall) inside'</i>				

*Eas	rodupasutei	kisiril	vaha	naim
easu	ro+dupasutei	kisīrilu	va+haa	naimo
<i>smoke</i>	3sg.real.neg.smoky	<i>go through</i>	3sg.imm.go	<i>inside</i>

It would appear however that certain verbs are able to function as loosely bound adjuncts. These verbs are known to include only the following:

vinii	<i>'do to excess/death'</i>
usili	<i>'do in the manner of/be about'</i>
viisi	<i>'try to do'</i>
lahi	<i>'do quickly'</i>

The fact that these verbs as adjuncts are to be considered as being loosely bound to the head is manifested in the following ways:

- (i) The inflectional suffixes discussed in 5.2.1.2. can be attached to the head or to the adjunct.
- (ii) There can be a nominal argument following the head and preceding the adjunct as long as it has zero-marking, and is short, e.g.

Kaik	kogās	ut	vinīk
kaiko	ko+gaa=se	ute	vinii+ko
2sg	2sg.real.travel.neg.exp	<i>shore do to excess</i> .2sg	
<i>'You have been travelling by shore too much'</i>			

Inau	narolestei	sinoma	usil	Elvis
inau	na+ro+lesi+tei	sinōmaa	usili	elvisi
1sg	1sg.real.neg.see	<i>movie follow</i>	<i>Elvis</i>	
<i>'I didn't see the movie about Elvis'</i>				

Matuvak	vīsi
ma+tuva+ko	viisi+e
1sg.imm.shoot	2sg try.3sg
<i>'I am going to try to shoot you'</i>	

Kian	ahis	lah
ki+tani	ahisi	lahi
2sg.dis.eat	<i>banana quickly</i>	
<i>'Eat the banana quickly'</i>		

However, the adjuncts *viisi* 'try' and *lahi* 'quickly' are only accepted by some speakers as being able to occur in a loosely bound construction of this type. Other speakers will only accept the following in which these two verbs are tightly bound:

Matuv	vīsik
ma+tuvo	viisi+ko
1sg.imm.shoot	try.2sg
<i>'I am going to try to shoot you'</i>	



Kian           lahin       ahis  
 ki+ani       lahi+ni   ahisi  
 2sg.dis.eat quickly.tr banana  
 'Eat the banana quickly'

Attempts to produce similar kinds of constructions with other verbs were consistently rejected by all speakers. Thus:

\*Aselūs           min       lohon kail lē kat       mane  
 a+seluusi       mini     lohono kaile lee kati     manee  
 3pl.real.speak pun.dat boy pl see intense money  
 'They spoke to the boys to find the money'

\*Kai heluhin                   auh rohotoh                   kosa  
 kaie he+luhi+nV               auhu roho+toho               kosaa  
 3sg 3sg.dis.plant.comm yam do for the first time today  
 'He is going to plant yams for the first time today'

These could only be expressed as complex sentence constructions and not as serial verbs. Thus:

Aselūs           min       lohon kail avale       kat       mane  
 a+seluusi       mini     lohono kaile a+va+lee     kati     manee  
 3pl.real.speak pun.dat boy pl 3pl.imm.see intense money  
 'They spoke to the boys to find the money.'

Kai heluhin                   auh heum                   rohotohoni  
 kaie he+luhi+nV               auhu he+umo               roho=toho+ni+e  
 3sg 3sg.dis.plant.comm yam 3sg.dis.do do for the first time.tr.3sg  
 kosa  
 kosaa  
 today

'He is going to plant yams for the first time today'

### 5.3.2. Loosely bound adjuncts

All adjuncts to the copular verb *he*, nominal adjuncts in the so-called 'cognate object' construction, and modifiers, are loosely bound to the verb phrase head. Each of these construction types will be described below.

#### 5.3.2.1. Copular constructions

The copular verb *he* can be followed by (a) a nominal phrase (b) an adjective or (c) a prepositional phrase in which the preposition is either *eni* or *teni*, e.g.

Vahe           uain mamuni  
 va+he       uaine ma+muni+e  
 3sg.imm.cop wine 1sg.imm.drink.3sg  
 'If it were wine, I would drink it'

Vē           kail elim  
 vee       kaile elima  
 3sg.real.cop 3pl five  
 'There were five of them'

Oreliato āk vē tītānetai  
 oreli+atoo aa+ku ve tiitaa+ne=tai  
*egg.chicken poss.ed.1sg. 3sg.real.cop offspring.3sg.comp*  
 'My egg is fertilised'

Vahe ialu  
 va+he ialue  
 3sg.imm.cop.1dl.incl.  
 'Let me come with you (i.e. If it were the two of us)'

Hengan onak hē ten sāk  
 hengani ona+ku he teni saake  
 bait poss.man.1sg 3sg.dis.cop rel shark  
 'My bait is for sharks'

(It should be pointed out that in the third person singular affirmative realis form, the copula is only optionally expressed. We therefore find examples such as the following:

Molatin elu Long katien maritauneh  
 molātine elua longe kati+tene mari+taunehe  
*person two hear intense.nom big.thing*  
 'There were two people' 'Obedience is an important thing'

Enaut Tahal nesa keke nado tueitinek  
 enaute tahalu nesaa kekee na+doo tueitine=ke  
*sp.place Tahal above sub 1sg.real.stay long time.prox*  
 'It's at Tahal Nesa that I have been staying for a long time now')

The underlying status of these sentences as involving copular constructions can be shown by the fact that the copula is obligatory when the verb is negative, or non-realis or non-third person singular, e.g.

Love molatin elu  
 lo+ve molātine elua  
 1dl.incl.real.cop person two  
 'There are two of us'

Long katien rovetei maritauneh  
 longe kati+tene ro+ve+tei mari+tauneh  
*hear intense.nom 3sg.real.cop.part big.thing*  
 'Obedience is not an important thing'

Hē enaut Tahal nesa keke nito tueitin  
 he enaute tahalu nesaa kekee ni+too tueitine  
 3sg.dis.cop sp.place Tahal above sub 1sg.dis.stay long time  
 'It will be at Tahal Nesa that I will stay for a long time'

The status of these copular constructions as verb + adjunct constructions is indicated by the fact that the partitive suffix -tei (5.2.1.2.3.) can follow the comment constituent, e.g.

Aim kekēk rove āmaltei  
 aimo kekee=ke ro+ve aamali+tei  
*building sub.prox 3sg.real.cop meeting house.part*  
 'This building is not a meeting house'

Molatin kail tenaut Vaum arove taripengetei  
 molātine kaile tenaute vaumo a+ro+ve tarīpenge+tei  
*person pl rel.place Paama 3pl.real.neg.cop lazy.part*  
 'The Paamese are not lazy'

The fact that the relationship is a loose rather than tight adjunct construction, however, is reflected in the fact that the copula as head can also take the -tei suffix to express the partitive, instead of the final constituent in the phrase. Thus:

Aim kekēk rovetei āmal  
 aimo kekee=ke ro+ve+tei aamali  
*house sub.prox 3sg.real.neg.cop.part meeting house*  
*'This building is not a meeting house'*

Molatin kail tenaut Vaum arovetei taripeng  
 molātine kaile tenaute vaumo a+ro+ve+tei tarīpenge  
*person pl rel.place Paama 3pl.real.neg.cop.part lazy*  
*'The Paamese are not lazy'*

This kind of construction is apparently obligatory when the adjunct comprises more than one word. Thus:

\*Hengan onak herove ten sāketei  
 hengani ona+ku hetro+ve teni saake+tei  
*bait poss.man.1sg 3sg.dis.neg.cop rel shark.part*

It should also be noted that there is a further lexical category that can now occur after the copula as adjuncts in this kind of verb phrase, namely verb roots borrowed from Bislama. Some verbs have been borrowed in a form that allows direct prefixation of subject and mood markers, such as:

piree 'pray'  
 pilee 'play the guitar'  
 sukulu 'study'  
 saleme 'sell'  
 maaki 'aim'  
 laani 'learn'  
 kuuke 'cook'  
 sikele 'weigh'  
 sumoki 'smoke'

e.g.

Inau nelānin tituen  
 inau na+laani+ni titu+ene  
*1sg 1sg.real.learn.tr fight.nom*  
*'I am learning fighting'*

More recent loan words however are borrowed formally as adjectives, and cannot therefore take subject and mood prefixes. They are expressed as adjuncts to the copula, which can take these prefixes. Loans of this kind can of course be transitivised by adding -ni (5.2.2.2.3.), e.g.

Ave rērīn tauneh vasī  
 a+ve reerii+ni taunehe vasiē  
*3pl.real.cop ready.tr thing all*  
*'They got everything ready'*

Vē sitāt mutin  
 ve sitaati mutinu  
*3sg.real.cop start 3sg.real.hot*  
*'It's started to get hot'*

Inau nave                   tagio minik  
 inau na+ve                 tagioo mini+ko  
 1sg 1sg.real.cop *thank* pun.dat.2sg  
 'I thank you'

### 5.3.2.2. Modifier adjuncts

Most of the members of the class of modifiers listed in 3.6. can also occur as loosely bound verb phrase adjuncts. (The only modifiers that cannot occur in this kind of construction are the aspectual modifiers.) Some examples of sentences with modifier adjuncts to the verb phrase head are given below:

Aromunumun                   nelītei,                   amunumun                   hauļu  
 a+ro+munu=munu           nelii+tei                 a+munu=munu                 hauļue  
 3pl.real.neg.REDUp.*drink* somewhat.part 3pl.real.REDUp.*drink* much  
 'They didn't just drink a bit, they drank a lot'

Vopoli                   kā rovo poli                 rāmettei  
 vopolii                 kaa ro+vopolii             raamete+tei  
 3sg.real.*black* cl 3sg.real.*black* too much.part  
 'It's black, but not too black'

Eau onak                   gān                         ekuh  
 eau ona+ku                 gaane                     ekuhi  
 knife poss.man.1sg 3sg.real.*sharp* just right  
 'My knife is just sharp enough'

Kaik kodokol                 sāsomonik  
 kaiko ko+dokoli             saaso+mo+ni+ko  
 2sg 2sg.real.*touch* self.2sg.tr.2sg  
 'You touched yourself'

Inau namun                 kesen arās  
 inau na+muni               kese+ni araa=se  
 1sg 1sg.real.*drink* only.tr wine.neg.exp  
 'I only drink wine'

Muoh                   vasī  
 muoho                 vasii+e  
 3sg.real.*white* all.3sg  
 'It is completely white'

Modifiers used as adjuncts are generally intransitive; the following two modifiers however, can be used transitively as well as intransitively with no change in form:

vilai                   'properly'  
 kuhi                   'just right'

e.g.

Māgo men                   ekuh  
 maagoo mene               ekuhi  
 mango 3sg.real.*ripe* just right  
 'The mango is just ripe enough'

Kai mūm kuhiek  
 kaie muumo kuhie+e=ke  
 3sg 3sg.real.do just right.3sg.prox  
 'He is doing it just right now'

The following are also obligatorily transitive (and are therefore similar to the special class of verbs described in 3.2.1.1.2.):

vasii 'all, totally'  
 revii 'properly'

(Note that when these forms are used as modifiers, the modifier has the form of the transitive verb phrase adjunct, and carries the third person singular object suffix. Thus:

molatin vasī	ani	revī
molātime vasiie	anii	reviie
person all	green coconut proper	
'everyone'	'a proper green coconut'	

Once again, the loosely bound nature of these adjuncts is indicated by the variable placement of inflectional suffixes on the verb phrase head, or on the adjunct, e.g.

Rovopolītei	rāmet
ro+vopolii+tei	raamete
3sg.real.black.part too	
'It's not too black'	
Rovopoli	rāmettei
ro+vopoli	raamete+tei
3sg.real.neg.black too.part	
'It's not too black'	

The class of clitics is also included within the general class of modifiers (3.6.3.). While clitics are not normally attested occurring as verb phrase adjuncts, the following is acceptable:

Kian meteseni  
 ki+ani mete=se+ni+e  
 2sg.dis.eat raw.neg.exp.tr.3sg  
 'Just eat it raw'

This example shows the clitic -se 'negative expectation' being used as a verb phrase adjunct.

### 5.3.2.3. Cognate objects

The 'cognate object' construction is one in which there is an intransitive verb filling the position of head, and a loosely bound nominal phrase adjunct following the head. This kind of construction is attested with only half a dozen verbs, and of these, two are borrowed from Bislama. The semantic relationships that hold between each of these verbs and its nominal phrase adjunct are described below.

Head		NP adjunct
seluusi	'speak'	the language being used
sũkulu	'study'	the language used as the medium of instruction
kaa	'travel'	the thing something resembles
pĩlee	'play'	the game or instrument played
hite	'say'	the thing said
hite	'think'	the thing thought

e.g.

Aselũs            lanũs  
a+seluusi        lanuusi  
3pl.real.speak language  
'They were speaking the vernacular'

Inau nasukul        Verānis  
inau na+sũkulu      veraanise  
1sg 1sg.real.study French  
'I went to a French school'

Kai mual            gā                    ahin kail  
kaie muali        gaa                  ahine kaile  
3sg 3sg.real.walk 3sg.real.travel woman pl  
'He walks like a woman'

Kaik kipile        kāt?  
kaiko ki+pĩlee      kaati  
2sg 2sg.dis.play cards  
'Are you going to play cards?'

Kai viteni                    vit                    kaik kĩmai  
kaie vite+nite                vite                  kaiko kii+mai  
3sg 3sg.real.say.tr.3sg 3sg.real.say 2sg 2sg.dis.come  
'He said that you would come'

Navit                kovāmai            tai  
na+vite              ko+va+amai        tai  
1sg.real.think 2sg.imm.come comp  
'I thought you would have come'

The fact that these nominal phrases are to be considered to be verb phrase adjuncts rather than as objects to a verb phrase is shown by the fact that it is not possible to express these as pronominal objects by means of the suffixes set out in 5.2.1.2.1. Thus:

\*Aselũsi  
a+seluusi+e  
3pl.real.speak.3sg  
'They spoke it (i.e. some particular language)'

Similarly, there is no object cross-reference of the type described in 5.2.1.2.2. Thus:

\*Kaik kipilēn                    kāt?  
kaiko ki+pilee+nV                kaati  
2sg 2sg.dis.play.comm cards  
'Are you going to play cards?'

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CLAUSE

In this chapter, we will describe the clause level grammar of Paamese. We will begin with a description of the declarative clause. Non-declarative clauses will then be described in relation to these declarative clauses structurally.

#### 6.1. The declarative clause

We will first of all deal with the kinds of syntactic relationships that bind the various phrase-level constituents into grammatical clauses, and the semantic relationships encoded by these various syntactic structures. All basic clauses must contain a verb phrase; they may, in addition, contain other phrase-level constituents that relate syntactically either to the verb phrase or to some other constituent in terms of certain strictly defined morphosyntactic constructions. We find the following general types of morphosyntactic relationships between phrase-level constituents at the clause level:

- (i) (NP) (VP). A clause may contain one or more nominal phrase arguments that are related to the verb phrase in any of the following kinds of constructions: (a) as subject (b) as object (c) as prepositional object or (d) as a bound complement.
- (ii) (NP) (NP). A nominal phrase argument in a clause may relate structurally to some other nominal phrase rather than to the verb phrase. The constructions which mark this kind of relationship were described in 4.2. at the phrase level, and are: (a) the prepositional construction and (b) the bound complement construction.
- (iii) Finally, we have the looser syntactic relationship that holds between modifiers and other constituents at the clause and phrase level. The relationships that hold between clitics and other constituents are also of this basic type.

##### 6.1.1. Nominal phrase relationships

We will begin by discussing the formal nature of the syntactic relationships that hold at the clause level, firstly between a verb phrase and its nominal phrase arguments, and secondly between a nominal phrase and its nominal

phrase arguments. We will then go on to describe the semantic distinctions that are encoded in these formal relationships.

Syntactic relationships of this kind at the clause level are normally referred to as 'case' relationships. Case is of course treated in a number of widely divergent ways in the linguistic literature. In some descriptions, it is described in purely semantic terms, the approach adopted by Fillmore (1968) and Chafe (1970). Such an approach operates in terms of a limited (and presumably universal) set of basic semantic cases, which can be assigned to a nominal phrase in a clause, and which are mapped onto a variety of syntactic constructions. In other descriptions, it is described in purely morphological terms, for example, in traditional Latin-based grammars, and each case is assigned a number of particular semantic functions.

The present treatment of case in Paamese differs from both of these approaches and owes a great deal to the treatment of case by Dixon (1972) for Dyirbal and Austin (1978) for Diyari, two Australian languages. Case distinctions are set up on the basis of both morphologically and syntactically definable oppositions, as case is, after all, a syntactic (i.e. clause level) and not solely a morphological (i.e. word level) phenomenon. This approach means that it is possible that cases can be distinguished on purely syntactic grounds, while the morphological marking is identical.

The various morphosyntactic constructions binding nominal phrase arguments to verb phrases and other nominal phrases will now be described.

#### 6.1.1.1. Nuclear relationships

We will first of all describe the nuclear nominal phrase relationships in a clause, i.e. the fillers of the subject and object slots. The special status of subjects and objects as morphosyntactically nuclear in the clause is reflected in the following facts:

- (i) The nominal phrases in these syntactic positions are formally unmarked.
- (ii) All verb phrases must have some marking for subject categories (either as a full nominal phrase, or simply in the form of verb phrase cross-reference) and all transitive verb phrases must have an overtly expressed object nominal phrase.
- (iii) Subject and object nominal phrases are the only nominal phrase arguments to a verb phrase that are ever cross-referenced on the verb phrase itself.

The subject relationship is defined by the following set of facts:

- (i) There is zero-marking.
- (ii) The subject nominal phrase is cross-referenced on the verb phrase by one of the prefixes described in 5.2.1.1.1.
- (iii) There can never be any nominal phrase intervening between it and the following verb phrase.

The object relationship, on the other hand, is defined by the following facts:

- (i) Again, there is zero-marking.
- (ii) There is object cross-reference on the verb phrase by means of one of the suffixes described in 5.2.1.2.2.



(ii) The object nominal phrase immediately follows the verb phrase, normally with no intervening phrase-level constituents (though, see 6.1.3.2.).

Thus, in the following example, the subject nominal phrase is *kaiko* '2sg' and the object is *ree+ku* 'my voice':

Kaik kolongen                      rēk  
 kaiko ko+longe+nV                ree+ku  
 2sg    2sg.real.hear.comm voice.1sg  
 'You heard my voice'

A further distinction that is made between subject and object nominal phrases is that there is a greater likelihood of full number marking being made with subjects than with objects (a feature that appears to be very widespread in Oceanic languages). Object nominal phrases only mark the number categories when they are high on the scale of referentiality (Silverstein 1976). When objects are low in referentiality, then the singular marking will generally be used, e.g.

Selusien    kailu    vasī    keke    kolonge                      en    ratio  
 seluusi+ene kailue    vasiie    kekee    ko+longe+e                      eni    ratioo  
 speak.nom    dl            all            sub    2sg.real.hear.3sg    obl    radio  
  
 lutahos                      vāreis  
 lu+tahosi                    vaarei=se  
 3dl.real.good    precisely.neg.exp

*'Both speeches you heard over the radio were very good'*

There are some classes of verbs which restrict the possible fillers of the syntactically nuclear positions of subject and object to a single nominal phrase. (This is perhaps a further argument for the syntactically nuclear status of subjects and objects, as there is never any such restriction on the fillers of non-nuclear nominal phrase positions.) The particular instances of verb types with such restricted nuclear arguments are presented below.

(a) Restrictions on subjects

It is pointed out in 3.2.2.3.1. that most ambient verbs (i.e. those expressing a general predication about the world with no obligatory participants) do not allow any nominal phrase to occupy the subject slot (though there is still subject cross-reference on the verb phrase in the third person singular with ambient states and the third person plural with ambient actions, as described in 6.1.2.1.).

There is, however, a particular subclass of ambient verbs, mentioned in 3.2.2.3.2., which does require that there be a nominal phrase in the subject position in the clause. The subject that is chosen is one that has as its referent the concrete entity most typically associated with the ambient state or action. One such verb is *usa* 'to rain', which requires as its subject the nominal phrase *ausa* 'rain'. Thus:

Aus    mūs  
 ausa    muusa  
 rain    3sg.real.rain  
 'It is raining'

It is therefore incorrect to say:

\*Mūs  
 muusa  
 3sg.real.rain

to express the same event. (Other such verbs, and the subjects they select, are presented in 3.2.2.3.2.)

This kind of restriction on the possible fillers of the subject position is clearly a formal restriction, rather than simply a question of semantic selection. This can be shown to be true by the fact that the subject nominal phrase can take no adjuncts or modifiers, nor can it be expressed as a paraphrase. Thus, the following are unacceptable ways of expressing the events described in the gloss:

\*Aus haulu mūs  
 ausa haulue muusa  
*rain much 3sg.real.rain*  
 'It is raining a lot'

\*Haioai keke mai ran mahumah mūs  
 hai+oai kekee mai rani mahu=mahu muusa  
*fruit.water sub 3sg.real.come abl cloud 3sg.real.rain*  
 'Drops of water which come from the clouds are raining'

There is also a subclass of verbs which cross-cuts the syntactically and semantically definable classes described in 3.2. and that is the class of 'impersonal' verbs. These verbs are referred to as impersonal because, although they all have nuclear participants with animate reference, they require that the nominal phrase in subject position have inanimate reference. Such verbs typically express psychological experiences, or body states, actions and processes. The animate nuclear participant in the event is expressed as the suffixed possessor of some particular suffixed bound noun (3.1.4.5.2.1.) which has as its reference the part of the body most typically associated with the particular action, state or process. Such impersonal verbs, and the suffixed bound noun which occupies the subject position, include the following:

Required subject	Impersonal verb
luho- 'tooth'	kiiso 'smile'
meto- 'eye'	vopole 'blink'
meto- 'eye'	longo- 'sleepy'
naa- 'forehead'	lango- 'frown'
ave- 'body'	litue 'exhausted'
lo- 'interior'	bobongini 'forget'

It is therefore possible to say only:

Metok long  
 meto+ku longo  
*eye.1sg 3sg.real.sleepy*  
 'I am sleepy'

and never:

\*Nalong  
 na+longo  
 lsg.real.sleepy

to express the same event.

While most suffixed bound nouns that occur in such constructions are only associated with one or two particular impersonal verbs, there are two forms that are attested as subjects to a wide range of such verbs, and these are lo- and ulu-. The bound suffixed noun lo- means 'abdominal cavity/interior'. The

form *ulu-* is rarely used except as the subject of an impersonal verb. The only attested example of *ulu-* being used independently is in the idiom:

Kikur            ulum    minau  
 ki+kuri        ulu+mo   mini+nau  
 2sg.dis.*bring ulu*.2sg pun.dat.lsg  
 '*Bring me your ulu-*'

which is said by one's maternal uncle when one had injured oneself and needs comforting. Speakers do not recognise a particular meaning for *ulu-* however, even in this example. (Historically, it appears to be derived from proto-Oceanic \*qulu 'head', which is commonly associated with the seat of emotions in many Oceanic cultures.)

The form *lo-* is attested as the subject of the following impersonal verbs, for example:

hono            '*winded*'  
 hati            '*want, like*'  
 maahisi        '*pity*'  
 mobongo        '*forgetful*'  
 bobongini      '*forget*'  
 mesele         '*able to remember*'  
 tangisi         '*upset about*'  
 kaasi           '*happy*'

Also, the form *ulu-* is attested as the subject of the following:

metau           '*afraid*'  
 tiisaa          '*depressed*'  
 maleilei        '*get a fright*'  
 kaane           '*afraid*'

e.g.

Ulum    metau?  
 ulu+mo   metau  
 ulu.2sg 3sg.real.*afraid*  
 '*Are you afraid?*'

Lok            rovattei                    maha  
 lo+ku        ro+vati+tei                ma+haa  
 interior.lsg 3sg.real.neg.*want*.part lsg.imm.go  
 '*I don't want to go*'

Note, finally, that while many verbs can only be used impersonally in this kind of construction (e.g. *hono* '*winded*', *longo* '*sleepy*', *hati* '*want, like*'), there are many that can be used either impersonally, or with animate subjects. The only known example which does not change its meaning in such cases is *metau* '*afraid*', e.g.

Nametau	Uluk    metau
na+metau	ulu+ku   metau
lsg.real. <i>afraid</i>	ulu.lsg 3sg.real. <i>afraid</i>
' <i>I am afraid</i> '	' <i>I am afraid</i> '

Otherwise, there are clear differences in meaning, with verbs in the impersonal construction expressing some kind of psychological experience or body state, action or process, and verbs used in the non-impersonal construction expressing states, actions or processes that are non-psychological or non-physical. Note therefore, the following kinds of meaning differences:

	<u>Impersonal Use</u>	<u>Usual Use</u>
kuru	'rumble (of stomach)'	'boil'
selu	'rumble (of stomach)'	'utter'
toho	'uncooked in the middle'	'explode'
hile=hilesi	'starving hungry'	'turn'
mesele	'remember'	'clear/obvious'
tangisi	'upset about'	'cry for'
kaasi	'happy'	'sweet'
maahi	'sick of'	'sore/tired'
madili	'climax sexually (of females)'	'cold'

So, compare the following example in which the verb is used impersonally:

Len                    dangisi  
 le+ne                dangisi+e  
*interior.3sg 3sg.real.upset about.3sg*  
*'He is upset about it'*

with this example, in which the verb is used with a personal subject:

Kai dangis                    pistas  
 kaie dangisi                pistase  
*3sg 3sg.real.cry for peanuts*  
*'He is crying for peanuts'*

(b) Restrictions on objects

It was pointed out in 3.2.1.1. that there are two subtypes of transitive verbs in which there is only one nuclear participant involved in an event, yet the verb, since it is transitive, requires that there be a nominal phrase in both subject and object position.

It was pointed out in 3.2.1.1. that there are two subtypes of transitive verbs in which there is only one nuclear participant involved in an event, yet the verb, since it is transitive, requires that there be a nominal phrase in both subject and object position.

The first such class of verbs is very restricted in membership. In this class, there is a requirement that the object slot be filled by a pronominal form marking the same category distinctions as the subject (3.2.1.1.1.), e.g.

Inau nasīnau	Amutah	kail haulu
inau na+sii+nau	a+mutahi	kaile haulue
1sg 1sg.real.happy.1sg	3pl.real.overeat	3pl much
'I am happy'	'They overate a lot'	

Such verbs are clearly not to be interpreted reflexively however, as it is not possible to attach the repetition clitic -risi (6.1.3.2.3.) to the object:

*Amutah	kaileris	haulu
a+mutahi	kaile=risi	haulue
3pl.real.overeat	3pl.rep	much
'They overate a lot'		

When the object is genuinely reflexive however, this is possible, e.g.

Nalesinauris	en kilās
na+lesi+nau=risi	eni kilaase
1sg.real.see.1sg.rep	obl mirror
'I looked at myself with a mirror'	

The second set of such verbs requires that the object slot be filled with the third person singular bound object suffix -e/-ie (5.2.1.2.1.), e.g.

Kaik kodo                    kisi  
 kaiko ko+doo                kisi+e  
 2sg    2sg.real.stay poke.3sg  
 'You are sitting with your testicles showing'

(Note that it does not appear to be possible to make any generalisations about the semantic correlates of membership in either of these formal classes.)

#### 6.1.1.2. Non-nuclear relationships

Contrasting with the subject and object relationships described above as being syntactically nuclear in the clause, we have a wide range of non-nuclear syntactic relationships, which are not obligatorily expressed, which do not normally receive zero-marking and which are never cross-referenced in the verb phrase. Non-nuclear relationships also differ from nuclear relationships in that it is possible to have a non-nuclear argument to a nominal phrase as well as to a verb phrase.

There are two basic types of constructions by which these syntactically non-nuclear relationships can be expressed, these being the prepositionally marked relationships and the relationships expressed by bound nominal phrases.

##### 6.1.1.2.1. Prepositionally marked relationships

A nominal phrase preceded by one of the five prepositions *eni*, *teni*, *rani*, *veni* and *mini* (3.4.) and sometimes also by zero (as shown below), can be syntactically related to either a verb phrase or to another nominal phrase.

When the nominal phrase has the form of a singular pronoun, this is expressed as a suffix to the preposition. The suffixes have the following forms:

1sg.	-nau
2sg.	-ko
3sg.	-e

(and are therefore identical to the bound pronominal objects attached to verbs, as described in 5.2.1.2.1.).

The structure of prepositionally linked complex nominal phrases was presented and illustrated in 4.2.1., and will not be repeated at this point. We will therefore concentrate on a description of prepositionally marked syntactic relationships between nominal phrases and verb phrases.

Prepositionally marked nominal phrases always follow the verb phrase to which they are syntactically related in the clause (and, in the case of transitive verb phrases, the object of the verb phrase). Clauses containing more than two such nominal phrases are to be found only in the elicited corpus, and not in the non-elicited corpus of narrative and conversational material. Given the obvious stylistic preference against clauses containing long sequences of prepositionally marked nominal phrases, it is difficult to establish any mutual ordering conventions among variously marked nominal phrases. The basic preference seems to be for *teni* phrases to precede *mini* phrases, then *eni* phrases, then *rani* phrases and finally *veni* phrases, e.g.

Kai selūs                    min        tāta    ven    mane    onak  
 kaie seluusi                mini        taataa    veni    manee    ona+ku  
 3sg 3sg.real.speak    pun.dat    father    caus    money    poss.man.1sg  
*'He spoke to father about my money'*

Mail Ham    sān                            lēta    minau                    ranaut    Vīla  
 maile haamo saani                leetaa    mini+nau                ranaute    viilaa  
 Mail Ham    3sg.real.send    letter    pun.dat.1sg    abl.place    Vila  
*'Mail Ham sent me a letter from Vila'*

Aselūs                    gaih                            min        lohon    kail    nāmal  
 a+seluusi                gaiho                            mini        lohono    kaile    n+aamali  
 3pl.real.speak    3sg.real.strong    pun.dat    child    pl        loc.meeting house  
*'They told the children off in the meeting house'*

Kai mela                            ran    āmal                            ven    eas  
 kaie melaa                            rani    aamali                            veni    easu  
 3sg 3sg.real.get out    abl    meeting house    caus    smoke  
*'He got out of the meeting house because of the smoke'*

Kai selūs                    min        kail    en    sukul    ven    mane    olel  
 kaie seluusi                mini        kaile    eni    sukulu    veni    manee    ole+le  
 3sg 3sg.real.speak    pun.dat    3pl    sp    church    caus    money    poss.man.3pl  
*'He spoke to them in church about their money'*

These cannot be considered to be absolute rules however, except for the rules which state that a *veni* phrase must be last and a *teni* phrase must be first, as there is some degree of freedom with regard to mutual placement. Note, therefore, that the events expressed by the glosses cannot be expressed as they are in the following examples:

\*Kai selūs                    ven    mane    olel                            min        kail    en    sukul  
 kaie seluusi                veni    manee    ole+le                            mini        kaile    eni    sukulu  
 3sg 3sg.real.speak    caus    money    poss.man.3pl    pun.dat    3pl    sp    church  
*'He spoke to them in church about their money'*

\*Kai vas                            en    hauspiel    ten    sīsel  
 kaie vasu                            eni    hauspitele    teni    siisele  
 3sg 3sg.real.give birth    sp    hospital    rel    road  
*'She gave birth to an illegitimate child in the hospital'*

We can distinguish between nine formally distinct prepositionally marked cases which relate nominal phrases to verb phrases or to other nominal phrases. The marking for each of these is set out below for each distinct referential category of nominal phrase:

Case	Human	Inanimate and non-human animate	∅-Time	P-Time	Location
punctual dative referential	mini	mini	-	-	-
oblique	mini	eni	-	-	-
spatial	eni	eni	∅	eni/teni	-
purposive	eni	eni	-	-	∅
relative	eni	veni	-	-	-
areal dative	teni	teni	teni	teni	-
ablative	veni	veni	-	-	-
causal	rani	rani	-	-	-
	eni/veni	eni/veni	-	-	-

(The category Ø-time refers to the subclass of nouns described in 3.1.4.3.1. and P-time to the class described in 3.1.4.3.2. Location refers to the class defined in 3.1.4.2. A dash indicates that this category of nominal phrase does not occur in this particular case.)

It can be seen that there is considerable asymmetry in these paradigms. Most prepositions mark more than one case, depending on the semantic category to which the nominal phrase belongs. For example, the preposition *veni* marks the following cases:

- (i) purposive, with inanimate and non-human animate nominal phrases;
- (ii) areal dative and causal, with any animate or concrete inanimate nominal phrase.

In many instances, it is possible to distinguish two distinct cases marked by the same preposition only by checking the marking for some other semantic category of nominal phrase. To distinguish the causal function of *veni* from the areal dative function for example, we need to substitute a nominal phrase with human reference, where *eni* marks the purposive and *veni* marks the causal.

The oblique and spatial cases, it can be seen, are marked identically with all semantic categories of nominal phrases, by the preposition *eni* (with those nominal phrases that can occur in both syntactic slots). However, there is clear syntactic evidence to show that we need to recognise two distinct cases here. When the case-marked nominal phrase is shifted or deleted by some syntactic process, and leaves an anaphoric trace, the nature of the trace that is left differs for oblique and spatial nominal phrases. With oblique nominal phrases, the trace is marked as a pronominal suffix attached to the preposition *eni*, e.g.

Avong	kenamuseh	eni	Ueneste
avongi	ke+na+musehe	eni+e	ueněstee
<i>day</i>	sub.1sg.real.rest	obl.3sg	<i>Wednesday</i>
<i>'The day on which I rest is Wednesday'</i>			

Alahin	voiāus	apar	kati	eni
a+lahi+nV	voiaau=se	a+pare	kati+e	eni+e
3pl.real.gather.comm	<i>vine</i> .neg.exp	3pl.real.tie	<i>intense</i> .3sg	obl.3sg
<i>'They just got some vine to tie it up with'</i>				

Āi	kekēk	gekavel	hau	avaumon	aim	eni
aai	kekee=ke	gekavelu	haulue	a+va+umo+ni	aimo	eni+e
<i>wood</i>	sub.prox	3sg.real.crooked	<i>much</i>	3pl.imm.do.tr	<i>house</i>	obl.3sg
<i>'This plank is too crooked to build a house with'</i>						

On the other hand, with spatial nominal phrases, the trace is left in the form of the suffix *-ene* (with no pronominal marking) which attaches itself as a clitic to whatever constituent immediately precedes the shifted or deleted nominal phrase, e.g.

Tōs	onom	paterik	tovueliēn
toose	ono+mo	paterike	tōvūeli=ene
<i>torch</i>	poss.man.2sg	<i>battery</i>	3sg.real.not exist.sp
<i>'Your torch has no batteries in it'</i>			



Aut keatahas vāen kai mūsil kati  
 aute ke+atahasu vaa+ene kaie muusili kati+e  
*place sub.sow 3sg.real.go.sp 3sg 3sg.real.follow intense.3sg*

lūvā nautenek  
 luu+vaa n+aute=neke  
 3dl.real.go loc.place.dist

*'Wherever the sow went, he followed her there'*

Gahit auh muas ato  
 gahiti auhu muasi atoo  
*3sg.real.make into pudding yam 3sg.real.kill chicken*

lingiēn  
 lingi+e=ene  
 3sg.real.put.3sg.sp

*'He made a pudding out of yams and killed a chicken and put it into it'*

#### 6.1.1.2.2. Relationships expressed by bound nominal phrases

In 4.2.2. and 4.2.3., the constructions were presented by which one nominal phrase is morphologically bound in some way to another nominal phrase as a kind of complement. These constructions will not be presented again at this stage, and the reader is simply referred back to the appropriate section.

It is also possible for a bound nominal phrase to be expressed as an argument to a verb phrase. The only such construction which is possible however, is that in which the bound nominal phrase is one of the possessive nominals (3.1.3.). The possessive nominal in this kind of construction immediately follows the verb phrase, e.g.

Kai gūk ānes  
 kaie guuke aa+ne=se  
*3sg 3sg.real.cook poss.ed.3sg.neg.exp*  
*'He only cooks for himself'*

Reheluhuluh ser  
 rehe+luhu=luhu se+re  
*1pl.incl.dis.REDUp.plant poss.leg.1pl.incl*  
*'We will do our own planting'*

(Bound suffixed nouns (3.1.4.5.2.1.) and linked nouns (3.1.4.5.2.2.) cannot, of course, follow the verb phrase as complements as they are, according to the functional criteria by which these form classes are set up, required to precede, and be attached to, the constituent they are related to. This is not possible in the case with these forms, as it is not possible for any constituent to take the place of verbal subject markers.)

#### 6.1.1.3. Relationships involving location nouns

It is semantically possible for any location noun (as described in 3.1.4.2.) to occur in any of the semantic roles expressed by the appropriate syntactic constructions described in the preceding sections. One of the defining characteristics of this subclass of nouns, however, is the fact that such nouns generally only freely occur in the spatial case, in which instance they receive zero-marking, e.g.



Vakili tovuel                      vārei      alau  
 vakīlii tōvūeli                    vaarei      alau  
*canoe 3sg.real.not exist precisely coast*  
*'There are no canoes at all along the coast'*

Ahang mat                      Tanei  
 ahango mate                      tanei  
*fire 3sg.real.die Tanei*  
*'The fire went out at Tanei'*

In all other non-nuclear constructions, as well as in the nuclear positions in the clause, location nouns seldom occur.

To express a location noun in any of these syntactic slots, it is normally necessary to appose it to a semantically compatible common noun in the construction described in 4.2.4.1. Normally, it will be apposed to the common noun *aute* 'place', and the resulting complex nominal phrase can be used in any syntactic slot at all, e.g.

Aut Tanei, mulamun                      adōen                      tahos  
 aute tanei mulamune                      a+doo=ene                      tāhosi  
*place Tanei 3sg.real.precede 3pl.real.stay.sp 3sg.real.good*  
*'It used to be good before when they lived at Tanei'*

Aut Tahi lingin                      ipu ān                      aut Līro  
 aute tahii lingi+nV                      ipuu aa+ne                      aute liiroo  
*place Tahi 3sg.real.put.comm loss poss.part.const place Liro*  
*'Tahi defeated Liro (at football)'*

It is possible, of course, for the location noun to be apposed to a more specific common noun referring to a class of places, such as *veieni* 'beach', *poalu* 'gully', *vanei* 'volcano' etc. So, for example:

Vanei Ulvelah doh                      en naintin sikstiuān  
 vanei ulvēlahi doho                      eni naintini sikstiuane  
*volcano Lopevi 3sg.real.erupt obl 1961*  
*'Lopevi volcano erupted in 1961'*

Rovaha                      en veien Lumalel  
 ro+va+haa                      eni veiene lumālele  
*lpl.incl.imm.go sp beach Lumalel'*  
*'Let's go to Lumalel'*

This syntactic restriction on the distribution of location nouns is actually not quite as strong as it is stated however. While location nouns can themselves *never* occur as prepositional objects or be bound to a linked noun, they can occasionally occur as subjects, objects and a possessors (though this is considered to be stylistically bad), e.g.

Tahi lingin                      ipu ān                      Līro  
 tahii lingi+nV                      ipuu aa+nV                      liiroo  
*Tahi 3sg.real.put.comm loss poss.part.const Liro*  
*'Tahi defeated Liro (at football)'*

Inau namūmon                      vōt usil ut  
 inau na+muūmo+ni                      voote usili ute  
*lsg lsg.real.do.tr boat follow shore*  
*'I repaired the boat (as I was going) along the shore'*

Note however, that the following only are acceptable:

Kai mai                      ranaut      Tahī  
 kaie mai                     ranaute    tahīī  
 3sg 3sg.real.come abl.place Tahī  
 'He came from Tahī'

Narolestei                    keleaut      Tanso  
 na+ro+lesi+tei                kele+aute    tansoo  
 1sg.real.neg.see.part point.place South-east Ambrym  
 'I could't see South-east Ambrym Point'

while the following are quite unacceptable:

\*Kai mai                      ran Tahī  
 kaie mai                     rani tahīī  
 3sg 3sg.real.come abl Tahī

\*Narolestei                    keleTanso  
 na+ro+lesi+tei                kele+tansoo  
 1sg.real.see.part point.South-east Ambrym

(It should be further noted that a location noun can be used also to refer to the inhabitants of that place, in which instance it functions as a common noun, and is therefore not restricted in the environments in which it can occur, e.g.

Vauleli valus                  vā              les              kail  
 vaulēlii valuse                vaa              lesi             kaile  
 Vauleli 3sg.real.row 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.see 3pl  
 'Vauleli rows to go and see them'

Marolestei                    Līro kail  
 ma+ro+lesi+tei                liiroo kaile  
 1sg.imm.neg.see.part Līro pl  
 'I don't want to see the people of Līro')

### 6.1.2. Mapping of structural relationships onto semantic roles

Having now described the nature of the syntactic relationships that hold between nominal phrases and verb phrases and their nominal phrase arguments, we can go on to describe the way in which these syntactic relationships encode particular semantic roles played by participants in an event. We can view this as a process of disambiguation, by which a number of overt and covert semantic categories cross-cuts these ambiguous morphosyntactic categories to produce a clause with an unambiguous specific role assigned to a particular participant.

The syntactically nuclear status of subject and object nominal phrases was established in 6.1.1.1. These syntactic relationships express the roles a participant plays in an event that are felt to be what Foley (1976) calls 'pragmatically salient'. The fillers of these slots are therefore chosen for their high referentiality, rather than solely for the semantic role they play in the event. The semantic interpretation that is given to the subject or object nominal phrase depends largely on the semantics of the verb phrase itself, i.e. what particular kinds of participants are regarded as semantically nuclear to the particular kind of event.

## 6.1.2.1. Subjects

The determination of the semantic role played by the subject of a clause is dependent upon the semantically (and syntactically) based subcategorisation of verbs presented in 3.2.

The subject of a transitive verb (3.2.1.) and of an active intransitive verb (3.2.2.1.) functions as an actor in an event. The actor role is defined as the entity to which an action is attributed. This includes in Paamese:

- (i) The animate or inanimate agent which acts upon another entity, e.g.

Kai divīn                      ahat vinān                      tahul  
 kaie diviini                      ahata vinaa=ni                      tahule  
 3sg 3sg.real.throw down rock 3sg.real.go up.sp rubbish  
*'He threw rocks down over the rubbish'*

Tān                      vanei gāren                      tehiauh  
 taa+nV                      vanei gaare+ni                      tehi+auhu  
 excrement.const volcano 3sg.real.spoil.tr vine.yam  
*'Volcanic ash damaged the yam vines'*

Eau deheinau  
 eau dehe+inau  
 knife 3sg.real.cut.lsg  
*'The knife cut me'*

Meteilau onen                      gahiti                      vāni  
 meteilau one+ne                      gahiti+e                      va+ani+e  
 nephew poss.man.3sg 3sg.real.make into pudding.3sg 3sg.imm.eat.3sg  
*'His nephew made it into pudding to eat it'*

- (ii) The experiencer of a caused or spontaneous mental state or event, e.g.

Nagilelen                      Pislama  
 na+gilele+nV                      pislamaa  
 1sg.real.know.comm Bislama  
*'I know Bislama'*

Kai lesinau  
 kaie lesi+nau  
 3sg 3sg.real.see.lsg  
*'He saw me'*

Kai mul                      redem  
 kaie mule                      re+demi  
 3sg 3sg.real.exist 3sg.real.REdup.think  
*'He is thinking'*

Lohon kail aloholoh                      en veien  
 lohono kaile a+loho=loho                      eni veiene  
 child pl 3pl.real.REUp.run sp beach  
*'The children ran around on the beach'*

Mail viteal  
 maile vitēali  
 Mail 3sg.real.laugh  
*'Mail laughed'*

Utiuheuh	gārali	mot	vā	netan
uti+uheuhe	gaaralii	moti	vaa	netano
<i>seed.whitewood</i>	3sg.real.spin	3sg.real.fall	3sg.real.go	<i>down</i>
<i>'The whitewood seeds spun, falling down'</i>				

The subject can also be perceived metaphorically as an agent acting upon an entity, when the object nominal phrase refers to the patient in an event involving some physical or psychological affectations of the body. The verb itself is usually one that expresses some kind of strong physical control or effect, and therefore has an actor subject. The only verbs that enter into this construction are *kuri* 'take' and *kati* 'bite'.

Mād	gurinau	Mesaien	gurinau
maade	guri+nau	mesai+ene	guri+nau
<i>sweat</i>	3sg.real.take.lsg	<i>sick.nom</i>	3sg.real.take.lsg
<i>'I am sweating'</i>		<i>'I am sick'</i>	
Holau	gurinau	Maroro	gatinau
holau	guri+nau	maroroo	gati+nau
<i>hunger</i>	3sg.real.take.lsg	<i>thirst</i>	3sg.real.bite.lsg
<i>'I am hungry'</i>		<i>'I am thirsty'</i>	
An	gatinau	Amal	gatinau
ani	gati+nau	amalo	gati+nau
<i>coldness</i>	3sg.real.bite.lsg	<i>hunger</i>	3sg.real.bite.lsg
<i>'I am cold'</i>		<i>'I am hungry'</i>	
Mēk	gatinau	Vulihesihe	gatinau
mee+ku	gati+nau	vulihesihe	gati+nau
<i>urine.lsg</i>	3sg.real.bite.lsg	<i>crotch-itch</i>	3sg.real.bite.lsg
<i>'I want to urinate'</i>		<i>'I have crotch-itch'</i>	

The subject of any non-active or non-ambient intransitive verb (3.2.2.2., 3.2.2.3., 3.2.2.4., 3.2.2.5.) functions as a patient in an event, i.e. the entity affected by the action or state identified by the verb (Johnston 1978:42). The patient role, as defined includes the entity characterised by some state, or having undergone some change of state, e.g.

Āi	mavul	Huli	esak	emat
aai	mavulu	hulii	esa+ku	emate
<i>tree</i>	3sg.real.break	<i>dog</i>	poss.leg.lsg	3sg.real.die
<i>'The tree is broken/broke'</i>		<i>'My dog is dead/died'</i>		
Aim	mak	mariso		
aimo	ma+ku	marisoo		
<i>house</i>	poss.dom.lsg	3sg.real.big		
<i>'My house is big'</i>				

It also includes the entity counted, that is, expressed by one of the numeral verbs (3.2.2.3.), e.g.

Ialu	lotās	en	ninin
ialue	lo+taa=se	eni	nini+ne
ldl.incl	ldl.incl.real.one.neg.exp	sp	<i>spirit</i> .3sg
<i>'You and I are one in spirit'</i>			

Finally, we have the semantic class of ambient verbs, which corresponds to the syntactic class of ambient verbs described in 3.2.2.3. The term 'ambient' is adopted from Chafe (1970:101-2), who uses it to refer to verbs that describe all-encompassing events expressing a general predication about

the world, and not just some particular entity or set of entities in it. An ambient verb, therefore, has no associated subject nominal phrase, e.g.

Rovetei                      Tuste    kosa  
ro+ve+tei                    tustee   kosaa  
3sg.real.neg.cop.part *Tuesday today*  
'It's not Tuesday today'

Vahe                    ialu                                      Alonge                    tahos  
va+he                    ialue                                    a+longe+e                    tǎhosi  
3sg.imm.cop 1dl.incl                    3pl.real.feel.3sg 3sg.real.good  
'May it be you and I'                    'It feels good'

Like most Oceanic languages, Paamese has no passive construction by which a subject can be demoted to some syntactically peripheral position in the clause to allow some nominal phrase to occupy the highly referential subject slot. While there is no passive, it does have a means by which a verb having an actor subject can be changed into an ambient verb, in which there is no actor participant. Impersonal constructions of this type are marked by the third person plural subject prefix, and differ formally from actor-subject constructions with a third person plural subject in that the subject pronoun *kaile* (4.1.1.1.) can never be present, e.g.

Selūsien    gaih                              avaselōsini  
seluusi+ene gaihō                      a+va+seluusi+nite  
*speak.nom*    3sg.real.hard 3pl.imm.speak.tr.3sg  
'The language is hard to speak'

Metālo    kail    ales                              kail    vatte                    tās  
metaaloo kaile a+lesi                    kaile    vat+tee                    taa=se  
*European pl*    3pl.real.see 3pl    type.indef one.neg.exp  
'All Europeans look alike'

Dalongoni                              keke    amul                                      amales                    en  
dalongo+nite                              kekee    a+mule                                    a+malese                    eni  
3sg.real.hear.tr.3sg sub    3pl.real.exist 3pl.real.rustle sp

laueas  
lau+ease  
*leaf.chestnut*

'He heard that there was rustling in the chestnut leaves'

Alonge                              tahos  
a+longe+e                              tǎhosi  
3pl.real.feel.3sg 3sg.real.good  
'It feels good'

Amūs                              vīte                              suval                                      lokohis  
a+muusi                              vii+itee                              suvali                                      loko=hisi  
3pl.real.smell smell.indef 3sg.real.resemble *pudding.banana*  
'It smells like banana pudding'

Lok                              rovattei                                      avalesinau                    vasuval  
lo+ku                              ro+vati+tei                                    a+va+lesi+nau                    va+suvali  
*interior.1sg* 3sg.real.neg.want.part 3pl.imm.see.1sg 3sg.imm.resemble

letau  
letau  
*woman*

'I don't want to look like a woman'

Tēri	vīs	onen	haite	keke	asāni
teerii	viisi	one+ne	hai+itee	kekee	a+saani+e
Terry	3sg.real.ask	poss.man.3sg	instance.indef	sub	3pl.real.give.3sg

min Tevet  
 mini tevete  
 pun.dat David

*'Terry is asking for his thing that was given to David'*

The fact that this is a separate construction, and not just a possible interpretation of the third person plural pronoun, is shown by the fact that when a subject is actually present, the clause is no longer ambient. So, contrast:

Kail	amunumun	Vauleli
kaile	a+munu=munu	vaulēlii
3pl	3pl.real.REDUp.drink	Vauleli

*'They are drinking at Vauleli'*

and:

Amunumun	Vauleli
a+munu=munu	vaulēlii
3pl.real.REDUp.drink	Vauleli

which is ambiguous between the above reading, and the ambient reading below:

*'There is drinking going on at Vauleli'.*

#### 6.1.2.2. Objects

Many Oceanic languages have very productive markings on the verb which indicate the particular semantic role played by the object in the event. These object role-markers are derived from the reconstructed Proto-Oceanic forms \*-Ci and \*-Caki(ni) (though a few verbs possibly had \*-∅ as a variant of \*-Ci, e.g. \*dogo 'hear' and \*kite 'see'). The particular role of the object is determined in such languages partly by the marking on the verb, and partly by the semantic subcategorisation of the verb itself (Pawley 1973:128). It was pointed out in 5.2.2.2.2. that these productive suffixes have been largely lost in Paamese, and indeed in a number of other Melanesian Oceanic languages, e.g. Nguna (Schütz 1969), Big Nambas (Fox 1979) and Nakanai (Johnston 1980), though they are retained in many others as listed in Pawley (1973).

##### 6.1.2.2.1. Verbs without suffixes

The majority of Paamese transitive verbs are therefore zero-marked, and take patient objects, with the patient role being interpreted as presented in the preceding section. This can therefore include the entity which receives an externally induced action (Johnston 1978:42), as in:

Kaik	kihengan	ato	kail
kaiko	ki+hengani	atoo	kaile
2sg	2sg.dis.feed	chicken	pl

*'You feed the chickens'*

Kai sōlukut                      ulumatu tāi  
 kaie soolukuti                  ulumatue taai  
 3sg 3sg.real.approach old man one  
 'He approached an old man'

Isei govenau?  
 isei gove+nau  
 who 3sg.real.throw at.1sg  
 'Who threw (it) at me?'

as well as the entity that is produced by an action, e.g.

Avu                      vitoan                      metas  
 avue                    vitoa+nV                    metaso  
 grandfather 3sg.real.make into spear.comm spear  
 'Grandfather made (it into) a spear'

Nihitīn                      hisuput  
 ni+hitiini                  hisūputi  
 1sg.dis.make into bow bow  
 'I will make (it into) a bow'

and the entity used in the performance of some action, as in:

Navōhoin                      veta  
 na+voohoi-nV                  vetaa  
 1sg.real.make into hohoi.comm breadfruit  
 'I made the breadfruit into hohoi'

#### 6.1.2.2.2. Residual transitive suffixes

It was pointed out in 5.2.2.2.2. that there actually are some transitive/intransitive pairs which are related by means of a suffix of the form -si/-ti/-ni, which would appear to be derived from the Proto-Oceanic form \*-Ci. The -si and -ti transitive suffixes are attested only on about half a dozen verbs each, and generally mark the object as being in a spatial, goal or patient role. The -ni suffix is used with a larger number of verbs, though it is not fully productive in its distribution.

The particular nature of the semantic relationship between an object and a transitive verb with -si/-ti/-ni is difficult to predict, as there has been considerable lexicalisation in the derived verb. So, compare, for example, the meanings of the following transitive/intransitive pair:

Kai mutau                      en tirausis onen  
 kaie mutau                    eni tirausise one+ne  
 3sg 3sg.real.defecate sp shorts      poss.man.3sg  
 'He defecated on his shorts'

Kai mutaut                      tirausis onen  
 kaie mutau+ti                  tirausise one+ne  
 3sg 3sg.real.defecate.tr shorts      poss.man.3sg  
 'He shat his shorts'

## 6.1.2.2.3. Reanalysis of eni

Paamese, it has been pointed out, has largely lost the original \*-Ci marker on verbs, and has retained the original \*-Caki(ni) in only a single attested form (5.2.2.2.2.). The language did not, therefore retain a productive means for the promotion of a syntactically peripheral nominal phrase to one of the syntactically nuclear slots (given that the language has no passive option either).

Following from this syntactic development, which presumably took place with the phonological reduction of the suffixes by the retraction of stress (2.9.), the language has begun to develop new means of expressing non-patient nominal phrases in object position, and marking the verb accordingly.

In the discussion of case marking by means of prepositions in 6.1.1.2.1., it was shown that the preposition eni marks the following cases:

- (i) Referential (with inanimate and non-human animate nouns)
- (ii) Oblique
- (iii) Spatial
- (iv) Purposive (with human nouns)
- (v) Causal

Of all the prepositions therefore, it is eni which has the widest range of syntactic functions.

It will also be remembered from the discussion in 6.1.1.2.1. that the preposition eni optionally becomes attached to the preceding constituent (whatever that may be) as a clitic, with the form -ni. One very commonly encountered clause frame is that in which there is an intransitive verb with a nominal phrase in one of the above cases marked by eni (which will often have the form of the clitic -ni, attached to the intransitive verb). Superficially therefore, the intransitive verb carrying the clitic -ni appears to have the same form as a transitive verb with an object, e.g.

Nagul	en atas	Kaitis volau	en ani
na+gulu	eni atasi	kaitise volau	eni anii
lsg.real.swim sp sea		Kaitis 3sg.real.climb sp coconut	
Nagulun	atas	Kaitis volaun	ani
na+gulu=ni	atasi	kaitise volau=ni	anii
lsg.real.swim.sp sea		Kaitis 3sg.real.climb.sp coconut	
'I swam in the sea'		'Kaitis climbed up the coconut tree'	

The status of the clitic -ni as a cliticised case marker rather than a verbal derivational suffix can easily be established by the following facts however:

- (i) The partitive suffix -tei is an inflectional suffix, and therefore follows any derivational suffix (5.2.1.2.3.). When the examples above undergo negation, the case marker is optionally attached to -tei in its clitic form. Thus:

Narogulutein	atas
na+ro+gulu+tei=ni	atasi
lsg.real.neg.swim.part.sp sea	
'I didn't swim in the sea'	





Inau naroselūsidei	Verānis
inau na+ro+seluusi+ni+tei	veraanis
1sg 1sg.real.neg.speak.tr.part	<i>French</i>
'I don't speak French'	

In the intransitive form however, we express the idea that the action of the predicate, when negated in this way, involves any object but the one actually expressed, e.g.

Inau narolāutei	en aman
inau na+ro+laau+tei	eni amanu
1sg 1sg.real.neg.hunt.part	obl <i>bird</i>
'I didn't hunt birds (though I did hunt other things)'	

Sai rosūsūteimun	en hēn
saie ro+suusu+tei+mune	eni hee+ne
Sai 3sg.real.neg.suck.part.add	obl <i>thumb.3sg</i>
'Sai doesn't suck his thumb any more (though he does still suck other things, e.g. his blanket)'	

Kai rosāutei	en āh	sen
kaie ro+saau+tei	eni aahe	se+ne
3sg 3sg.real.neg.visit.part	obl <i>garden</i>	poss.leg.3sg
'He didn't visit his garden (but he did visit some other places)'		

Kai rovangētei	en vuas
kaie ro+vangee+tei	eni vūasi
3sg 3sg.real.neg.pregnant.part	obl <i>pig</i>
'She didn't conceive a piglet (though she did conceive something else)'	

Inau naroselūstei	en Verānis
inau na+ro+seluusi+tei	eni veraanis
1sg 1sg.real.neg.speak.part	obl <i>French</i>
'I don't speak French (though I do speak some other language, say Bislama)'	

The contrast therefore seems to be that negation negates the entire proposition in a transitive clause, but only the object of the proposition in the intransitive clause. (Commonly, in Oceanic languages, a transitive/intransitive contrast is associated with a difference in the definiteness of the object nominal phrase. This is apparently not so in Paamese.)

This reanalysed -ni, now that it has come to be treated as a transitive marker in clauses of this type, has begun to have a more general application as a transitiviser. It has, for example, also been attested as a transitiviser deriving a transitive verb with a spatial rather than an oblique object, e.g.

Naroguludei	atas
na+ro+gulu+ni+tei	atasi
1sg.real.neg.swim.tr.part	<i>sea</i>
'I didn't swim in the sea'	

However, the promotion of non-oblique nominal phrases into object position by this means is sporadic, and not widely accepted it would appear.

(The use of the oblique marker as a transitiviser is paralleled in a number of other languages for which data is available, e.g. Lonwolwol (Paton 1971) and Big Nambas (Fox 1979). Johnston (1980) also notes that the Nakanai preposition *le* is currently undergoing reanalysis as a transitive marker.)

### 6.1.2.3. Non-nuclear relationships

The non-nuclear syntactic relationships described in 6.1.1.2. express semantic roles in an event that are pragmatically less salient. Each of these syntactic constructions expresses some general semantic relationship, which in most cases subsumes a number of particular subcategories. The disambiguation of these various subcategories is achieved by means of a number of cross-cutting semantic categories, either overt or covert, which make reference to the referential features of the nominal phrase and the particular nature of the predicate. (It would appear, however, that there is some degree of semantic overlap in these semantic categories; participants in events can therefore sometimes be expressed by more than one syntactic construction.)

Generally speaking, the bound nominal phrase constructions described in 6.1.1.2.2. express a relationship in which the referent of the nominal phrase is involved in some kind of social control, or in a dominant possessive relationship (3.1.4.5.). Analogous constructions in other Oceanic languages are generally referred to as 'possessive' constructions; this terminology is considered to be inadequate in the case of Paamese however, as there are functions of bound nominal phrases which clearly do not relate to possession (aside from the fact that 'dominant' and 'subordinate' possession (3.1.4.5.) would appear to be rather different kinds of semantic relationships themselves).

Prepositional relationships, on the other hand, express all other semantic relationships not covered by the bound nominal phrase constructions as summarised above, or by the nuclear syntactic relationships, the semantics of which was described in 6.1.2.1. and 6.1.2.2.

There is one semantic category in which there is overlap in the nature of the syntactic construction by which it is expressed, namely the area of subordinate possession. It was mentioned above that this relationship is expressed by means of a bound nominal phrase construction. This is true only with nominal phrases with animate reference however; nominal phrases with inanimate reference express this relationship by means of one of the prepositional constructions.

A summary of the basic meaning-form correlations is presented below. There will be a detailed discussion below of the nature of these general semantic categories, and of the specific semantic roles they subsume.

#### 6.1.2.3.1. Prepositionally marked relationships

##### (a) The dative cases

There are two morphologically distinct cases that we would want to call dative in that they express some kind of goal toward or physical effect upon an entity. These are referred to as the 'punctual dative' (marked by *mini*) and the 'areal dative' (marked by *veni*) respectively. The punctual dative differs from the areal dative in that while the former expresses an actual, direct physical effect upon the goal, the latter expresses a more indirect, distant effect upon the goal.

The particular functions of the dative cases, when relating a nominal phrase argument to a verb phrase, contrasting the functions of the areal and punctual dative, are described below, with examples.

TABLE 25: Basic meaning-form correlations at the clause level

	Morpho-syntactic category	General semantic categories
prepositional construction	punctual dative	direct physical effect or association with an entity
	areal dative	indirect distant effect or association with an entity
	causal	the reason for which an event takes place
	purposive	motion towards an entity with an intention to act upon it
	ablative	motion or location away from an entity or comparison with an entity
	spatial	spatial orientation of an entity
	referential	entity in mind when an action is performed
	oblique	product or instrument essentially involved in an action; temporal orientation of an event; residue
	relative	subordinate particular characteristic of inanimate entity
bound nominal phrase construction	aa-	social control with intention to eat; subordinate particular characteristic of animate entity
	mo-	social control with intention to drink, use as house, wear or sleep in
	so-	social control by traditional law or custom
	ono-	other kinds of social control; subordinate possession with alienable nouns
	linked noun	subordinate possession with linked nouns
	suffixed noun	subordinate possession with suffixed nouns

- (i) The two datives can express the animate recipient of an action involving the transfer of something. When the recipient actually physically receives the object of the transfer, the punctual form is used, e.g.

Inau nesān                 ratio onak                 mini  
 inau na+saani             ratioo ona+ku             mini+e  
 lsg lsg.real.give radio poss.man.lsg pun.dat.3sg  
 'I gave him my radio'

On the other hand, when the recipient does not actually physically receive the thing, but is still the goal in that the thing is transferred to some physical domain pertaining to him, then the areal form is used, e.g.

Onom                 vilmemun nesāni                 ven     Rei Kalimo  
 ono+mo             vilme=mune na+saani+e             veni   rei kalimoo  
 poss.man.2sg film.add lsg.real.give.3sg ar.dat Ray Gallimore  
 'I delivered your film to Ray Gallimore's too (though I didn't  
 give it to him personally)'

- (ii) The datives also express the addressee of a predicate of locution. Clearly, there can be no contrast between the punctual and areal dative, as the addressee must actually be affected to be able to be an addressee, so only the punctual form can be used. It is inconceivable for an individual to be considered an addressee unless there were actual physical perception of the locution, e.g.

Amusau                 min     Īr                 en     sukul  
 a+musau             mini     iire                 eni   sūkulu  
 3pl.real.sing pun.dat lpl.incl sp school  
 'They sang to us in school'

Nasesedulai                 mini  
 na+se+sedulai             mini+e  
 lsg.real.REdup.greet pun.dat.3sg  
 'I greeted him'

Hemāleni                 minau  
 he+maale+ni+e             mini+nau  
 3sg.dis.agree.tr.3sg pun.dat.lsg  
 'She will let me'

- (iii) Similarly, when the datives express the experiencer of a perception or an emotion, the only form possible is the punctual form as it is impossible to experience a perception or an emotion from anywhere except the individual's own self, e.g.

Vaitir selūsien hetemalēs                 minau  
 vaitiru seluusi+ene he+temalee=se             mini+nau  
 later on speak.nom 3sg.dis.easy.neg.exp pun.dat.lsg  
 'Later on, the language will be easy for me'

Pia tīsa                 mini  
 piaa tiisaa             mini+e  
 beer 3sg.real.bad pun.dat.3sg  
 'Beer is bad for him'

- (iv) The datives can express the intended goal of a verb of motion. This expresses directional movement only, and not that the goal is actually attained, e.g.

Kai valus            venaut            Vaum  
 kaie valuse        venaute            vaumo  
 3sg 3sg.real.row ar.dat.place Paama  
 'He rowed towards Paama'

This also includes motion to an animate goal; as one only approaches the area of an animate goal and one does not become spatially related to the actual physical body, the areal form of the dative is the only semantically appropriate form. In:

Hā            ven        māma  
 haa            veni      maamaa  
 2sg.imp.go ar.dat mother  
 'Go to your mother'

for example, the addressee does not go to his mother such that he is physically on his mother; rather, he is spatially related only to the physical domain pertaining to the goal.

- (v) The datives can also express the intended goal of some predicate of perception. Here again, as the goal is intended rather than achieved, the punctual form cannot occur, e.g.

Nedalong            venik  
 na+dalongo        veni+ko  
 1sg.real.listen ar.dat.2sg  
 'I was listening for you'

- (vi) The dative can also express an associative or comitative relationship. The punctual dative is used to indicate the idea that there is a close, inseparable physical relationship between the referent of the dative nominal phrase and something else, e.g.

Mul            vārei        min        Īr        keke kosa  
 mule            vaarei        mini        iire        kekee kosaa  
 3sg.real.exist precisely pun.dat lpl.incl sub now  
  
 rovain                            veiehsomok        gā  
 ro+vai+nV                        veiehe=somoke gaa  
 lpl.incl.real.weave.comm fence.cert 3sg.real.travel  
  
 raheit āh        ser  
 raheiti aahe    se+re  
 around garden poss.leg.lpl.incl

'That is with us such that now we weave a fence around our gardens'

Kaik korovisūtei                            min        letauli tāi en sīsel?  
 kaiko ko+ro+visuu+tei                    mini        letaulii taai eni siisele  
 2sg 2sg.real.neg.meet.part pun.dat girl one sp road  
 'Did you meet a girl on the road?'

Nengan            ato        dal                    min        rais  
 na+ngani        atoo        dali                    mini        raise  
 1sg.real.eat chicken 3sg.real.with pun.dat rice  
 'I ate chicken with rice'

Kai lah            ruai        min        lohon kail  
 kaie lahi        ruai        mini        lohono kaile  
 3sg 3sg.real associate pun.dat boy pl  
 'He associates with the boys'

The areal dative however indicates that there is a more approximate relationship, with the referent of the nominal phrase being only in the general area of something else, e.g.

Kai dō                      ven      tūnali  
kaie doo                    veni    tuu+nalii  
3sg 3sg.real.stay ar.dat brother.3sg.masc  
'He stayed with his brother'

Nimatil                  ven      isei?  
ni+matilu                veni    isei  
1sg.dis.sleep ar.dat who  
'Who will I be staying with?'

- (vii) The datives are used to express the animate beneficiary of an action not involving the transfer of something. When the action is performed instead of, or on behalf of the beneficiary, the punctual dative is used, as it indicates that the performer of the action takes the actual physical place of the beneficiary, e.g.

Kai dō                      tau      min      īr  
kaie doo                    tau      mini      iire  
3sg 3sg.real.exist behind pun.dat lpl.incl  
'He steered instead of us'

Kihiles                  vilai                  mini  
ki+hilesi                vilai+e                minite  
2sg.dis.turn properly.3sg pun.dat.3sg  
'Turn it properly for him (as he can't do it)'

Kaik kitai                                  mini  
kaiko ki+taite                                minite  
2sg 2sg.dis.chop.3sg pun.dat.3sg  
'You cut it for him (as he can't do it)'

Inau nūmoni                                minik?  
inau ni+umo+nite                            minite+ko  
1sg 1sg.dis.do.tr.3sg pun.dat.2sg  
'Shall I do it for you instead?'

Amūmon                    tahatianien                  min      vekaho                  kail  
a+muumo+ni                ta=hati+ani+ene                  mini      vekahoo                  kaile  
3pl.real.do.tr one.piece.eat.nom pun.dat circumcised boy pl  
'They made some food on behalf of the circumcised boys'

In contrast, we have the areal dative beneficiary, who is the one who receives the benefit of some action that is not being done in one's place, but purely for one's benefit, e.g.

Navīs                      ven      kail  
na+viisi                    veni    kaile  
1sg.real.pray ar.dat 3pl  
'I prayed for them'

Auvol                      Tahi ven      Pitie  
au+volu                    tahii veni    pitiee  
3pl.real.dance Tahi ar.dat BDA  
'They danced at Tahi for the BDA (i.e. British District Agent)'

The same basic relationship of goal or physical effect also holds between the referents of two nominal phrases that are syntactically related by one of the two dative cases. This general relationship is manifested in the following particular ways:

- (i) The datives can express an associative relationship between two entities. This association can be either a direct physical association, which is marked by the punctual dative, or an approximate association, which is marked by the areal dative. Note therefore an example such as the following, in which the punctual dative is used:

Avasi	mini
a+vasi+e	mini+e
3pl.real.give birth to.3sg	pun.dat.3sg
<i>'He was born with them (i.e. freckles)'</i>	

The areal dative however, is used to relate the location noun *vesěsali(i)* 'nearby' to another nominal phrase, as in:

Kai dō	vesesal	venaut	ut
kaie doo	vesěsali	venaute	ute
3sg	3sg.real.stay nearby	ar.dat.place	shore
<i>'He lives near the shore'</i>			

The fact that the punctual dative is not used relates to the semantics of *vesěsali(i)*, which itself expresses only an areal relationship and not a direct relationship.

- (ii) The punctual dative is involved in the expression of phrasal conjunction. The particular construction used is one in which the conjoined nominal phrase is related by the preposition *mini* to a pronominal form expressing the total number of members of the conjunction. This can then be adjoined to a nominal phrase to which the second is semantically phrasally conjoined, e.g.

Inau ialu	minikomun	lomūm	Nevatīnat
inau ialue	mini+ko=mune	lo+muumo	nevatiinatu
lsg	ldl.incl	pun.dat.2sg.add	ldl.incl.real.work
<i>'I was working with you at Nevatīnat'</i>			

Inau komal	min	Mail	malumūm	Tanei
inau komalu	mini	maile	malu+muumo	tanei
lsg	ldl.excl	pun.dat	Mail	ldl.excl.real.work
<i>'Mail and I were working at Tanei'</i>				

Anien	āmil	min	Siti	kēk
ani+ene	aa+milu	mini	sitii	kee=ke
eat.nom	poss.ed.2dl	ar.dat	Siti	sub.prox
<i>'This is your's and Siti's food'</i>				

Kamil	min	Siti	muluvāve?
kamilu	mini	sitii	mulu+vaa=vee
2dl	pun.dat	Siti	2dl.real.go.where
<i>'Where did you and Siti go?'</i>			

The fact that the areal dative is not used in this construction derives from the fact that when we speak of phrasal conjunction, we treat the referents of the two nominal phrases as filling the same semantic function in a single predication, and so are in this sense in a direct rather than areal relationship.



- (iii) The punctual dative can also indicate a direct, controlling physical relationship over an entity, e.g.

Kai vē                      avat min        meteimal  
 kaie ve                     avatu mini     meteimali  
 3sg 3sg.real.cop head pun.dat village  
 'He is the leader of the village'

The areal dative, expressing as it does only an indirect physical relationship with an entity, is again incompatible in this specific role.

(b) Causal

The third prepositionally marked case we will discuss is that which we have called the 'causal'. This is marked by either of the two prepositions *eni* and *veni*, though *veni* appears to be more frequently used than *eni* in this function. (It has not been possible to establish any semantic difference between these two prepositions in marking the causal role, and both simply appear to indicate the cause or reason for which an event takes place. Further investigation however, may reveal some semantic distinction between the use of the two prepositions.)

The causal prepositions can only ever link a nominal phrase to a verb phrase; there are no complex nominal phrases (4.2.1.) that are linked by one of these prepositions with a causal function.

In the following examples, we see that the causal role can be marked by *veni*:

Meteisau    kail asī                      kail ven vakili  
 meteisau    kaile a+sii+e                  kaile veni vakīlii  
 skilled man pl    3pl.real.happy.prop 3pl    caus canoe  
 'The skilled men were happy with the canoe'

Amules                      agov                      lit ĩr  
 a+mule=se                  a+gove                  liti iire  
 3pl.real.exist.neg.exp 3pl.real.stone chase lpl.incl  
 ven vatiarānek  
 veni vati+araa=neke  
 caus tree.nandau.dist

'They would chase us with stones because of that nandau tree'

Telusel                      tetovoai ven vuasinek  
 telu+selu                  tetovoai veni vūasi=neke  
 3dl.real.speak in turns caus pig.dist  
 'They argued over the pig'

Rovānian                      ven molatin kail kekēk  
 ro+va+ani=ani              veni molātine kaile kekee=ke  
 lpl.incl.imm.REDUp.eat caus person pl    sub.prox  
 'Let's eat in honour of these people'

Naviteal                      vareis                      ven huli kã lohon kail  
 na+vitčali                  vaarei=se                  veni hulii kaa lohono kaile  
 lsg.real.laugh precisely.neg.exp caus dog cl boy pl  
 'I really laughed at the dogs and the boys'

Auval                      ven loholu  
 au+valu                      veni lohōluu  
 3pl.real.tabu caus boar  
 'They are tabu because of the boars'

Kai vūruh                    ven tāta onen  
 kaie vuuruho                veni taataa one+ne  
 3sg 3sg.real.angry caus father poss.man.3sg  
 'He is angry with his father'

Kai vūti                        ven tītān  
 kaie vuuti+e                 veni tiitaa+ne  
 3sg 3sg.real.show off.3sg caus offspring.3sg  
 'He is showing off about his son'

Nagil                    atan ven asilat  
 na+gili                atano veni asilati  
 1sg.real.dig ground caus worm  
 'I dug the ground for worms'

Adō                    alau ven aies  
 a+doo                alau veni aie+se  
 3pl.real.stay coast caus fish.neg.exp  
 'They just stay on the coast for the fish'

The following examples however, indicate that the same semantic role can also be expressed by eni:

Kai metau                    en māv  
 kaie metau                 eni maavi  
 3sg 3sg.real.afraid caus lizard  
 'He is afraid of lizards'

Rōs vit                    amal gati                    en taunehek  
 roose vite                amalo gati+e                eni taunehe=ke  
 Rose 3sg.real.say hungry 3sg.real.bite.3sg caus thing.prox  
 'Rose said she was hungry for that thing'

Nale                    kati                    en hēn  
 na+lee                kati+e                eni hee+ne  
 1sg.real.see intense.3sg caus leg.3sg  
 'I looked after him because of his leg'

Molatin kail haulu auvin                    en amal  
 molātine kaile haulue au+vinu            eni amalo  
 person pl many 3pl.real.die out caus hunger  
 'Many people died of hunger'

Nemasmasik                en lē katien                onom  
 na+masasi+ko            eni lee kati+ene            ono+mo  
 1sg.real.thank.2sg caus see intense.nom poss.man.2sg  
 'I thank you for your care'

Alen sila    Salas en asa?  
 alene sila+a                                    salase eni asaa  
 Alan 3sg.real.send on errand.prop Salas caus what  
 'What did Alan send Salas to do?'

Kai vīsinau                    en mane  
 kaie viisi+nau                eni manee  
 3sg 3sg.real.ask.1sg caus money  
 'He asked me for money'

## (c) Purposive

The purposive case is marked by *eni* with nominal phrases with human reference and *veni* with nominal phrases with non-human reference. It expresses the general idea that the agent of an action is engaged in some motion towards a goal or indulges in an activity with the intention of doing something to that entity. Since the role expressed by the purposive involves the statement of some activity taking place, it can be used to relate only nominal phrases to verb phrases, and cannot relate two nominal phrases in a complex nominal phrase construction (4.2.1.).

The following examples illustrate the semantic functions of this syntactic category:

Kai mai enau  
 kaie mai enau  
 3sg 3sg.real.come purp.lsg  
 'He came to (get) me'

Kai volaun vatiani ven anīs  
 kaie volau=ni vati+anii veni anii=se  
 3sg 3sg.real.climb.obl tree.coconut purp coconut.neg.exp  
 'He climbed the coconut tree just for coconuts'

Where there is motion towards a goal, but with no intention of doing something to that entity, the purposive is inappropriate and the areal dative will be used instead. So, contrast the meaning of the first example presented above with that of the following example:

Kai mai venau  
 kaie mai venau  
 3sg 3sg.real.come ar.dat.lsg  
 'He came to(wards) me'

The distinction between the purposive and causal cases does not appear to be fully regular however. There seems to be some degree of idiosyncrasy in the distribution of the prepositions *eni* and *veni* in these semantic functions. For instance, the verb *hiisi* 'ask for' requires that it have a causal complement rather than a purposive complement. Thus:

\*Kai vīsinau ven mane  
 kaie viisi+nau veni manee  
 3sg 3sg.real.ask.lsg ar.dat money

is unacceptable, even though the role of *manee* in this event is semantically compatible with both the definition of purpose presented above, and the definition of cause presented in the preceding section.

## (d) Relative

The basic semantic function of the relative relationship, marked by the preposition *teni*, is to express something as a particular characteristic of some event or entity.

It is actually seldom used to relate nominal phrase arguments to verb phrases, though when it is, it indicates that the action performed for the purpose of doing something to the referent of the nominal phrase such that it is in a special characteristic relationship to the predicate, e.g.

Kai vas ten sīsel  
 kaie vasu teni siisele  
 3sg 3sg.real.give birth rel road  
 'She gave birth to the road (i.e. she gave birth to an illegitimate child)'

Kosa kosakin asa ten tomahin?  
 kosaa ko+saki+ni asaa teni tomahine  
*today 2sg.real.do.tr what rel grandmother*  
 'What did you do to your grandmother today?'

The relative preposition is normally only used to relate a nominal phrase argument to another nominal phrase. In this kind of construction, it expresses the following particular semantic roles:

- (i) It can indicate that the referent of the relative nominal phrase is to be used as part of the referent of the head of the complex phrase, e.g.

ala ten sīv	mās ten ratio
alaa teni siivi	maase teni ratioo
<i>sail rel ship</i>	<i>antenna rel radio</i>
'sail of a ship'	'radio antenna'
asem ten vakili	
aseme teni vakīlii	
<i>outrigger rel canoe</i>	
'outrigger of the canoe'	

- (ii) It can also indicate that the entity is used for the purpose of making the referent of the head of the complex nominal phrase. The above examples are therefore ambiguous between a purposive reading and a part-whole reading:

ala ten sīv	mās ten ratio
alaa teni siivi	maase teni ratioo
<i>sail rel ship</i>	<i>antenna rel radio</i>
'sail for a ship'	'antenna for a radio'
asem ten vakili	
aseme teni vakīlii	
<i>outrigger rel canoe</i>	
'outrigger for a canoe'	

- (iii) Finally, it can express the fact that one entity is seen as being particularly characteristic of some other entity. The relative case only expresses this semantic role, however, when the case-marked nominal phrase has inanimate reference, e.g.

molatin ten atas	ais ten kāstom
molātine teni atasi	aise teni kaastomo
<i>person rel sea</i>	<i>name rel tradition</i>
'coastal person'	'traditional name'
aut ten alang	sauen ten vakili
aute teni alangi	sautene teni vakīlii
<i>place rel wind</i>	<i>sing.nom rel canoe</i>
'windy place'	'song for singing in canoes'

(When the nominal phrase has animate reference, this relationship is expressed in the manner described in 6.1.2.3.2.2.)

- (e) Ablative

The ablative case, marked by the preposition rani, expresses basically the idea of motion or location away from an entity. Used to relate a nominal phrase argument to a verb phrase, it expresses the entity from which a motion or transfer originates, e.g.

Mahul lāti ranik  
 ma+huli laati+e rani+ko  
 1sg.imm.buy out.3sg abl.2sg  
*'I would like to purchase it from you'*

Lohon kail aloholoh ranau  
 lohono kaile a+loho=loho rani+nau  
 child pl 3pl.real.REDUpl.run abl.1sg  
*'The children ran away from me'*

Eas dupas ran ahang  
 easu dupasu rani ahango  
 smoke 3sg.real.smoky abl fire  
*'The smoke is rising up from the fire'*

When used to relate two nominal phrases it expresses the idea that one is located away from the physical domain of the other. This kind of construction is possible only when the first nominal phrase is sautine 'far off' or halee 'outside', e.g.

hale	ran	aim	sautin	ranaut	Vaum
halee	rani	aimo	sautineranaute	vaumo	
outside	abl	house	far off	abl.place	Paama
		<i>'outside the house'</i>			<i>'a long way from Paama'</i>

The noun vesēsali(i) 'nearby' is also compatible with this case, as well as the areal dative, as described in (a) above, e.g.

vesesali vesesalii nearby	}	ran	}	sukul
		rani		sūkulu
		abl		church
		ven		
		veni		
		ar.dat		
				<i>'near the church'</i>

The ablative can also be used to refer to something against which an entity is compared, e.g.

Angani tēsav ran tauneh kailek  
 a+ngani+e teesavo rani taunehe kaile=ke  
 3pl.real.eat.3sg 3sg.real.different abl thing pl.prox  
*'It tastes different from these things'*

(f) Spatial

The spatial case is marked by the preposition eni, except with location nouns (3.1.4.2.), in which instance it has zero-marking. This case expresses a wide range of semantic roles relating to the spatial orientation of an entity. When used to relate a nominal phrase argument to a verb phrase, these particular roles are:

(i) The location at which an event takes place, e.g.

Nadetengairil en atan  
 na+detengairilu eni atano  
 1sg.real.kneel sp ground  
*'I knelt on the ground'*

Inau nadō                      Tahal nesa tueitinek  
 inau na+doo                    tahalu nesaa tueitine=ke  
 lsg lsg.real.stay Tahal above long time.prox  
 'I have been staying at Tahal Nesa for a long time now'

Mulenikos  
 mule=ni+ko=se  
 3sg.real.exist.sp.2sg.neg.exp  
 'It's entirely up to you'

Alingin                    isen                    mulen                    Mail  
 a+lingi+nV                ise+ne                  mule=ni                  maile  
 3pl.real.put.comm name.3sg 3sg.real.exist.sp mail  
 'They named Mail'

(ii) The location to which a motion takes place, e.g.

Aumai                    en veien                    Naumot                    en atan  
 au+mai                    eni veiene                  nau+moti                  eni atano  
 3pl.real.come sp beach                    lsg.real.fall sp ground  
 'They came to the beach'                    'I fell to the ground'

Amual                    vā                    en leiai  
 a+muali                    vaa                    eni lei+ai  
 3pl.real.walk 3sg.real.go sp stand of timber.tree  
 'They walked into the bush'

Mahāris                    telaim kēk  
 ma+haa=risi                telaimo kee=ke  
 lsg.imm.go.rep home                    sub.prox  
 'I am going back home now'

(iii) The location from which a motion originates, e.g.

Oai simisim                    en tāng  
 oai simi=simi                    eni taange  
 water 3pl.real.REDUp.leak sp tank  
 'The water leaked from the tank'

(The distinction between the ablative and spatial cases in an example such as this possibly reflects a distinction between motion from a location at a particular place and location from a general area, with the spatial expressing the former and the ablative the latter. It is therefore possible to say:

Kai mai                    ranaut Tahi  
 kaie mai                    ranaute tahii  
 3sg 3sg.real.come abl.place Tahi  
 'He came from Tahi'

but not:

\*Kai mai                    enaut Tahi  
 kaie mai                    enaute tahii  
 3sg 3sg.real.come sp.place Tahi  
 'He came from Tahi')

(iv) The collective set of entities from which a particular entity is referred to, e.g.

Alesi                      tēsav                      en vakili kailek  
 a+lesi+e                  teesavo                    eni vakīlii kaile=ke  
 3pl.real.see.3sg 3sg.real.different sp canoe pl.prox  
*'It looked different from these canoes'*

Auvāsuk                  amul                      en metālo  
 au+vaa=suko              a+mule                    eni metaaloo  
 3pl.real.go.sub 3pl.real.exist sp European  
*'Then they went and stayed among the Europeans'*

The spatial case marker eni can relate two nominal phrases in which the first expresses a spatial relationship to something else.

naim	en	sukul	nesa	en	hau
naimo	eni	sūkulu	nesaa	eni	hauo
<i>inside</i>	sp	<i>church</i>	<i>above</i>	sp	<i>hill</i>
<i>'inside the church'</i>			<i>'on top of the hill'</i>		

It can also be used when the first nominal phrase refers to something from among a larger set of things, e.g.

tasīte                      en kail  
 tasi+itee                  eni kaile  
*last born.indef* sp 3pl  
*'the last born of them'*

#### (g) Referential

Semantically, this case is rather restricted, expressing the entity in mind when an action is performed. Since it involves the expression of some action, it cannot be used to relate two nominal phrases to form a complex nominal phrase (4.2.1.). The only kinds of verb phrases which can take a referential argument formally marked by the preposition mini with human nominal phrases and eni with all others, are verbs of locution or verbs indicating some action performed on somebody's behalf, e.g.

Sai mūm                      tetohoni                  min Morasi  
 saie muumo                  tetohoni+e              mini morasii  
 Sai 3sg.real.do imitate.3sg ref Morasi  
*'Sai did it in imitation of Morasi'*

Mahiteni                  tūnuen                  tāi en meteimal onak  
 ma+hite+ni                  tuunu+ene taai eni meteimali ona+ku  
 1sg.imm.say.tr chat.nom one ref village poss.man.1sg  
*'I will tell a story about my village'*

Viteni                      mini                      en rēn                      tovuli  
 vite+nite                  mini+e                    eni ree+nV                  tovulii  
 3sg.real.say.tr.3sg pun.dat.3sg ref voice.const old lady  
*'She told him about the old lady's opinion'*

Avakōt                      minik  
 a+va+kooti                  mini+ko  
 3pl.imm.hold court ref.2sg  
*'They are going to hold court in discussion of you'*

Avilehilei                  min molatin tāi tenaut Līman  
 a+vile=hilei                  mini molātine taai tenaute liimanu  
 3pl.real.REDUp.gossip ref person one rel.place Epi  
*'They gossiped about someone from Epi'*

## (h) Oblique

This is a case with a very wide range of semantic functions, about which little generalisation can be made except perhaps that it often indicates the entity involved in an event either as a product or instrument essential to that event (i.e. the event could not be considered to be the same event without the obliquely marked nominal phrase). It would perhaps seem best to regard this as a semantic 'residue' class. The various particular roles of this case are described below:

- (i) The inanimate instrument by which an agent performs an action, e.g.

Naduvon                    aman en ahis  
na+duvo+nV                amanu eni ahisu  
1sg.real.shoot.comm bird obl rifle  
*'I shot the bird with a rifle'*

Namuasi                    en vaulev  
na+muasite                eni vauleve  
1sg.real.kill.3sg obl club  
*'I hit him with a club'*

- (ii) The material out of which something is constructed or composed, e.g.

Amūmon                    alok en ahis  
a+muumo+ni                aloko eni ahisi  
3pl.real.do.tr pudding obl banana  
*'Pudding is made out of banana'*

- (iii) What is sometimes referred to as a 'factitive', i.e. the entity which comes into being as the result of an action, e.g.

Avisē                        kail en meteisau  
a+visete                    kaile eni meteisau  
3pl.real.call.prop 3pl obl skilled man  
*'They called them meteisau'*

Mahī̄sainikon                selūsien        tenaut        Vaum  
ma+hiisai+ni+ko=ni        seluusi+tene    tenaute        vaumo  
1sg.imm.teach.tr.2sg.obl speak.nom    rel.place Paama  
*'I am going to teach you Paamese'*

Kovī̄sinau                    en kueistin  
ko+viisi+nau                eni kueistini  
2sg.real.ask.1sg obl question  
*'You asked me a question'*

Nematil                    volavol en ulumatu tāi  
na+matilu                    vola=vola eni ulumatue taai  
1sg.real.sleep dream obl old man one  
*'I dreamt about an old man'*

Kai evil                    mutiv            en ara  
kaie evilu                    mutive            eni araa  
3sg 3sg.real.cough 3sg.real.spit obl blood  
*'He coughed, spitting blood'*

Kai makul                    en selūsien        tāi  
kaie makulu                    eni seluusi+tene    taai  
3sg 3sg.real.cooee obl speak.nom    one  
*'He cooed a message'*



- (iv) The entity that is obligatorily expressed for a proposition to be complete, i.e. the entity with reference to which some predication is made, e.g.

Kai vena	en mane	Nasin	en aisin
kaie venaa	eni manee	na+sinu	eni ai+sinu
3sg 3sg.real.steal	obl money	1sg.real.dress	obl inst.dress
'He stole money'		'I wore clothes'	
Nagulūl	en mane	Nagoteh	en metareh
na+gulu=ulu	eni manee	na+gotehe	eni metarehe
1sg.real.REDUp.shake	obl money	1sg.real.shut door	obl door
'I rattled the money'		'I shut the door'	
Kogalokal	en hēk	Navūsai	eni vakili
ko+galo=kalo	eni hee+ku	na+vuusai	eni vakīlii
2sg.real.REDUp.move	obl hand.1sg	1sg.real.tip over	obl canoe
'You moved my hand'		'I tipped over the canoe'	
Ateli evil	en ara	Aleleak	en vakili
ateli evile	eni araa	a+leleaki	eni vakīlii
basket 3sg.real.full	obl lychee	3pl.real.take on maiden trip	obl canoe
'The basket is full of lychees'		'They took the canoe out on its maiden trip'	
Avalus	en vakili		
a+valuse	eni vakilii		
3pl.real.row	obl canoe		
'They rowed the canoe'			

Note that in examples such as those given above, there is no contrast between their function of the oblique case, and a nominal phrase in object position with respect to the verb, as these are all intransitive, and cannot, therefore, take a direct object.

- (v) The idea of 'with relation to', e.g.

Sākari vē	usūs	en tauneh
saakarīi ve	usu=usu	eni taunehe
Sakarī 3sg.real.cop	persistent	obl thing
'Sakarī is persistent at things'		
Tirausis onak	mariso	enik
tirausise ona+ku	marisoo	eni+ko
shorts poss.man.1sg	3sg.real.big	obl.2sg
'My shorts are too big for you'		
Kai tahos	en sauen	
kaie tāhosi	eni sautene	
3sg 3sg.real.good	obl sing.nom	
'He is good at singing'		

- (vi) The point or duration of time during which an event takes place, e.g.

Kai matil	en hauspitel	vongien tāi
kaie matilu	eni hauspitele	vongiēne taai
3sg 3sg.real.sleep	sp hospital	night one
'He slept for one night in the hospital'		
Vē	marīte kā vā	Ostrelia en auh etel
ve	mari+itee kaa vaa	ostreliaa eni auhu etelu
3sg.real.cop	big.indef cl	3sg.real.go Australia
'He grew up and went to Australia for three years'		obl year three

Tokita kail alesi                      kā avit                      heromūmotei  
 tokitaa kaile a+lesi+e                  kaa a+vite                  he+ro+muumo+tei  
*doctor pl 3pl.real.see.3sg cl 3pl.real.say 3sg.dis.neg.work.part*

ten avong etel  
 teni avongi etelu  
 obl day three

*'The doctor saw him and said he shouldn't work for three days'*

Naromūmotei                      avong elu veni                  asuv mesai  
 na+ro+muumo+tei                  avongi elua veni+e              asuvo mesai  
 lsg.real.neg.work.part day two caus.3sg boss 3sg.real.sick  
*'I haven't worked for two days because the boss is sick'*

We could, in view of the wide range of semantic functions expressed by this case, choose to treat it as a residual category, with which a nominal phrase is marked if it does not meet the conditions for marking in some other way.

The apparent idiosyncratic nature of this case perhaps reflects the fact that it has only comparatively recently come to be used with such a wide range of functions. It was pointed out in 6.1.2.2.2. that the original Proto-Oceanic transitive suffixes \*-Ci and \*-Caki(ni) were lost in Paamese, and the language therefore had no means at its disposal for the expression of various types participants in an event as syntactically nuclear arguments in the clause. It could be suggested that the least marked of the cases was the spatial, and that this preposition simply came to be used with this wide range of additional functions. The fact that we need to distinguish the two cases is reflected in the special behaviour of the spatial case when the nominal phrase is referred to anaphorically. In not using the special clitic form -ene, the oblique demonstrates its later development, as it still uses the regular prepositional marking with a pronominal trace.

#### 6.1.2.3.2. Relationships expressed by bound nominal phrases

There is a wide variety of constructions of this type, as described in 4.2.2. and 4.2.3. They all express one of two basic semantic relationships, which are normally covered under the single heading of 'possession'. It is a particular characteristic of Melanesian Oceanic languages that there is an elaborate formal system for the marking of different particular kinds of possessive relationships, and in this respect, Paamese is quite typical. (See Lynch (1973, 1982) for a general treatment of Oceanic possession.)

As suggested above, we do in fact need to recognise two basic types of 'possessive' relationship. Following the frequently used terminology of Oceanic grammars, these can be referred to as 'dominant' or 'active' possession on the one hand, and 'subordinate' or 'passive' possession on the other. (The reader is referred to a discussion of these different kinds of relationships in 3.1.4.5.)

(It was pointed out in 6.1.2.3. above that it is not strictly accurate to refer to these relationships as involving possession. The so-called subordinate possessive relationship, for instance, would appear to be quite different to the dominant possessive relationship. Also, the dominant possessive relationship can be used to relate nominal phrases to verb phrases, where there is no question that possession is involved.)

## 6.1.2.3.2.1. Social control

For reasons just outlined, the term 'possession' is considered inappropriate. The kinds of relationship we are considering at this point all involve, not possession, but the question of social control of an entity over something else. The relationships whereby this kind of semantic role operates are all expressed by means of one of the four possessive nominals (3.1.3.; 4.2.3.2.): *ono-*, *so-*, *mo-* and *aa-*. Each of these possessive nominals expresses a particular range of semantic relationships that holds between the referents of the nominal phrases and either another nominal phrase or a verb phrase.

The relationship of social control subsumes both the particular relationships of possession and the benefactive relationship, as will be shown below. Although one might want to treat these as fundamentally different roles, the fact that a great many languages in the world, including of course, Paamese, mark them identically, makes this seem unlikely. To find some semantic fact in common between possession and benefactive is not normally quite as simple as it appears to be in Paamese however.

(a) *Aa-*

The relationship that holds between a nominal phrase and some other constituent that involves the possessive nominal *aa-* involves social control where there is some intention to eat something.

Where this construction relates two nominal phrases, it means that one possesses the other, with an intention to eat. Thus:

<i>auh</i> <i>āk</i>	<i>vuas</i> <i>āk</i>
<i>auhu aa+ku</i>	<i>vūasi aa+ku</i>
<i>yam</i> poss.ed.lsg	<i>pig</i> poss.ed.lsg
' <i>my yams (to eat)</i> '	' <i>my pork</i> '
<i>alok</i> <i>āk</i>	
<i>aloko aa+ku</i>	
<i>pudding</i> poss.ed.lsg	
' <i>my pudding</i> '	

That the possessor intends to eat the referent of the possessed nominal phrase normally presupposes that it is cooked and ready for eating, or that if it is not cooked, that it does not require it, and is considered edible as it is. If the referent of the nominal phrase is uncooked, but would need to be cooked to be considered edible, then it is not obligatorily associated with this possessive nominal. For instance, a bag of rice would be referred to as either:

<i>āk</i>	<i>rais</i>
<i>aa+ku</i>	<i>raise</i>
poss.ed.lsg	<i>rice</i>

using the edible possessive nominal, or as:

<i>onak</i>	<i>rais</i>
<i>ona+ku</i>	<i>raise</i>
poss.man.lsg	<i>rice</i>

using the manipulative possessive nominal (see below). A cooked plate of rice however, if it were to be eaten, could only be expressed as *aa+ku raise*.

(Note however, that the possessive nominal *aa-* is also used to express a particular kind of subordinate possession, in which there is a particularising relationship between the referent of the possessor and the possessed nominal phrases, and the possessor is animate (6.1.2.3.2.2.).)

When this construction is used to relate a nominal phrase to a verb phrase, the possessive nominal *aa-* indicates that the action is performed according to a specific social obligation such that someone else may eat, e.g.

Lel	rovattei	vakūk	ānes
le+le	ro+vati+tei	va+kuuke	aa+ne=se
<i>interior.3pl</i>	<i>3sg.real.neg.want.part</i>	<i>3sg.imm.cook</i>	<i>poss.ed.3sg.neg.exp</i>
<i>'They don't want him to cook for himself'</i>			
Romulesuk	rosinahang	āl	nāmal
ro+mule=suko	ro+sinahango	aa+le	n+aamali
<i>lpl.incl.real.exist.sub</i>	<i>lpl.incl.real.roast</i>	<i>poss.ed.3pl</i>	<i>loc.meeting house</i>
<i>'Then we just roast for them in the meeting house'</i>			

## (b) Mo-

This possessive nominal involves the expression of basically two social relationships, i.e. where there is an intention to drink, or where there is an intention to use for domestic purposes. This is clearly an example of polysemy, as there is no semantic common ground between the potable and domestic uses of this possessive nominal.

When used to relate two nominal phrases, *mo-* of course expresses possession. Firstly, it indicates the fact that the referent of the first nominal phrase intends to drink the referent of the possessed nominal phrase, e.g.

ani	mak	oai	mak
anii	ma+ku	oai	ma+ku
<i>green coconut</i>	<i>poss.pot.lsg</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>poss.pot.lsg</i>
<i>'my green coconut (to drink)'</i>		<i>'my water (to drink)'</i>	

(For a discussion of the partly unpredictable morphological variants of this possessive nominal, and also of *so-* and *ono-*, see the discussion in 4.2.3.2. Note also that in Paamese, the notion of 'drinkable' does not necessarily entail that something be liquid. Quite a number of things that are actually chewed, sucked or eaten are considered drinkable, as the prime purpose of the action in these instances is to extract the juice to be swallowed. What remains then may or may not be swallowed itself. The following are therefore considered to be drinkable:

sigom	sigomo	<i>'chewing gum'</i>
ateh	atehi	<i>'sugar cane'</i>
suka	sukaa	<i>'sugar'</i>
melen	melene	<i>'watermelon'</i>
lōle	loolee	<i>'lolly'</i>
aiskrim	aiskrimi	<i>'ice-cream'</i>
māgo	maagoo	<i>'mango'</i>
amol	amoli	<i>'orange'</i>

Secondly, it indicates that the possession is domestic. This can include:

- (i) Possession of houses or anything used as a house, and the various parts of a house, e.g.

aim	mak
aimo	ma+ku
<i>house</i>	<i>poss.dom.lsg</i>
<i>'my house'</i>	

Other nouns of this type include the following:

anu	anuu	'nest, place to give birth'
vale	valee	'burrow'
atu	atuu	'womb'
sūven	suuvene	'placenta'
metareh	metarehe	'door'
peis	peisi	'back wall'
hoiaim	hoitaimo	'roof'

(ii) Possession of clothing and things used for sleeping, e.g.

aisin	mak
ai+sinu	ma+ku
inst. <i>dress</i>	poss.dom.lsg
'my clothes'	

Other such nouns include the following:

pulagit	pulagite	'blanket'
materes	materese	'mattress'
avet	avete	'bed'
sūven	suuvene	'pandanus mat'
arong	arongi	'coconut leaf mat'

When used to relate a nominal phrase to a verb phrase, it indicates that the action is performed under social obligation for someone to drink, e.g.

Kaik	kimuni	mak
kaiko	ki+muni+e	ma+ku
2sg	2sg.dis. <i>drink</i> .3sg	poss.pot.lsg
'You drink it for me'		

(c) So-

The so- possessive nominal expresses the social relationship that holds when the relationship is determined by traditional law or custom, e.g.

aut	sak
aute	sa+ku
place	poss.leg.lsg
'my place (according to law)'	

When linking two nominal phrases, it indicates possession by law, which is seen to pertain in the following instances:

(i) With respect to one's home, village and patrilineage, e.g.

telaim	telaimo	'home'
aut	aute	'place (i.e. home island/ village/country)'
meteimal	meteimali	'village'
vulitelaim	vuli+telaimo	'ancestral home'
vatitelaim	vati+telaimo	'patrilineage'

(ii) With respect to one's land, everything growing or living on it, and all natural features found on it, e.g.

aut	aute	'place (i.e. area of land)'
atan	atano	'territory'
vatihau	vatihau	'garden plot'
eau	eau	'bamboo'
anien	anitene	'food (planted on land)'

aman	amanu	'bird (living on land)'
auh	auhu	'yam (planted on land)'
oai	oai	'spring'
āh	aahe	'garden'

(iii) One's domesticated animals, e.g.

huli	hulii	'dog'
ato	atoo	'chicken'
buluk	buluku	'cow'
aman	amanu	'pet bird'

Similarly, when used with a verb phrase, it indicates that the action is performed for someone in some way determined by traditional law, e.g.

Kosa	reheluhuluh	sen	Ērik
kosaa	rehe+luhu=luhu	se+nV	eerike
today	1pl.incl.dis.REDU	plant	poss.leg.const Eric
'Today we will do the planting for Eric'			
Atahas	sak	mul	nganian
atāhasu	sa+ku	mule	ngani+ani
sow	poss.leg.1sg	3sg.real.exist	3sg.real.REDU
		eat	
	sen	asuv	nāh
	se+nV	asuvo	n+aahe
	poss.leg.const	chief	loc.garden
'My sow was eating the chief's food in the garden'			
Visuvong	ikol	sen	Soel
visūvongi	i+koli	se+ne	soele
tomorrow	3pl.dis.hoe	poss.leg.const	Joel
'Tomorrow, they will do Joel's hoeing'			

(d) Ono-

The possessive nominal *ono-*, when it marks social relationships in this way, is used to express a manipulative relationship or a relationship whereby some inanimate entity is used functionally or instrumentally, e.g.

vakili	onak	telai	onak
vakīlii	ona+ku	telai	ona+ku
canoe	poss.man.1sg	axe	poss.man.1sg
'my canoe'		'my axe'	

The possession of domestic items can also be viewed in this way, and so can express possession either by means of the domestic possessive nominal or the manipulative possessive nominal with no apparent change of meaning, e.g.

aim	mak	aim	onak
aimo	ma+ku	aimo	ona+ku
house	poss.dom.1sg	house	poss.man.1sg

'my house'

Of the five relationships of social control described in the preceding sections (i.e. edible, potable, domestic, legal and manipulative), the unmarked category is clearly the manipulative category. The unmarked status of the category is indicated in the following facts:

- (i) Excretions, parts of the body and psychological manifestations of the individual which may hold with certain individuals and are not necessarily characteristic of all people are regarded as being possessed in this way, e.g.

metave onak	manu onak
metavee ona+ku	manue ona+ku
<i>sleep</i> poss.man.lsg	<i>sore</i> poss.man.lsg
' <i>sleep in my eye</i> '	' <i>my sore</i> '
redemien onak	
re+demi+ene ona+ku	
REdup. <i>think</i> .nom poss.man.lsg	
' <i>my idea</i> '	

This is clearly not a manipulative relationship in the same sense as described above.

(Note that permanent parts of the body, excretions and products of the body that are a characteristic part of everybody's body are in a subordinate possessive relationship, which is expressed by means of suffixed nouns (6.1.2.3.2.2.).)

- (ii) Subordinate possession with nouns that do not belong to the formal class of bound form nouns as described in 3.1.4.5.2. is also expressed by means of the manipulative possessive nominal, e.g.

sūsu onak	tāta onak
suusuu ona+ku	taataa ona+ku
<i>breast</i> poss.man.lsg	<i>father</i> poss.man.lsg
' <i>my breast</i> '	' <i>my father</i> '
rahivo onak	
rahivoo ona+ku	
<i>snot</i> poss.man.lsg	
' <i>my snot</i> '	

- (iii) Borrowed nouns referring to entities in subordinate possessive relationships to an animate entity all express the subordinate possessor by means of the manipulative possessive nominal *ono-*, e.g.

brata onak	strīng onak
brataa ona+ku	striingi ona+ku
<i>brother</i> poss.man.lsg	<i>vein</i> poss.man.lsg
' <i>my brother</i> '	' <i>my vein</i> '

It is also used to relate a nominal phrase to a verb phrase to express a social relationship not covered in the preceding sections, e.g.

Lumūmon	perēn	olalu		
lu+muumo+ni	pereene	o+lalue		
3sl.real.do.tr	<i>friend</i>	poss.man.3dl		
	' <i>They made friends with each other</i> '			
Tomaki vā	mūm	onen	asuvonek	
tomakii vaa	muumo	one+nV	asuvo=neke	
<i>Tomaki</i>	3sg.real.go	3sg.real.work	poss.man.const	<i>chief</i> .dist
	' <i>Tomaki went and worked for that boss</i> '			

## 6.1.2.3.2.2. Subordinate possession

It was pointed out in 6.1.1.2.2. that the bound nominal phrase construction is also used to express the relationship of 'subordinate possession', which holds between the referents of two nominal phrases. (It was pointed out also that on semantic grounds, this relationship would appear to be quite different to that described in the immediately preceding sections. The fact that there are formal parallels however, suggests that we should treat these as related phenomena of 'possession'.)

On formal, as well as semantic grounds, we can recognise two basic types of subordinate possessive relationships. On the one hand, we have a relationship in which the referent of the nominal phrase is seen as being particularly characteristic of some other entity, while on the other hand, we have a non-particularising subordinate possessive relationship.

## (a) Particularising subordinate possession

When there is a particularising, characteristic relationship holding between the referent of one nominal phrase and other, this is expressed by means of a special construction. When the nominal phrase has inanimate reference, this is expressed by using the relative preposition *teni* (6.1.2.3.1.(d)). When it has animate reference however, it is expressed by means of the possessive nominal *aa-* (otherwise used to express edible social control, as described in 6.1.2.3.2.1.(a)). This use of the edible possessive nominal, it will be noted, parallels the dual function of this form in many Oceanic languages as a marker of particularising subordinate possession (Lynch 1982).

There are two basic kinds of semantic relationships that are considered to be of this general type. They are what Olson (1979) calls the 'benefactive' and 'characteristic' relationships. The benefactive is that relationship which holds with nouns referring to something that is specially reserved for a particular individual or to be used in some way on or for that individual and no-one or nothing else, e.g.

<i>ām</i>	<i>āi</i>
<i>aa+mo</i>	<i>aai</i>
poss.part.2sg	<i>stick</i>
	<i>'your stick (which you are going to be hit with)'</i>
<i>ām</i>	<i>sitrav</i>
<i>aa+mo</i>	<i>sitrave</i>
poss.part.2sg	<i>belt</i>
	<i>'your belt (which you are going to be strapped with)'</i>
<i>ām</i>	<i>sinek</i>
<i>aa+mo</i>	<i>sineki</i>
poss.part.2sg	<i>snake</i>
	<i>'your snake (said during a game of 'Snakes and Ladders' to someone who had had a good run of ladders and it was felt deserved a snake)'</i>
<i>atuv</i>	<i>ām</i>
<i>atuvo</i>	<i>aa+mo</i>
<i>arrow</i>	poss.part.2sg
	<i>'your arrow (which you are going to be shot with)'</i>



ahol                    ām  
 aholi                    aa+mo  
*intended spouse* poss.part.2sg  
*'your intended spouse (who is in a sense reserved for you at birth by virtue of your position in the kinship system)'*

usīte                    ām  
 usi+itee                aa+mo  
*side.indef* poss.part.2sg  
*'your half (said when two people who had chased and caught a pig, and both had a right to carry it home, one by holding the front legs and the other by holding the back legs)'*

sīho                    ām  
 siihoo aa+mo  
*mask*                    poss.part.2sg  
*'your mask (which I am going to frighten you with)'*

ipu                    ām  
 ipuu aa+mo  
*loss*                    poss.part.2sg  
*'your loss/disadvantage (in playing a game)'*

Note also the following very common expression:

ām                    tahos  
 aa+mo                tāhosi  
 poss.part.2sg 3sg.real.good

which means something like *'What has been reserved for you is good'*. This expression is used when someone asks for trouble and gets it, and is equivalent in usage to English *'Serves you right'*.

This construction is also used to express the characteristic relationship, which means that relationship in which the possessor is criterially characterised by being associated with the referent of the possessed nominal phrase. This relationship holds with the following kinds of nouns:

- (i) Nouns referring to sores and other temporary bodily afflictions that are particularly and individually characteristic of someone, e.g.

manu āk  
 manue aa+ku  
*sore*                    poss.part.1sg  
*'my (unusually large or numerous) sores'*

utua āk  
 utuaa aa+ku  
*boil*                    poss.part.1sg  
*'my boils'*

āk                    aut  
 aa+ku                autu  
 poss.part.1sg *lice*  
*'my lice'*

arul āk  
 aruli aa+ku  
*ear wax*                poss.part.1sg  
*'my ear wax'*

āk                    mesaien  
 aa+ku                mesaitene  
 poss.part.1sg *sick.nom*  
*'my disease'*

- (ii) Nouns referring to a thing that is particularly associated with one thing or individual, e.g.

haiali ān                      uīt  
 haialii aa+nV                  uiita  
*sucker* poss.part.const *octopus*  
 'an octopus' suckers (there being no other thing that has  
 such suckers)'

hopu ām  
 hopuu aa+mo  
*penis* poss.part.2sg  
 'your penis (used as a joking term of abuse to indicate that the  
 addressee has a particularly unusual penis, unlike anyone else's)'

sauen ān                      voiāsu  
 sautene aa+nV                  voiaasue  
*sing.nom* poss.part.const *owl*  
 'the owl's song (i.e. a song specially about the owl and  
 nothing else)'

alual ānes  
 alu=alu aa+ne=se  
*life force* poss.part.3sg.neg.exp  
 'his life force (i.e. that abstract entity by which he  
 retains his hold on life and mental stability)'

(b) Non-particularising subordinate possession

This kind of subordinate possessive relationship is expressed by a variety of formal constructions, as summarised in 6.1.2.3. These include the suffixed noun construction for the class of suffixed nouns (4.2.3.1.), the linked noun construction for the class of linked nouns (4.2.2.) and the unmarked possessive nominal *ono-* with other kinds of nouns in this semantic relationship (4.2.3.2.).

As was mentioned in 6.1.2.3.2.1. (d) above, the manipulative possessive nominal *ono-* is used to express non-particularising subordinate possession when the noun is one that cannot take direct suffixes, or undergo direct attachment of the possessor noun by the constructions described in 4.2.3.1. and 4.2.2. Nouns which fall into this class are described in 3.1.4.5.3. and include the following:

(i) Some nouns referring to permanent parts of the body or products of the body, e.g.

sūsu	suusuu	'breast'
rengareng	renga=renga	'calf'
uikōko	uikookoo	'larynx'
uerelelem	ue+re+delemi	'oesophagus'
husi	husio	'muscle'

(ii) Some kin terms, e.g.

avu	avue	'grandfather'
tāta	taataa	'father'
uan	uani	'cross-cousin'
meteilau	meteilau	'nephew'
māma	maamaa	'mother'
avov	avovo	'maternal uncle'

As was pointed out in 3.1.4.5.2., there are over two hundred noun roots that are obligatorily bound to some other form. When these enter into a subordinate possessive relationship, these are therefore bound to the head of the possessor nominal phrase. There are two such subclasses of bound form nouns.

On the one hand, we have the suffixed nouns (3.1.4.5.2.1.) and on the other hand, we have the linked nouns (3.1.4.5.2.2.).

### 6.1.2.3.3. Overlap

The term 'overlap' is used by Lynch (1975) to describe the phenomenon that is common in Melanesian Oceanic languages in which a nominal phrase is able to occur in more than one possessive construction, with an accompanying, largely predictable change in meaning. At this point, we will describe for Paamese phenomena of this kind, where there is some kind of structural and semantic contrast between nominal phrases in relationships of either social control (6.1.2.3.2.1.) or subordinate possession (6.1.2.3.2.2.).

#### 6.1.2.3.3.1. Social control

It is very common for a nominal phrase to be associated with a variety of possessive nominals according to the particular type of social control that relates the referents of the two nominal phrases. For example, the nominal phrase *anii* 'green coconut' can be used with a variety of possessive nominals, with a variety of meanings. In the phrase:

<i>ani</i>	<i>mak</i>
<i>anii</i>	<i>ma+ku</i>
<i>green coconut</i>	<i>poss.pot.lsg</i>

it would mean that the speaker intended to drink the water of the green coconut, while in:

<i>ani</i>	<i>āk</i>
<i>anii</i>	<i>aa+ku</i>
<i>green coconut</i>	<i>poss.ed.lsg</i>

it would mean that the speaker intended to eat the white flesh inside. The phrase:

<i>ani</i>	<i>sak</i>
<i>anii</i>	<i>sa+ku</i>
<i>green coconut</i>	<i>poss.leg.lsg</i>

would refer to the coconuts growing in the speaker's plantation. Finally, the phrase:

<i>ani</i>	<i>onak</i>
<i>anii</i>	<i>ona+ku</i>
<i>green coconut</i>	<i>poss.man.lsg</i>

is used when the speaker's intentions towards the coconut are in some sense manipulative, i.e. where the intention is to use it as an implement of some kind. It could perhaps mean that the speaker intends to use the coconut as a rolling-pin to flatten out roasted breadfruit on a sago-stem before adding thickened coconut milk in making the meal known as *hohoi*.

Similarly, we find that:

<i>āmal</i>	<i>mor</i>
<i>aamali</i>	<i>mo+re</i>
<i>meeting house</i>	<i>poss.dom.lpl.incl</i>

is used to mean 'our meeting house' when the intention is to sleep in it, while in:

āmal                   orer  
 aamali               ore+re  
*meeting house* poss.man.lpl.ind

the intention of the speakers towards the meeting house is to use the meeting house in some other way, perhaps simply to hold a meeting.

It is possible for a noun that is marked for possession with ono-, when that noun would ordinarily be marked with one of the other forms, to be given a metaphoric meaning. For instance, the noun auhu 'yam' would usually be associated with either the aa- nominal to express the speaker's intention to eat the yam, or with so- to express the fact that the yam belonging to the speaker was growing in his garden. However, in the phrase:

auh onak  
 auhu ona+ku  
*yam* poss.man.lsg

in which the unmarked possessive nominal is used, the normal meaning for auhu would instead be 'year' (i.e. yam season), e.g.

Auh onak               tuadivaiv  
 auhu ona+ku       tuadivaivi  
*yam* poss.man.lsg *twenty-five*  
 'I am twenty-five years old (i.e. my yam seasons are twenty-five)'

Similarly, the noun oai 'water' would normally be associated with mo- to express the speaker's intention to drink the water, or with so- to express the fact that the water is flowing on the speaker's land. It can however be used with ono-, if, for example, it were someone's water for washing clothes.

(The fact that Melanesian languages have these different possessive nominals is often quoted as evidence for the existence of 'noun classes'. This is misleading however, as it is not generally the case that 'gender' is lexically determined, but depends upon the speaker's intentions to the head noun phrase of the construction.)

#### 6.1.2.3.3.2. Subordinate possession

Just as nominal phrases can enter into various kinds of relationships of social control, so too can they relate to each other in more than one relationship of subordinate possession, with accompanying differences of meaning. There can, therefore, be a contrast between non-particularising and particularising subordinate possession. For example, in the phrase:

manu onak  
 manue ona+ku  
*sore* poss.man.lsg

the meaning is simply that the speaker has a sore, with nothing particularly odd or characteristic about it. But in:

manu āk  
 manue aa+ku  
*sore* poss.part.lsg

the speaker means that the sore is very large, or perhaps rather unusual, in a way that marks the speaker as being different from anybody else.

In the case of nouns with animate reference, it is also possible for a nominal phrase to enter into relationships expressing either social control or subordinate possession. (This contrast is not possible with inanimate nouns, as only animate entities can exert social control.) So, for instance, we find complex nominal phrases such as the following:

iāt	ten	vuas	vuluvul	ten	tovuli
iaate	teni	vūasi	vulu=vulu	teni	tovulii
<i>yard</i>	rel	<i>pig</i>	<i>hole</i>	rel	<i>old lady</i>
		<i>'pig yard'</i>			<i>'hole for the old lady to be buried in'</i>

which express a subordinate possession relationship. These contrast semantically with:

iāt	onen	vuas	vuluvul	onen	tovuli
iaate	one+nV	vūasi	vulu=vulu	one+nV	tovulii
<i>yard</i>	poss.man.const	<i>pig</i>	<i>hole</i>	poss.man.const	<i>old lady</i>
		<i>'the pig's yard'</i>			<i>'the old lady's hole'</i>

which express social control. (Note however, that, as pointed out in 6.1.2.3.2.1. (d) non-particularising subordinate possession is ordinarily expressed with the possessive nominal *ono-* with an animate nominal phrase, these examples are therefore ambiguous, and express relationships both of social control and of subordinate possession. Note further however, that this kind of ambiguity is not possible with nominal phrases of high referential status, such as personal names and pronouns. With such nominal phrases, only the possessive nominal can be used, though this will still allow ambiguity. Thus:

vōlet	ām	*vōlet	tenik
voolete	aa+mo	voolete	teni+ko
<i>bullet</i>	poss.part.2sg	<i>bullet</i>	rel.2sg
	<i>'bullet that you are going to be shot with'</i>		

### 6.1.3. Modifier relationships

Having described in some detail the nature of the syntactic and semantic relationships that hold between nominal phrase arguments to other phrase-level constituents within the clause, we now go on to describe the nature of the relationships that hold between modifiers (as described in 3.6.) and other constituents. It was pointed out in 3.6. that there are in fact two quite distinct types of modifiers, phrase-level and clause-level modifiers. These will be discussed separately below.

#### 6.1.3.1. Clause-level modifiers

Clause modifiers relate to the other constituents of the clause rather loosely; they can therefore occur clause initially, finally and also between the subject nominal phrase and the verb phrase, with no appreciable differences in meaning, e.g.



- (iii) When they modify a transitive verb, they follow the object, as there can be no constituent intervening between a transitive verb and the following object nominal phrase (6.1.1.1.), e.g.

Kai ngan veta keses  
 kaie ngani vetaa kese=se  
 3sg 3sg.real.eat breadfruit only.neg.exp  
 'He only eats breadfruit'

Kongan vetātai?  
 ko+ngani vetaa=tai  
 2sg.real.eat breadfruit.comp  
 'Have you eaten the breadfruit?'

Amūmon uotasaplai tai olel  
 a+muumo+ni uotasaplai tai ole+le  
 3pl.real.do.tr water supply comp poss.man.1pl  
 'They have already built their water supply'

Haitēk gulāt oreliaman tai kaiteluk  
 haitee=ke gulaati oreli+amanu tai kaitelu=ku  
 thing.prox.3sg.real.remove egg.bird comp pcl.prox  
 'He has taken out the three birds eggs now'

Koakailek aduvon moltahal tai kail  
 ko+kaile=ke a+duvo+N mola=tahalu tai kaile  
 indef.pl.prox 3pl.real.shoot.comm person.Tahal comp pl  
 'They had already shot the people of Tahal'

The only exception to this is when the verb is marked with the partitive suffix *-tei* (5.2.1.2.3.), which can be immediately followed by a modifier, e.g.

Mādei vārei veta  
 ma+ani+tei vaarei vetaa  
 1sg.imm.eat.part precisely breadfruit  
 'I would really like to eat some breadfruit'

Narongadei velah verēt  
 na+ro+ngani+tei velahi vereete  
 1sg.real.neg.eat.part ong bread  
 'I haven't eaten any bread yet'

Nirongadeiris veta  
 ni+ro+ngani+tei=risi vetaa  
 1sg.dis.neg.eat.part.rep breadfruit  
 'I won't eat any more breadfruit'

Mamudeili oai!  
 ma+muni+tei=lii oai  
 1sg.imm.drink.part.em water  
 'I would really like to drink some water'

It should also be pointed out that there are some free form phrase-level modifiers which optionally reduce to clitic status in running speech. These are the following:

Free Form	Clitic Form	
tai	-tai	'completive'
eni	-ni	'preposition (5.2.2.3.)'

Free Form	Clitic Form	
ekoke	-koke	'here'
evee	-vee	'where'
isei	-sei	'which (person), who'
asaa	-saa	'which (thing), what'

Thus, note the following examples:

Kaik kōvāve?	Matou oneseinek?
kaiko koo+vaa=vee	matou one+nV=sei=neke
2sg 2sg.real.go.where	copra poss.man.const.who.dist
'Where are you going?'	'Whose is that copra?'
Kai matilukok	
kaie matilu=koke	
3sg 3sg.real.sleep.here	
'He sleeps here'	

which alternate with:

Kaik kōva eve?
Matou onen iseinek?
Kai matil ekok

respectively.

Semantically, free form phrase-level modifiers add to the meaning of the phrase according to the definitions presented in 3.6.2., and also as described in 6.1.3.2. The semantics of bound form phrase-level modifiers are described in 6.1.3.2.2. and 6.1.3.2.3. below.

#### 6.1.3.2.1. Aspectual modifiers

These only occur on verb phrases, and express the fact that an action or a state is completed or ongoing.

The modifier *tai* indicates that an action has been performed and that the performance of that action has been completed at the time of reference. This clitic is purely a marker of aspect, and can therefore co-occur with any marking for mood, e.g.

Kovīsinau	kovit	en	Sulai	inau	nīhātai
ko+viisi+nau	ko+vite	eni	sulai	inau	nii+haa=tai
2sg.real.ask.1sg	2sg.real.say	obl	July	1sg	1sg.dis.go.comp

Vīla vuol  
viilaa vūoli  
Vila or

'You asked me if I will have already gone to Vila in July'

Lok	vati	mānian	tai
lo+ku	vati+e	ma+ani=ani	tai
interior.1sg	3sg.real.want.3sg	1sg.imm.REDUp.eat	comp
'I would like to have eaten'			

Nauvātai Līro  
nau+vaa=tai liiroo  
1sg.real.go.comp Liro  
'I have been to Liro'



When used in a stative clause, it indicates that the state expressed results from some process that has taken place at some time prior to the time of reference, e.g.

Haulūtai		Tahos	tai
hauluu=tai		tāhosi	tai
<i>much.comp</i>		3sg.real. <i>good</i> comp	
<i>'It's (become) a lot'</i>		<i>'It's (become) good'</i>	
Mat	tai		
mate	tai		
3sg.real. <i>die</i> comp			
<i>'He has died'</i>			
Oreliato	āk	vē	tītānetai
oreli+atoo	aa+ku	ve	tiitaa+ne=tai
<i>egg.chicken</i> poss.ed.lsg	3sg.real.cop	<i>offspring</i> .3sg.comp	
<i>'My egg has got a chicken in it'</i>			
Inau tai		Sion kai taik	
inau tai		sione kaie tai=ke	
lsg comp		John 3sg comp.prox	
<i>'It's me'</i>		<i>'Here is John now'</i>	

(Note that in these last two examples, the aspectual modifier follows the nominal phrase adjunct to a copular verb phrase. It is pointed out in 5.3.2.1. that in the third person singular affirmative realis form, the copula he can have zero-realisation.)

The modifier *netine* is similar in meaning to *tai*, but differs from it in that it marks immediate completion of an action or change of state, e.g.

Selūsien	teni	kai	netinek
seluusitene	teni+e	kaie	netine=ke
<i>speak.nom</i>	rel.3sg	3sg	rec.prox
<i>'The story about it is just that'</i>			
Kai mat		netin	alingin
kaie mate		netine	a+lingi+nV
3sg	3sg.real. <i>die</i> rec	3pl.real.put.comm	<i>cement</i>
<i>'They put the cement on when he had only just died'</i>			
Agasi	kosa	netin	
a+gasi+e	kosaa	netine	
3pl.real. <i>wash</i>	3sg	<i>today</i> rec	
<i>'They washed it just today'</i>			
Koanik	vinvin	netin	
koani=ke	vinvinu	netine	
indef.prox	3sg.real. <i>appropriate</i> rec		
<i>'This one is just right'</i>			

The modifier *velahi* is the converse of *tai*, expressing the ongoing rather than the completive aspect of an event with respect to the time of reference, e.g.

Inau tai,	Sios	velah
inau tai	siose	velahi
lsg comp	<i>George</i>	ong
<i>'I've been (tagged), there's still George'</i>		

Havivi velah  
 havivii velahi  
*small ong*  
*'There's still a bit'*

Inau naromunūtei velah  
 inau na+ro+munuu+tei velahi  
 lsg lsg.real.neg.dive.part ong  
*'I haven't been diving yet'*

Siti vē litetais velah  
 sitii ve litetai=se velahi  
 Siti 3sg.real.cop young man.neg.exp ong  
*'Siti is still only a young man'*

Namules velah nenganian  
 na+mule=se velahi na+ngani=ani  
 lsg.real.exist.neg.exp ong lsg.real.REDUp.eat  
*'I am still eating'*

(Note that the negative form of the verb is semantically incompatible with the modifier *tai*, as this indicates completive action, whereas negation indicates that the action is not yet completed. Thus:

\*Inau naromūmotei tai  
 inau na+ro+muumo+tei tai  
 lsg lsg.real.neg.work.part comp)

#### 6.1.3.2.2. Deictic modifiers

There are two bound modifiers (clitics) used to express deixis, relating an event or the participants in an event to some point in time or space relative to the speaker or the time of utterance. Any constituent that carries one of the deictic clitics is necessarily definite (i.e. the speaker assumes that the hearer already knows which particular member of a general class he is talking about). The two deictic clitics have the forms *-ke* and *-neke*, and the difference between them is essentially that the *-ke* marks PROXimity, while *-neke* marks DISTance.

The proximate deictic *-ke* has the primary function of locating some activity, or some participant in an event, in the immediate spatial proximity of the speaker, or in temporal space at precisely the moment of utterance. In the following examples, we see the clitic *-ke* used to express spatial proximity:

Tausek!  
 tau=se=ke  
 2sg.imp.defecate.neg.exp.prox  
*'Just shit right here'*

Komītātai komatiluk?  
 ko+miiāta=tai ko+matilu=ke?  
 2sg.real.come down.comp 2sg.real.sleep.prox  
*'You have come back, and are you sleeping here?'*

Mane ten noaisek  
 manee teni noaise=ke  
 money rel before.prox  
*'This is the money from before'*

Asāk?		Aimok	onak
asaa=ke		aimo=ke	ona+ku
what.prox		house.prox	poss.man.lsg
'What's this?'		'This house is mine'	
Meleto	kokolen	āratel	vuas kailuek
mele+too	ko+kole+nV	aa+ratelu	vūasi kailue=ke
2dl.dis.stay	REdup.cover.comm	poss.ed.lpcl.incl	pig dl.prox
'You two stay and guard these two pigs of ours (to eat)'			

In the following examples, we see the clitic -ke used to express temporal immediacy:

Redemien	onen	ulumatu	kemul
re+demi+ene	one+nV	ulumatue	ke+mule
REdup.think.nom	poss.man.const	old man	sub.3sg.real.exist
mūmoni	kailek		
muumo+nite	kaile=ke		
3sg.real.do.tr.3sg	pl.prox		

'These were the ideas of the old man who was doing it'

Lok	bobongin	hatte	koviteniek
lo+ku	bobongini	hat+tee	ko+vite+nite=ke
interior.lsg	3sg.real.forget	matter.indef	2sg.real.say.tr.3sg.prox
'I have forgotten the matter which you are talking about'			

Adain	avong	vasuval	visuvongik
a+dai+nV	avongi	va+suvali	visūvongi=ke
3pl.real.chop.comm	day	3sg.imm.resemble	tomorrow.prox

luvatetalihel
lu+va+tetalihel
3dl.imm.marry

'They decided on the day, such that the very next day they would be married'

Kai netinek	Aut lanik
kaie netine+ke	aute lani=ke
3sg rec.prox	place 3sg.real.daylight.prox
'That's all now'	'It is daylight now'

Rolesi	kosāk	riou	vasī	kail
ro+lesite	kosaa=ke	riou	vasiie	kaile
lpl.incl.real.see.3sg	now.prox	hermit crab	all	3pl

aling	suain	lasel	vān
a+lingi	suai+ni	lase+le	vaa=ni
3pl.real.put	disappear.tr	testicle.3pl	3sg.real.go.sp

volamesalo
vola+mesaloo
empty.shell

'Today, we see that all hermit crabs conceal their testicles in empty shells'

The clitic -neke is the converse of -ke, expressing distance rather than proximity. In the following examples, we see that -neke marks an activity or some participant in an activity as being located out of the spatial proximity of the speaker.

Asānek?  
 asaa=neke  
*what.dist*  
 'What's that?'

Navonginek molatin kail haulu auva amulen  
 n+avongi=neke molātine kaile haulue au+vaa a+mule=ni  
*loc.time.dist person pl many 3pl.real.go 3pl.real.exist.sp*

aut Sado  
 aute sadoo  
*place Santo*

*'At that time, there were many men who had gone to live in Santo'*

The clitic -neke of course also has temporal reference, in which case it indicates that the state or activity is non-immediate, and took place at some time prior to the time of utterance, e.g.

Tauneh koan matulesīnek vē  
 taunehe koani matu+lesi+e=neke ve  
*thing indef lpcl.excl.real.see.3sg.dist 3sg.real.cop*

presen kail  
 presene kaile  
*present pl*

*'The things we saw then were the presents'*

The deictic clitics also mark proximity in discourse as well as in time and space. The clitic -ke therefore marks that nominal phrase which is the current topic of discussion. In the following example, we see that -ke marks the nominal phrase that has immediate mention in the discourse:

Asuv etel keke telulah ruai teluselūs  
 asuvo etelu kekee telu+lahi ruai telu+seluusi  
*chief three sub 3dl.real.carry gather 3pcl.real.speak*

Amītāsuk adōn aut tās.  
 a+miiitaa=suko a+doo=ne aute taa=se.  
*3pl.real.come down.sub 3pl.real.stay.sp place one.neg.exp*

Adō Ūru auh tās evus,  
 a+doo uurue auhu taa=se evusi  
*3pl.real.stay Uru year one.neg.exp 3sg.real.finish*

asuv kaiteluk teluvāsuk telules tīser  
 asuvo kaitelu=ke telu+vaa=suko telu+lesi tiisere  
*chief pcl.prox 3pcl.real.go.sub 3pcl.real.see teacher*

tāmun mīta  
 taa=mune miitaa  
*one.add 3sg.real.come down*

*'There were three chiefs who met and spoke. Then they came down to live at a single place. They lived at Uru for only one year, then these chiefs went and saw another teacher who had come'*

The clitic -neke marks a nominal phrase in discourse as being previously mentioned, but not the current topic of discussion, and so is in a sense being recalled, e.g.

Temat kai musau		kolen		hanoali	hos
temate kaie musau		kole+nV		hanoalii	hosi
<i>devil</i>	3sg	3sg.real.sing	<i>cover.comm</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>good</i>
taik	vīven		suval		kai.
tai=ke	vii+ve+ne		suvali		kaie
comp.prox	<i>smell.body.3sg</i>	3sg	3sg.real.ressemble		3sg
Lūva	lūva	viō,	amul		auvol.
luu+vaa	luu+vaa	vio	a+mule		au+volu
3dl.real.go	3dl.real.go	<i>until</i>	3pl.real.exist		3pl.real.dance
Kā kai mul		netin	musau		kolen
kaa kaie mule		netine	musau		kole+nV
cl	3sg	3sg.real.exist	rec	3sg.real.sing	<i>cover.comm</i>
					hanoalīnek
					hanoalii=neke
					<i>person.dist</i>

*'The devil 'sang' the mortal (i.e. non-spirit man) so his body smell was like his. They went on and on dancing. And he was just 'singing' that mortal man'*

These two demonstrative clitics enter into a particular relationship with a verb of the form *muko* (3.2.2.5.). This verb is exceptional in that it requires one of these two clitics to be associated with it. It functions as a deictic verb, expressing the manner in which an event is perceived, e.g.

Amules		aselū		mukok
a+mule=se		a+seluusi		muko=ke
3pl.real.exist.neg.exp		3pl.real.speak		3sg.real.thus.prox
tahos	rovaha			
tāhosi	ro+va+haa			
3sg.real.good	lpl.incl.imm.go			

*'They were just speaking like this: "Ok, let's go"'*

Adaingeingen		selūsien		kā	mukonek
a+daingeinge+ni		seluusi+ene		kaa	muko=neke
3pl.real.ignorant.tr	<i>speak.nom</i>	cl	3sg.real.thus		<i>dist</i>
					<i>'They didn't know the language, and that's how it was'</i>

Kosa	romukteimunenek
kosaa	ro+muko+tei=mune=neke
now	3sg.real.thus.part.add.dist
	<i>'It's not like that any more'</i>

Mukosek
muko=se=ke
3sg.real.thus.neg.exp.prox
<i>'It's just so-so'</i>

### 6.1.3.2.3. Non-deictic bound modifiers

#### (a) EXTreme -visi

This clitic is of restricted distribution, apparently only ever being used in exclamations, and not occurring with any other clitic. It indicates that the

constituent to which it attaches describes an event or an entity which the speaker perceives to be extreme or unusual in some way, e.g.

Tahosivisi!	Ostrelia mariautevis!
tāhosi=visi	ostreliaa mari+aute=visi
3sg.real.good.ext	Australia big.place.ext
'It was really good'	'Australia is a really huge place'

It is frequently used with repetition of the modified constituent either with some other emphatic clitic (e.g. -moke) or with no such clitic. When used in this way, it is difficult to describe its meaning except to say that the speaker perceives the event or entity to be exceptionally notable. Some examples of this construction are given below:

Aut	Ulvelah	alesi	tahosivisi	tahos
aute	ulvelahi	a+lesi+e	tāhosi=visi	tāhosi
place	Lopevi	3pl.real.see.3sg	3sg.real.good.ext	3sg.real.good
	'Lopevi looks just fantastic!'			

Ahi	tamemai	kotahosivisi	kotahosimok
ahii	tame+mai	ko+tāhosi=visi	ko+tāhosi=moke
God	father.1pl.excl	2sg.real.good.ext	2sg.real.good.tru
	'God, our father, you are absolutely good'		

Molatinevis	molatin
molātine=visi	molātine
person.ext	person
	'There were lots and lots of people'

Langū	muasievis	muas	atan
langi+ue	muasi+e=visi	muasi	atano
wind.rise	3sg.real.hit.3sg.ext	3sg.real.hit	land
	'The cyclone really hit the island'		

(b) EMotion -lii

This clitic is very frequently used, and indicates that the utterance is an expression of emotion on the part of the speaker relating to some aspect of the event being described. The range of emotions that can be signalled in this way is very wide, ranging from negative emotions such as pity, shame, fear, sorrow etc., to positive emotions such as excitement, affection, humour etc. Some examples of utterances marking negative emotions in this way are presented below.

Tāli	kai	sak	ras	valoh
taa=lii	kaie	saki	rasi	va+loho
one.em	3sg	3sg.real.do	unable	3sg.imm.run
	'One poor boy couldn't run away' (PITY)			

Maileli	vātai	Naumat	taili
maile=lii	vaa=tai	nau+mate	tai=lii
Mail.em	3sg.real.go.comp	lsg.real.die	comp.em
	'Mail has gone' (SADNESS)	'I am dead' (SADNESS)	

Kosāli	vā	vā	mukonek
kosaa=lii	vaa	vaa	muko=neke
now.em	3sg.real.go	3sg.real.go	3sg.real.thus.dist
	'Unfortunately, today it goes like that' (REGRET)		

Ue, metālōli!  
 ue metaaloo=lii  
*oh European.em*  
 'Oh, a European' (FEAR)

Marimāveli!  
 mari+maave=lii  
*big.lizard.em*  
 'Oh, a big lizard' (FEAR)

Aut mutinuli  
 aute mutinu=lii  
*place 3sg.real.hot.em*  
 'It's so hot' (EXASPERATION)

MariSaimonoli  
 mari+saimono=lii  
*big.Simon.em*  
 'Big Simon' (RIDICULE)

The following exemplify the marking of positive emotions:

Ahieli  
 ahie=lii  
*Malay apple.em*  
 'Oh, Malay apples' (GLEE)

Ahīli vē kopoi  
 ahii=lii ve kopoi  
*God.em 3sg.real.cop cowboy*  
 'Oh, so God is a cowboy' (WONDER)

Āmalili orer  
 aamali=lii ore+re  
*meeting house.em poss.man.lpl.incl*  
 'Oh, our meeting house' (AFFECTION)

Ōm gaiholi  
 oo+mo gaiho=lii  
*penis.2sg 3sg.real.hard.em*  
 'Oh, you've got a hard on' (HUMOUR)

The emotion clitic -lii can also be used to make an imperative more polite, adding the idea of deference, e.g.

Haus tinvīseli  
 hausi tinviise=lii  
*2sg.imp.carry tinned fish.em*  
 'Please bring some tinned fish'

Kikātaunauli.  
 ki+kaatau+ni+nau=lii  
*2sg.dis.help.tr.lsg.em*  
 'Please help me'

Maileli amai  
 maile+lii amai  
*Mail.em 2sg.imp.come*  
 'Mail, please come here'

(c) NEGative EXPEctation -se

This is a very widely used clitic, and expresses either exclusiveness or some kind of contrast. The two notions appear to be semantically related, and this relationship appears to be captured by the generalisation that the speaker is expressing some kind of event that is contrary to his expectation.

In the following examples, we see that -se indicates that the action or entity carrying this clitic is marked as being exclusive from any other action or entity:

Isei vā Līro? Inaus  
 isei vaa liiroo inau=se  
*who 3sg.real.go Liro lsg.neg.exp*  
 'Who went to Liro? Just me'

Inau nian alokos  
 inau ni+tani aloko=se  
*lsg lsg.dis.eat pudding.neg.exp*  
 'I will only eat pudding'

Kaikosesuk      kodo?  
 kaiko=se=suko    ko+doo  
 2sg.neg.exp.sub 2sg.real.stay  
 'Are you staying on your own now?'

This clitic also indicates that an event is something other than what was expected, especially when it is the converse that was expected, e.g.

Isen      mules  
 ise+ne    mule=se  
 name.3sg 3sg.real.exist.neg.exp  
 'He's got a name (rather than being nameless)'

Selūsien    onomai                    temalēs  
 seluusi+ene ono+mai                    temalee=se  
 speak.nom    poss.man.1pl.excl 3sg.real.easy.neg.exp  
 'Our language is easy (rather than being difficult)'

Kove                    torongos            velah  
 ko+ve                    torongo=se        velahi  
 2sg.real.cop drunk.neg.exp ong  
 'You are still drunk (rather than being sober)'

The use of *vaarei* 'precisely' is often associated with the clitic *-se*, as it seems to suggest contrast (i.e. rather than being precisely as expressed, it might have meant only approximately as expressed). Thus:

Apuru                    vārein            vōto    onakus  
 a+puruu                    vaarei+ni        vootoo    ona+ku=se  
 3pl.real.waste precisely.tr photo    poss.man.1sg.neg.exp  
 'My photos were all wasted'

An    gat                    vareinaus  
 ani    gati                    vaarei+ni+нау=se  
 cold 3sg.real.bite precisely.tr.1sg.neg.exp  
 'I am really cold'

(d) ADDitional -mune

The clitic *-mune* is used to indicate something in addition to what the speaker assumes that the addressee already knows, e.g.

Kai vit                    ueinaumun    nedaingeingeni  
 kaie vite                    ue inau=mune na+daingeinge+ni+e  
 3sg 3sg.real.say oh 1sg.add 1sg.real.ignorant.tr.3sg  
 'She said: "Oh, I don't know either"'

Aus mūs                    haulu    kā    alangimun    mū  
 ausa muusa                    haulue    kaa    alangi=mune    muue  
 rain 3sg.real.rain much cl wind.add 3sg.real.rise  
 'It's raining heavily and the wind is blowing hard too'

(e) OBVIOUS -ngani/-ngaa/-nga

These are all variant forms of a single basic clitic. The rules of distribution state the following:

- ngani    word finally in utterance final position and word medially before a monosyllabic clitic
- ngaa    word finally in utterance medial position
- nga     word medially before a polysyllabic clitic



The clitic -ngani (with its positional variants) has one basic function. It indicates that the speaker holds a certain fact to be true, and that he feels this fact should be obvious to the addressee, e.g.

Konamesaingaris!  
 ko+na+mesai=nga=risi  
 2sg.pot.*sick*.obv.rep  
 'Watch out or you'll get sick again'

Ahīnga lingin tauneh kailek  
 ahii=ngaa lingi+nV taunehe kaile=ke  
 God.obv 3sg.real.put.comm *thing* pl.prox  
 'Of course, it was God who created things'

Malemengan. Lesik  
 maleme=ngani lesi+ko  
 moonlight.obv 3sg.real.*see*.2sg  
 'He saw you. It's moonlight you know'

(f) REPetition -risi

This clitic also expresses a number of semantically related functions, all to do with repetition or an action reflecting back on the performer. These meanings for the clitic -risi are in keeping with the obvious origin of the clitic, the verb risi 'return, go back'. The particular functions of -risi as a clitic are described below.

Firstly, the clitic indicates that an action is performed again, or that a state is achieved once again, after ceasing to hold for sometime, e.g.

Isei musīn oreliatōris?  
 isei musii+ni oreli+atoo=risi  
 who 3sg.real.fart.tr egg.chicken.rep  
 'Who farted chicken eggs again?'

Auvol Vaulelīris  
 au+volu vaulēlii=risi  
 3pl.real.dance Vauleli.rep  
 'They are dancing at Vauleli again'

Secondly, it expresses the idea that an event takes place, and something happens such that the original state of affairs holds once again, e.g.

Vas lohon tāi materis  
 vasi lohono taai mate=risi  
 3sg.real.give birth child one 3sg.real.die.rep  
 'She gave birth to a child and it died (i.e. before it was born it was considered to be not alive, and it reverted to that state when it died soon after birth)'

This function of -risi differs from the first function described above in that in these examples, materisi does not mean 'it died again'. Finally, the clitic -risi indicates that the action is performed such that it returns to either the individual or location where it originated, e.g.

Iti Amin s̄an metel minieris  
 itii amine saani metelete mini+e=risi  
 Idi Amin 3sg.real.give medal pun.dat.3sg.rep  
 'Idi Amin gives himself medals'

Kai mun                      rāneris  
 kaie muni                    raa+ne=risi  
 3sg 3sg.real.drink blood.3sg.rep  
 'He drinks his own blood'

Inau nalesinauris            en kilās  
 inau na+lesi+nau=risi        eni kilaase  
 1sg 1sg.real.see.1sg.rep sp mirror  
 'I can see myself in the mirror'

Suvuluris                    mītā                              dan  
 suvulu=risi                   miitaa                            dano  
 3sg.real.climb down rep 3sg.real.come down down  
 'He climbed back down here'

## (g) CONTRast -suko

The clitic -suko expresses the idea that the event thus marked is contrasted with some other event either in time (i.e. one follows the other) or in terms of the action and/or its participants, e.g.

Mail vā                      tai, kaikosesuk              kodo?  
 maile vaa                    tai kaiko=se=suko          ko+do  
 Mail 3sg.real.go comp 2sg.neg.exp.cont 2sg.real.stay  
 'Now that Mail has gone, are you staying on your own?'

Vatisōnien                  mītāsuk                            kāk  
 vati+sooniene miitaa=suko                            kee=ke  
 type.screw.nom 3sg.real.come down.cont sub.prox  
 'The promiscuous girl is coming down now'

Kail aumat                  kā kaisuk                    rōmattei  
 kaile au+mate                kaa kaie=suko roo+mate+tei  
 3pl 3pl.real.die cl 3sg.cont 3sg.real.neg.die.part  
 'They died, but he didn't die'

Narosōdei                    tueitin, kā vahera en        Sarerēsuk  
 na+ro+soonitei                tueitine kaa vaheraa eni    sareree=suko.  
 1sg.real.neg.screw.part long time cl perhaps obl Saturday.cont  
 'I haven't had a screw for ages, maybe I'll get one on Saturday'

## (h) EXTENT -mau

There is a clitic -mau which has a meaning very similar to that of -visi as described in section (a) above. It is only ever used in single word exclamations, and expresses the amazement of the speaker at the size or amount of something, e.g.

Māgōmau!  
 maagoo=mau  
 mango.extent  
 'What a lot of mangoes!'

Marihēnema!  
 mari+hee+ne=mau  
 big.foot.3sg.extent  
 'What big feet he's got'

## (i) PREceding EVent -mau

There is a second clitic of the form -mau which is apparently unrelated in meaning to the extent clitic just described with the same form. In its second function, -mau relates an event to some other event. Whereas -suko marks an event as immediately following some other event in chronological sequence, -mau marks an event as immediately preceding some other event in chronological sequence, e.g.



semantically related, all involving some kind of intensification of a meaning, but a precise form of the generalisation that would capture these semantic similarities cannot be easily expressed.

When attached to a nominal phrase the clitic *-moke* expresses the idea that the referent of the nominal phrase is characterised by a state or performing some action to a greater extent than any other nominal phrase in the event, e.g.

Nahe inaumok namūmon hattēnek tīsa  
 nahee inau=moke na+muumo+ni hat+tee=neke tiisa  
*perhaps* 1sg.compar 1sg.real.do.tr matter.indef.dist 3sg.real.bad  
*'Perhaps it was me (more than anyone else) that did that badly'*

Koanik tīsa, koanimok tahos  
 koani=ke tiisaa koani=moke tāhosi  
 indef.prox 3sg.real.bad indef.compar 3sg.real.good  
*'This one is better than the other'*

Kaimok saren ai haulu loh līnau  
 kaie=moke sare+nV aie haulue loho lii+nau  
 3sg.compar 3sg.real.catch.comm fish many 3sg.real.run exceed.1sg  
*'He caught more fish than me'*

Attached to a verb or some other constituent such as an adjective or a numeral, *-moke* expresses a number of different concepts. When the form is in the realis, the addition of *-moke* asserts the undeniable truth of the statement, e.g.

Inau lok vati mosare  
 inau lok+ku vati+e ma+sare+e  
 1sg interior.1sg 3sg.real.want.3sg 1sg.imm.catch.3sg

tāmok sāmanvis koan marīte  
 taa=moke saamanvisi koani mati+itee  
 one.tru salmon indef big.indef

*'I want to catch at least one big salmon'*

Nave tagiōmok haulu ven lēta onom  
 na+ve tagioo=moke haulue veni leetaa ono+mō  
 1sg.real.cop thank.tru much caus letter poss.man.2sg  
*'I sincerely thank you for your letter'*

Vanei dohomok  
 vanei doho=moke  
 volcano 3sg.real.erupt.tru  
*'It is true that the volcano erupted'*

When the verb is non-realis, then the presence of the clitic *-moke* expresses the idea of obligation, e.g.

Ūmomok vō munak ile si keanien  
 i+umo=moke vo(o) munake i+lesite ke+ani=ene  
 3pl.dis.work.oblig until if 3pl.dis.see.3sg sub.food.nom

hēmai ven kail kā iseh kēnek  
 kee=mai veni kaile kaa i+sehe kee=neke  
 3sg.dis.come ar.dat 3pl cl 3pl.dis.rest sub.dist

*'They would have to work until they saw that the food was coming towards them, and then they would rest'*

Dangisi                      kekai    vahāmok                      vasukul  
 dangisi+e                      ke+kaie va+haa=moke                      va+sūkulu  
 3sg.real.cry for.3sg sub.3sg 3sg.imm.go.oblig 3sg.imm.study  
*'He cried so that he would have to go to school'*

Inau nihul                      anienemok  
 inau ni+huli                      ani+ene=moke  
 1sg 1sg.dis.buy food.nom.oblig  
*'I must buy the food'*

Konametauteimok  
 ko+na+metau+tei=moke  
 2sg.pot.afraid.part.oblig  
*'You really should not be afraid'*

When an interrogative carries the clitic, it indicates that an answer must be given. This presumably has something to do with the fact that questions involve some kind of non-realis verb in their performative constituent (i.e. I desire that you tell me...), e.g.

Korovātei                      naut                      vongien? Evēmok?  
 ko+ro+vaa+tei                      n+aute                      vongiene evee=moke  
 2sg.real.neg.go.part loc.place night                      where.oblig  
*'Did you go somewhere in the night? Where?'*

The difference in meaning between the clitics -moke and -somoke is not great, though it is clear. (One would suspect that the similarity in form has some historical explanation, though there is no synchronic evidence by which the two can be related.) Whereas -somoke indicates that an event is described with certainty by the speaker, -moke indicates simply the truth of the statement, without reference to the viewpoint of the speaker. So, contrast:

Vanei    dohomok  
 vanei    doho=moke  
 volcano 3sg.real.erupt.tru  
*'(It is true that) the volcano erupted'*

Vanei    dohsomok  
 vanei    doho=somoke  
 volcano 3sg.real.erupt.cert  
*'(I believe that) the volcano erupted'*

## 6.2. Non-declarative speech acts

Any utterance can be viewed as having a particular illocutionary force, as described in Austin (1962). The illocutionary force of a particular speech act can be explicit in the form of the actual utterance, or it can be expressed in some performative 'presentence' that does not actually appear in the structural form of the utterance.

The clauses described in 6.1. above have all been declarative clauses, for which Wierzbicka (1972) proposes the semantic structure below:

Wanting to cause you to know it, I say: S

This representation captures the idea that the speaker is simply passing on information to the addressee.

There are, of course, many other kinds of speech acts. There is perhaps no reason why, of all of these, we should treat the declaratives as basic, except that they are structurally unmarked, and most commonly attested. In the following sections, we will describe the structure of clause types which differ structurally from declarative clauses. This will include utterances with interrogative and exclamatory illocutionary forces.

### 6.2.1. Interrogatives

Interrogative utterances all probably share a common illocutionary force, which differs from that of declaratives in that the addressee is asked to give some linguistic response such that the speaker will thereby either receive some information or have confirmed the particular information expressed in the question.

In terms of the kind of response required, we can distinguish between two distinct types of interrogative clause. On the one hand, we have those that simply ask for the confirmation or denial of a fact, while on the other hand, we have those which ask for the provision of specific information. Each of these types of question can be expressed in several different ways syntactically, according to the speaker's understanding of the particular situation.

#### 6.2.1.1. Yes/no questions

This is the type of question which contains in its structure certain information about which the speaker is seeking either confirmation or denial. There is a number of different types of such questions, which express the particular attitude of the speaker towards the information he is questioning with respect to his expectation and desire that it be true.

There are two morphemes which can on their own function as an adequate response to a yes/no question. The first of these is *kaa*, which indicates that the question contains information the addressee believes to be true. The second is *vũo(o)*, which indicates that the question contains information the addressee believes to be untrue. It should be noted that these responses do not translate directly English 'yes' and 'no', as they refer particularly to the polarity of the question. Thus:

Kĩhā            Lĩro?  
kii+haa        liiroo  
2sg.dis.go Liro  
'Are you going to Liro?'

Kā,            nĩha  
kaa            nii+hii  
agree lsg.dis.go  
'Yes, I will go'

Vuō,            nirovātei  
vũo(o)        ni+ro+vaattei  
disagree lsg.dis.neg.go.part  
'No, I will not go'

Kirōvatei	Liro?	Kā,	nirovātei
ki+ro+vaa+tei	liiroo	kaa	ni+ro+vaa+tei
2sg.dis.neg.go.part	<i>Liro</i>	<i>agree</i>	lsg.dis.neg.go.part
'Are you not going to Liro?'		'No, I will not go'	
		Vuō,	nīha
		vūo(o)	nii+haa
		<i>disagree</i>	lsg.dis.go
		'Yes, I will go'	

(Note however, that the Bislama form *si*, which is of French origin, is now coming to be used to express a positive response to a negative question. Thus:

Kirovātei	Līro?	Sī,	nīha
ki+ro+vaa+tei	liiroo	sii	nii+haa
2sg.dis.neg.go.part	<i>Liro</i>	<i>yes</i>	lsg.dis.go
'Are you going to Liro?'		<i>Yes, I am going'</i>	

It is of course possible that a yes/no question may receive a response in terms of a morpheme belonging to one of the lexical classes described in chapter three. The answer could be for example, one of the following:

Nedaingeingeni	Vahera
na+daingeinge+ni+e	vaheraa
lsg.real.ignorant.tr.3sg	<i>perhaps</i>
'I don't know'	'Perhaps'

There are, in addition, some non-linguistic responses frequently used to answer yes/no questions. These are to be considered non-linguistic in that they contain segments or intonation patterns not characteristic of any other part of the language. These particular responses are:

$\overset{\sim}{?} \overset{\sim}{\text{ə}} \overset{\sim}{?} \overset{\sim}{\text{ə}}$	kaa
$\overset{\sim}{\text{ε}} \overset{\sim}{\text{ε}}$	vuo(o)
$\text{h i i } \overset{\sim}{\eta} \text{ a n}$	I don't know the answer
$\text{a b } \overset{\sim}{\text{a}}$	the answer is so obvious or so embarrassing that no answer will be given

There are four yes/no question structures, each expressing the particular attitude of the speaker towards the information being requested. Table 26 summarises this situation:

	expectation of truth	desire for truth
intonation question	-	-
opposite polarity question	-	+
tag question	+	-
opposite polarity tag question	+	+

## 6.2.1.1.1. Intonation questions

This kind of question has the identical constituent order to the corresponding statement, and is from the statement only in its intonation. The basic intonation of a statement involves a general low (i.e. neutral) pitch, with a fall at the end. Thus:

-----  
 -----  
 ----- base level

An intonation question however involves a higher pitch, with a sharp rise, and then a fall at the end. Thus:

-----  
 -----  
 ----- base level

(These intonation patterns are impressionistically rather than empirically determined. This intonational marking of questions of course differs from the English yes/no interrogative intonation pattern, which does not have the final fall after the rise.)

Yes/no questions expressed intonationally are completely neutral with respect to the expectation of the speaker of the truth of the information he is asking about, and to the desire of the speaker for either a positive or a negative response. Thus:

Kōvātai?  
 koo+vaa=tei  
 2sg.real.go.comp  
 'Had you already gone?'

(The question mark is used to represent the interrogative intonation just described when there is no other marker of interrogation in the clause.)

## 6.2.1.1.2. Opposite polarity questions

When the speaker does not want to predetermine the response as either positive or negative, but does nevertheless hope that the response is positive, the question asked is in negative polarity, with the same interrogative intonation as just described. This does not mean that the question necessarily has to be formally negative (i.e. containing the negative prefix ro- as described in 5.2.1.1.2.), only that it be semantically negative. Thus:

Kironganiadeimau	nāmal?	
ki+ro+ngani=ani+tei=mau	n+aamali	
2sg.dis.neg.REDUp.eat.part.pr.ev	loc.meeting house	
'Won't you have something to eat first in the meeting house?'		
Onom	isel tovuel	matelasini?
ono+mo	isele tövūeli	ma+telasi+n+e
poss.man.2sg	broom 3sg.real.not exist	1sg.imm.sweep.tr.3sg
'Don't you have a broom for me to sweep with?'		

This is the normal polite way of asking permission, as the response is not presupposed, though the desire of the speaker is still expressed.



## 6.2.1.1.3. Tag questions

The so-called tag question is expressed by simply adding the tag *aa* after the declarative form of the clause. The tag has a sharply rising intonation, following a clause with a normal statement intonation.

This kind of interrogative utterance is used when the speaker expects that the response will be in agreement with the information included in the question. There is no expression of any desire on the part of the speaker for a particular response however, e.g.

Kaik kotahos	ā?	Koromūnaudei	ā?
kaiko ko+tāhosi	aa	ko+ro+muunaunettei	aa
2sg 2sg.real.good Q		2sg.real.neg.stupid.part Q	
'You're good, aren't you?'		'You're not stupid, are you?'	

## 6.2.1.1.4. Opposite polarity tag questions

When the speaker is expecting a response that agrees with the information included in the question, and when that response is also a desired response, the opposite polarity tag question construction is used. There is a number of ways in which this can be expressed, apparently with no appreciable difference in meaning.

Firstly, the question can be asked with rising intonation (without the final fall as described above) with the disjunction *vūo(o)/vūoli*, which is followed by the questioned material in the opposite polarity to the first occurrence. Thus:

Kīha	vuō	kirovātei?
kii+haa	vūo(o)	ki+ro+vaa+tei
2sg.dis.go or		2sg.dis.neg.go.part
'Will you go or not?'		

In the disjunctive part of the question, only the verb is repeated, and not its associated arguments except where they are obligatory. Thus:

Kīhā	Līro	vuō	kirovātei?
kii+haa	liiroo	vūo(o)	ki+ro+vaa+tei
2sg.dis.go	Liro	or	2sg.dis.neg.go.part
'Will you go to Liro or not?'			

Secondly, the tag can be expressed by the interrogative verb of manner *mukāvee* 'how', e.g.

Kīha	vuō	hemukave?
kii+haa	vūo(o)	he+mukāvee
2sg.dis.go or		3sg.dis.how
'Will you go or not?'		

Finally, the disjunction *vūo(o)/vūoli* can follow the basic form of the clause with a level intonation (rather than a falling intonation as in statement final position) e.g.

Kīha	vuō?
kii+haa	vu(o)
2sg.dis.go or	
'Will you go or not?'	

## 6.2.1.2. Content questions

This type of question requires that the addressee give some specific linguistic information to the speaker. Content questions are expressed by using special interrogative constituents in the syntactic slot which would be occupied by the constituent about which information is being sought. Interrogative constituents can either be nominal, verbal or numeral.

Interrogative nominals include the following:

asaa	'asking about nouns with non-human reference'
isei	'asking about nouns with human reference'
kavee	'asking about location nouns, or which of a number of non-human nouns'
nengaise	'asking about time nouns'

Note that there is a second interrogative of place derived from kavee by reduplication of the initial CV-, of the form kekavee, which asks about location in a general area (whereabouts) rather than in a specific place. The interrogative kavee also has the specific optional clitic form -vee when it is used to express the allative, but not when it is used locatively or ablatively. Some examples of interrogative clauses including these constituents are given below:

Kīmairis	nengais?	Kogā	kekave?
kii+mai=risi	nengaise	ko+gaa	kekavee
2sg.dis.come.rep	when	2sg.real.travel	whereabouts
'When will you come back?'		'Whereabouts do you come from?'	

(Human names are regarded as having human reference and non-human names non-human reference for the purposes of interrogation. Thus:

Isen	isei?	Isen	asa?
ise+ne	isei	ise+ne	asaa
name.3sg	who	name.3sg	what
'What's his/her name?'		'What's its name?'	

The interrogative nominal forms asaa, isei and kavee can modify nouns, asking which particular one of a set. The form asaa in this construction appears as the clitic -saa and the form isei optionally appears as -sei (6.1.3.2.), e.g.

aut	kave	sīvsa
aute	kavee	siivi=saa
place	where	ship.what
'which place?'		'which ship?'
molatinsei		
molātine=sei		
person.who		
'which person?'		

(Note that kavee can also follow a personal name to ask which of a number of different people by the same name, e.g.

Siti	kave
sitii	kave
Siti	where
'which Siti?'	

There are four interrogative verbs:

hise	'asking about numeral verbs'
mukǎvee	'asking about stative verbs, or the manner in which an action is performed'
kosaa	'asking about actions expressed as intransitive verbs'
koseini	'asking about actions expressed as transitive verbs'

(Note that the verbs kosaa and koseini are irregular. See 5.2.3.1.6.) The form mukǎvee has a formally similar form mukekǎvee expressing 'however' rather than just 'how'. Thus:

Rais gosaa?		Nisakini	hemukekave?
raise gosaa		ni+saki+nite	he+mukekǎvee
rice 3sg.real.do what		1sg.dis.do.tr.3sg	3sg.dis.however
'How is the rice getting on?'			'However will I do it?'
Mosāni	vahis?	Avāseini?	
ma+saanite	va+hise	a+va+aseinite	
1sg.imm.give.3sg	3sg.imm.how many	3pl.imm.do what.3sg	
'How many will I give?'		'What is to be done about it?'	

Finally, we have the interrogative *hise* used to ask about numerals, e.g.

Molatin	ehis?
molǎtine	ehise
person	how many
	'How many people are there?'

(Note that the numeral interrogative *ehise* and the verbal interrogative *hise* are semantically equivalent.)

## 6.2.2. Interjections

It is difficult to be sure just what kind of performative analysis we could propose that would account for any common semantic facts concerning interjections. Interjections constitute a special kind of speech act on the basis of the fact that they do not require an addressee (though usually there is one), and in that they do not elicit any response, either linguistic or non-linguistic, or pass on information to the addressee when there is one. Rather, they are nothing more than automatic, emotional responses to some kind of situation.

Interjections can be divided structurally into two types. Firstly, there are those interjections that have no independent meaning or structure of their own, and are used in specific kinds of circumstances. On the other hand, there are those that may comprise either words, phrases or even complete utterances, with independent meanings of their own and not used in any specific circumstances. Interjections of this kind generally express concepts considered vulgar or obscene, and perhaps constitute a distinct speech act, within the more general speech act of interjections, i.e. swearing.

The non-structured interjections used in specific situations that are known are listed below, with the circumstances that will elicit that particular form:

ekovei	ekovei	sudden surprise or amazement
auee	aue	amused surprise
haine	hain	mild surprise
ue(inau)	ue(inau)	mild disfavour or sorrow
ei	ei	general surprise
aioo	aio	physical pleasure
esuu/esure	esu(r)	mild surprise and disbelief
ohove	ohov	maximum exertion is being put into an effort

Those interjections which have non-interjectional meanings also have extra force simply because of this non-interjectional meaning, and are considered to be distinct from all other speech acts in that social tabus regulate when and in the company of whom they may be used. Swearing in Paamese is an extremely productive process, new constructions being made up according to the speaker's own sense of humour. Swearing usually involves genital and excretory concepts, especially for foreskin (though explicitly copulatory swearing is not indulged in except in Bislama), as well as some animals that are considered to be particularly ugly and repulsive. Swearing can also be mild or severe, and often one word will be used for another if they have the same initial segments or syllable (though both are still considered to be swearing).

(The confidence of the Paamese concerning swearing was gained by the writer promising not to make public any specific examples. Hence the lack of exemplification in this section.)

## APPENDIX A

### PAAMESE NUMERALS 1-60

The system underlying the Paamese counting system is presented in 4.1.2.3. For reference, I have included in this appendix, the numbers one to sixty.

1	tāi	taai
2	elu	elua
3	etel	etelu
4	ehat	ehati
5	elim	elima
6	lahitāi	lahi=taai
7	laulu	lau+lua
8	lautel	lau+telu
9	lauhat	lau+hati
10	hālualim	haalualime
11	tāi dan tāi	taai dano taai
12	tāi dan elu	taai dano elua
13	tāi dan etel	taai dano etelu
14	tāi dan ehat	taai dano ehati
15	tāi dan elim	taai dano elima
16	tāi dan lahitāi	taai dano lahi=taai
17	tāi dan laulu	taai dano lau+lua
18	tāi dan lautel	taai dano lau+telu
19	tāi dan lauhat	taai dano lau+hati
20	hanu mau	hanuu mau
21	hanu sav tāi	hanuu savo taai
22	hanu sav elu	hanuu savo elua
23	hanu sav etel	hanuu savo etelu

24	hanu sav ehat	hanuu savo ehati
25	hanu sav elim	hanuu savo elima
26	hanu sav lahitāi	hanuu savo lahi=taai
27	hanu sav laulu	hanuu savo lau+lua
28	hanu sav lautel	hanuu savo lau+telu
29	hanu sav lauhat	hanuu savo lau+hati
30	hanu sav hāluaim	hanuu savo haalualime
31	hanu sav tāi dan tāi	hanuu savo taai dano taai
32	hanu sav tāi dan elu	hanuu savo taai dano elua
33	hanu sav tāi dan etel	hanuu savo taai dano etelu
34	hanu sav tāi dan ehat	hanuu savo taai dano ehati
35	hanu sav tāi dan elim	hanuu savo taai dano elima
36	hanu sav tāi dan lahitāi	hanuu savo taai dano lahi=taai
37	hanu sav tāi dan laulu	hanuu savo taai dano lau+lua
38	hanu sav tāi dan lautel	hanuu savo taai dano lau+telu
39	hanu sav tāi dan lauhat	hanuu savo taai dano lau+hati
40	hanu mau elu	hanuu mau elua
41	hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai
42	hanu mau elu hanu sav elu	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo elua
43	hanu mau elu hanu sav etel	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo etelu
44	hanu mau elu hanu sav ehat	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo ehati
45	hanu mau elu hanu sav elim	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo elima
46	hanu mau elu hanu sav lahitāi	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo lahi=taai
47	hanu mau elu hanu sav laulu	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo lau+lua
48	hanu mau elu hanu sav lautel	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo lau+telu
49	hanu mau elu hanu sav lauhat	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo lau+hati
50	hanu mau elu hanu sav hāluaim	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo haalualime
51	hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi dan tāi	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano taai
52	hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi dan elu	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano elua
53	hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi dan etel	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano etelu
54	hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi dan ehat	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano ehati
55	hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi dan elim	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano elima
56	hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi dan lahitāi	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano lahi=taai

57	hanu mau elu hanu sav t̄ai dan laulu	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano lau+lua
58	hanu mau elu hanu sav t̄ai dan lautel	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano lau+telu
59	hanu mau elu hanu sav t̄ai dan lauhat	hanuu mau elua hanuu savo taai dano lau+hati
60	hanu mau etel	hanuu mau etelu

## APPENDIX B

### BASIC LEXICON

The following lexicon of approximately four hundred items contains forms that might be of interest to comparative linguists (including those who may want to use the material for a lexicostatistical analysis). This list should be regarded as an updated version of the list in Tryon (1976). It is hoped that a more comprehensive Paamese lexicon will be published at a later date.

All forms below are entered in their underlying forms, as described in 2.4. Accompanying each, in brackets, is a surface form, to make for ease of comparison between this list and that of Tryon. The following particular points should be noted about the surface forms that are given however:

- (i) Verbs are quoted in the third person singular realis form (5.2.1.1.1.).
- (ii) Transitive verbs are quoted with a third person singular bound object (5.2.1.2.1.).
- (iii) Suffixed nouns are quoted with a third person singular pronominal possessor (4.2.3.1.).
- (iv) Linked nouns are quoted with the indefinite linked noun itee (4.2.2.).

All other roots are capable of standing independently, and are therefore given in their free surface forms.

Information relating to form class is restricted to noting nouns (n), transitive verbs (tr.vb), intransitive verbs (intr.vb) and other minor classes such as adjectives (adj). Unmarked nouns are free form common nouns (3.1.4.5.1.). Marked nominal categories are either suffixed nouns (suff.n. 3.1.4.5.2.1.), linked noun (link.n. 3.1.4.5.2.2.), indefinite nominals (indef.n. 3.1.2.), descriptive nouns (desc.n. 3.1.4.4.), time nouns (time.n. 3.1.4.3.) or location nouns (loc.n. 3.1.4.2.). The root-initial alternation class membership for verbs is represented by the Roman numeral in brackets (5.1.1.) and the root-final alternation class by an Arabic numeral in brackets (5.1.2.).

Accompanying each form is an English gloss. (Note that some forms are given Bislama translations where there is no simple English equivalent, or where the Bislama term is the one most commonly used, even in English. Refer to Guy (1975) and Camden (1977) for a discussion of these meanings.) This list is arranged alphabetically, with ng being alphabetised before n.

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
aahe	(āh)	<i>garden</i>	n. (comp. fm. ahe)
aa i	(āi)	<i>tree</i>	n. (comp. fm. ai)
aale	(āl)	<i>nangkalat tree</i>	n. (comp. fm. ale)
aamali	(āmal)	<i>nakamal</i> (meeting house)	n.
aavi	(āv)	<i>firewood</i>	n. (comp. fm. avi)
ahaa	(ahān)	<i>brain</i>	suff. n.
ahaa i	(ahāi)	<i>stingray</i>	n. (comp. fm. haa i)
ahale	(ahal)	<i>shooting coconut</i>	n. (comp. fm. hale)
ahango	(ahang)	<i>fire</i>	n. (comp. fm. hango)
ahatu	(ahat)	<i>stone</i>	n. (comp. fm. hatu)
ahie	(ahi)	<i>nakavika tree</i> (Malay apple)	n. (comp. fm. hie)
ahile	(ahil)	<i>lightning</i>	n.
ahine	(ahin)	<i>female</i>	desc. n.
ahisi	(ahis)	1. <i>banana</i> 2. <i>ringworm</i>	n. (comp. fm. his i) n. (comp. fm. his i)
ahisu	(ahis)	<i>bow</i>	n. (comp. fm. hisu)
ahue	(ahu)	<i>turtle</i>	n. (comp. fm. hue)
aie	(ai)	<i>fish</i>	n. (comp. fm. ie)
aimasi	(aimas)	<i>nakaemas spirit</i>	n.
aimo	(aim)	<i>house</i>	n. (comp. fm. imo)
aisilu	(aisilin)	<i>dorsum</i>	suff. n.
akio	(aki)	<i>dolphin</i>	n.
alaa	(ala)	<i>sail</i>	n.
alangi	(alang)	<i>wind</i>	n. (comp. fm. langi)
alango	(alang)	<i>fly</i>	n. (comp. fm. lango)
alau	(alau)	<i>coast</i>	loc. n. (comp. fm. lau)
ale	(al)	<i>trochus</i>	n.
alēhise	(alēhis)	<i>centipede</i>	n.
ali	(mual)	<i>walk</i>	intr. vb (V)
aloko	(alok)	<i>laplap (pudding)</i>	n. (comp. fm. loko)
alūmulu	(alumul)	<i>earthquake</i>	n.
amalo	(amal)	1. <i>hunger</i> 2. <i>reef</i>	n. n.
amanu	(aman)	<i>bird</i>	n. (comp. fm. manu)



Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
amati	(amat)	<i>tide</i>	n. (comp.fm.mati)
amoli	(amol)	<i>orange</i>	n. (comp.fm.moli)
amoti	(amot)	<i>snake</i>	n.
amure	(amur)	<i>body fat</i>	n.
amusu	(amus)	<i>dirty person</i>	desc.n.
anamu	(anam)	<i>mosquito</i>	n.
anatu	(anat)	<i>nandunde tree</i>	n. (comp.fm.natu)
anitene	(anien)	<i>food</i>	n.
anii	(ani)	<i>green coconut</i>	n. (comp.fm.nii)
araa	(ara)	<i>nandau tree (lychee)</i>	n. (comp.fm.raa)
arongi	(arong)	<i>coconut leaf mat</i>	n. (comp.fm.rongi)
aruli	(arul)	<i>ear wax</i>	n.
arumi	(arum)	<i>bilge water</i>	n.
aseme	(asem)	<i>outrigger</i>	n.
asio	(asi)	<i>kingfisher</i>	n. (comp.fm.sio)
asoo	(asōn)	<i>spouse</i>	suff.n.
asue	(asu)	<i>rat</i>	n.
asuvo	(asuv)	<i>chief</i>	n. (comp.fm.suvo)
atano	(atan)	<i>ground</i>	n. (comp.fm.tano)
atasi	(atas)	<i>sea</i>	n. (comp.fm.tasi)
atehi	(ateh)	<i>sugarcane</i>	n. (comp.fm.tehi)
atellii	(ateli)	<i>pandanus basket</i>	n.
atinu	(atin)	<i>island cabbage</i>	n. (comp.fm.tinu)
atoo	(ato)	<i>chicken</i>	n. (comp.fm.too)
atuvo	(atuv)	<i>arrow</i>	n.
atūvolō	(atuvol)	<i>coconut leaf basket</i>	n.
auhu	(auh)	<i>yam</i>	n.
aule	(aul)	<i>crayfish</i>	n.
aulo	(aul)	<i>maggot</i>	n.
ausa	(aus)	<i>rain</i>	n. (comp.fm.usa)
aute	(aut)	<i>place</i>	n. (comp.fm.ute)
autu	(aut)	<i>louse</i>	n. (comp.fm.utu)

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
avatio	(avati)	<i>moon</i>	n.
ave	(aven)	<i>body</i>	suff.n.
aveka	(avek)	<i>banyan tree</i>	n. (comp.fm.veka)
avio	(avi)	<i>wild cane</i>	n. (comp.fm.vio)
avongi	(avong)	<i>time</i>	n.
avue	(avu)	<i>grandparent</i>	n.
avuli	(avul)	<i>cooking hole</i>	n.
bobongini	(bobongini)	<i>forget</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
demi	(mudemi)	<i>think about</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
ealo	(eal)	1. <i>sunshine</i> 2. <i>oak tree</i>	n. (comp.fm.alo) n.
ease	(eas)	<i>chestnut</i>	n. (comp.fm.ase)
easu	(eas)	<i>smoke</i>	n.
eau	(eau)	1. <i>bamboo</i> 2. <i>knife</i>	n. (comp.fm.au) n.
eivorõhuse	(eivorohus)	<i>bush</i>	n.
haa	(vā)	<i>go</i>	intr.vb. (IV)
haali	(vāli)	<i>sharpen</i>	tr.vb. (IV,4)
haasualeve	(hāsualev)	<i>thumb</i>	n.
hai	(haite) (vai)	1. <i>fruit</i> 2. <i>weave</i>	link.n. tr.vb. (IV,4)
haiho	(haih)	<i>pandanus</i>	n.
hainiiniase	(hainīnias)	<i>kidney</i>	n.
haivaule	(haivaul)	<i>ankle</i>	n.
hane	(van)	<i>shoot, copulate</i>	intr.vb. (IV)
hanuu	(hanu)	<i>person</i>	n.
hasu	(vas)	<i>give birth</i>	intr.vb. (IV)

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
hati	(vati)	want, like	tr.vb. (IV,4)
haulue	(haulu)	many, much	indef.n.
hauo	(hau)	hill	n.
hausi	(vausi)	carry on shoulders	tr.vb. (IV,4)
havivii	(havivi)	small (sg.)	adj.
havungalii	(havungali)	cicada	n.
hee	(hēn)	hand, foot	suff.n.
helasi	(velasi)	step on	tr.vb. (IV,4)
hengani	(hengan) (vengani)	1. bait 2. feed	n. tr.vb. (IV,4)
herale	(veral)	stuck	intr.vb. (IV)
hiisi	(vīsi)	ask	tr.vb. (IV,4)
hiitaa	(vīta)	go down	intr.vb. (IV)
hilei	(vilei)	grind	tr.vb. (IV,4)
hilesi	(viles)	turn around	intr.vb. (IV)
hili+i+ve	(hilīven)	skin	suff.n.
hilu	(vil) (hilin)	1. cough 2. head hair	intr.vb. (IV) suff.n.
hinaa	(vina)	go up	intr.vb. (IV)
hiree	(hirēn)	neck	suff.n.
hiso	(vis)	shout	intr.vb. (IV)
hiteali	(viteal)	laugh	intr.vb. (IV)
hiteni	(viteni)	say	tr.vb. (IV,4)
hitue	(hitu)	star	n.
holu	(vol)	dance	intr.vb. (IV)
horaa	(horān)	thigh	suff.n.
huli	(vuli)	buy	tr.vb. (IV,4)
hulii	(vulī) (huli)	1. count 2. dog	tr.vb. (IV,4) n.
hulue	(hulu)	black palm	n.
husio	(husi)	muscle	n.
huta	(vut)	jump	intr.vb. (IV)
huti	(vuti)	abuse	tr.vb. (IV,4)
husai	(vūsai)	tip over	intr.vb. (IV)

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
idou	(idou)	<i>nandai tree</i>	n.
ingaa	(inga)	<i>nangae (native almond)</i>	n.
ingi	(ingin) (ingīte)	1. <i>lip</i> 2. <i>rim</i>	suff.n. link.n.
isi	(mīs)	<i>weep</i>	intr.vb. (V)
isele	(isel)	<i>broom</i>	n.
iso	(isen)	<i>name</i>	suff.n.
kaa	(muka) (gā)	1. <i>fly</i> 2. <i>different</i>	intr.vb. (V) intr.vb. (II)
kaane	(gān)	<i>sharp</i>	intr.vb. (II)
kaasi	(gās)	<i>sweet</i>	intr.vb. (II)
kaiho	(gaih)	<i>hard, strong</i>	intr.vb. (II)
kali	(mukali)	<i>scratch</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
kani	(ngani) (ngan)	1. <i>eat</i> 2. <i>burn</i>	tr.vb. (III,4) intr.vb. (III)
kasi	(gasi)	<i>wash</i>	tr.vb. (II,4)
kati	(gati)	<i>bite</i>	tr.vb. (II,4)
kau	(kaun)	<i>side</i>	suff.n.
kekavelu	(gekavel)	<i>crooked</i>	intr.vb. (II)
kelaa	(gela)	<i>crawl</i>	intr.vb. (II)
kera=kera	(keraker)	<i>scabies</i>	n.
kilele	(gilela)	<i>know</i>	tr.vb. (III,1)
kili	(gili)	<i>dig</i>	tr.vb. (III,4)
koi	(goi)	<i>grate coconut</i>	tr.vb. (III,4)
kokohi	(kokohīte)	<i>foam</i>	link.n.
kole	(gole)	<i>chase</i>	tr.vb. (III,4)
koono	(gōn)	<i>bitter, salty</i>	intr.vb. (II)
kosaa	(kosa)	<i>now, today</i>	time.n.
kotehe	(goteh)	<i>closed</i>	intr.vb. (III)
kou	(mukou)	<i>skinny</i>	intr.vb. (V)
kovāngese	(kovanges)	<i>afternoon</i>	time.n.
kove	(gove)	<i>throw (something) at</i>	tr.vb. (III,4)
kulu	(gul)	<i>swim</i>	intr.vb. (II)

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
kumi	(gumi)	<i>squeeze</i>	tr.vb. (II,4)
kuri	(guri)	<i>take</i>	tr.vb. (II,4)
kurile	(kuril)	<i>grasshopper</i>	n.
kuru	(gur)	<i>boil</i>	intr.vb. (II)
laapoo	(lāpo)	<i>fall over</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
laau	(lāu)	<i>hunt</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
lahi	(lahi)	<i>carry</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
lamuli	(lamulīte)	<i>body hair</i>	link.n.
lamuli+velaaso	(lumulivelāsen)	<i>beard</i>	suff.n.
lani	(lan)	<i>daylight</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
lasi	(latte)	<i>branch</i>	link.n.
laso	(lasen)	<i>male genitalia</i>	suff.n.
lati	(mulat)	<i>sting</i>	intr.vb. (V)
latino	(latin)	<i>mother</i>	suff.n.
lau	(laute)	<i>leaf</i>	link.n.
lauhaa	(lauha)	<i>laplap leaf</i>	n.
leato	(leaten)	<i>liver</i>	suff.n.
lehe	(lehei)	<i>pull</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
leirumu=rumu	(leirumurum)	<i>whale</i>	n.
lengasi	(lengasi)	<i>roast meat</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
lesi	(lesi)	<i>see</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
letau	(letau)	<i>woman</i>	n.
letauii	(letaui)	<i>girl</i>	n.
levaue	(levauen)	<i>wing</i>	suff.n.
lii	(līte)	<i>root</i>	link.n.
liisēlese	(līseles)	<i>always</i>	time.n.
lingi	(lingi)	<i>put, leave</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
litētai	(litetai)	<i>young man</i>	n.
lo	(len)	<i>interior</i>	suff.n.
loho	(loh)	<i>run</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
loko=hisi	(lokohis)	<i>banana laplap</i>	n.
longe	(longe)	<i>hear, feel</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
longo	(long)	<i>sleepy</i>	intr.vb. (VI)

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
loosili	(lōsili)	<i>stare at</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
luhi	(luhi)	<i>plant</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
luho	(luhen)	<i>tooth</i>	suff.n.
lumi	(lumi)	<i>fold</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
luue	(mulū)	<i>vomit</i>	intr.vb. (V)
maa	(mā)	<i>come up</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
maade	(mād)	<i>sweat</i>	n.
maahi	(māh)	<i>sore</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
maavi	(māv)	<i>gecko</i>	n.
made	(mad)	<i>rotten (of wood)</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
madili	(madil)	<i>cold</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
maho	(mah)	<i>healed (of sore)</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mahola	(mahol)	<i>torn</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mahu=mahu	(mahumah)	<i>cloud</i>	n.
malikēliko	(malikelik)	<i>black</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
malu	(mal)	<i>straight, correct</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mai	(mai)	<i>come</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
maile	(mail)	<i>lefthand side</i>	loc.n.
mailesi	(mailes)	<i>nits</i>	n.
maleme	(malem)	<i>moonlight</i>	n.
malou	(malou)	<i>kava</i>	n.
manoono	(manōn)	<i>black flying fox</i>	n.
manue	(manu)	<i>sore</i>	n.
mari	(marīte)	<i>big</i>	link.n.
maso	(mas)	<i>cooked</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mate	(mat)	<i>dead</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
matētelu	(matetel)	<i>thick</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
matilu	(matil)	<i>sleep</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
matou	(matou)	<i>dry coconut</i>	n.
matuu	(matu)	<i>righthand side</i>	loc.n.
mauli	(maul)	<i>alive</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mavulu	(mavul)	<i>broken</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mee	(mēn)	<i>tongue</i>	suff.n.

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
melaa	(mela)	<i>get up</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
melaalaa	(melāla)	<i>light</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
melasi	(melas)	<i>heavy</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
melau	(melau)	<i>scrub turkey</i>	n.
melite	(melit)	<i>eel</i>	n.
memau	(memau)	<i>ashamed</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
me+mee	(meme)	<i>urinate</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mene	(men)	<i>ripe</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
meralese	(merales)	<i>dead coral</i>	n.
merau	(merau)	<i>weak</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
meru=meru	(merumer)	<i>wet</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mesai	(mesai)	<i>sick</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
mese	(mes)	<i>dry</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
metaaloo	(metālo)	<i>European</i>	n.
metarehe	(metareh)	<i>door</i>	n.
metaso	(metas)	<i>spear</i>	n.
metate	(metat)	<i>pimple</i>	n.
mete+ealo	(meteal)	<i>sun</i>	n.
meteimali	(meteimal)	<i>village</i>	n.
meto	(meten)	<i>eye</i>	suff.n.
mietiete	(mietet)	<i>rainbow</i>	n.
mitaa	(mīta)	<i>come down</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
molätine	(molatin)	<i>man</i>	n.
more	(moreite)	<i>good</i>	link.n.
moti	(mot)	<i>fall</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
munge	(mung)	<i>uncircumcised man</i>	desc.n.
munai	(munai)	<i>grass</i>	n.
mun i	(muni)	<i>drink</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
muusi	(mūsi)	<i>smell</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
ngasi	(mungasi)	<i>chew</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
naa	(nān)	<i>face</i>	suff.n.
natu	(natin)	<i>son, daughter</i>	suff.n.
nenganehe	(nenganeh)	<i>yesterday</i>	time.n.
nesaa	(nesa)	<i>above</i>	loc.n.
netano	(netan)	<i>down</i>	loc.n.
ninu	(ninin)	<i>spirit</i>	suff.n.
nuu	(munu)	<i>dive</i>	intr.vb. (V)
oai	(oai)	<i>water</i>	n.
oho	(muoh)	<i>white</i>	intr.vb. (V)
oo	(ōn)	<i>penis</i>	suff.n.
oreli	(orelīte)	<i>egg</i>	link.n.
oreli+oo	(oreliōn)	<i>testicles</i>	suff.n.
pare	(pare)	<i>tie</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
poalu	(poal)	<i>gully</i>	n.
pole	(pol)	<i>burnt (of food)</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
pusi	(pusi)	<i>kick</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
raa	(rān)	<i>blood</i>	suff.n.
rahi	(rahin) (rahīte) (rah)	1. <i>snot</i> 2. <i>membrane</i> 3. <i>blow nose</i>	suff.n. link.n. intr.vb. (VI)
ralingo	(ralingen)	<i>ear</i>	suff.n.
ramusi	(ramusi)	<i>lick</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
rekau	(rekau)	<i>butterfly</i>	n.
risi	(ris)	<i>return</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
saani	(sāni)	<i>give</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
sali	(sali)	<i>spear</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
salii	(sali)	<i>squat</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
sare	(sare)	<i>fasten</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)



Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
sau	(musau)	<i>sing</i>	intr.vb. (V)
sehe	(sehei)	<i>scoop out, open</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
seluusi	(selūsi)	<i>speak</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
sieni	(sieni)	<i>fill up</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
siho	(musih)	<i>have diarrhoea</i>	intr.vb. (V)
sii	(sīn)	1. <i>bone</i>	suff.n.
	(sīte)	2. <i>juice</i>	link.n.
	(musi)	3. <i>fart</i>	intr.vb. (V)
	(sī)	4. <i>happy</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
	(musī)	5. <i>retract foreskin</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
sii+meto	(sīmeten)	<i>tears</i>	suff.n.
siisele	(sīsel)	<i>road</i>	n.
sili	(silīte)	<i>descendants</i>	link.n.
silu	(sil)	<i>shine light</i>	intr.vb. (V)
sinu	(sin)	<i>dressed</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
sitali	(sital)	<i>emerge</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
soko	(sokoite)	<i>remains, crumbs</i>	link.n.
soohi	(sōhi)	<i>catch</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
sooni	(sōni)	<i>throw</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
suue	(musū)	<i>root up ground (of pig)</i>	intr.vb. (V)
suu=suu	(sūsu)	1. <i>breast</i>	n.
	(sūsu)	2. <i>suck</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
suuvene	(sūven)	<i>pandanus mat</i>	n.
suvali	(suvali)	<i>resemble</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)
suvulu	(suvul)	<i>climb down</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
suvunu	(suvun)	<i>sneeze</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
taa	(tān)	<i>excrement</i>	suff.n.
taasili	(dās il)	<i>disperse</i>	intr.vb. (I)
tahela	(tahel)	1. <i>wave</i>	n.
	(tahelaite)	2. <i>wash of vessel</i>	link.n.
tahi	(mutahi)	<i>pour</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
tahini	(dahini)	<i>bury</i>	tr.vb. (I,4)
taho	(mutah)	<i>open</i>	intr.vb. (V)
tahoo	(dahō)	<i>fat</i>	intr.vb. (I)

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
tāhosi	(tahos)	<i>good</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
tai	(dai)	<i>chop</i>	tr.vb. (I,4)
taingeinge	(daingeing)	<i>ignorant</i>	intr.vb. (I)
takule	(takul)	<i>sago</i>	n.
ta+lau+ai	(talauai)	<i>green</i>	adj.
ta+loko=hisi	(talokohis)	<i>yellow</i>	adj.
talongo	(dalong)	<i>listen</i>	intr.vb. (I,4)
tame	(tamen)	<i>father</i>	suff.n.
tamurelo	(tamurel)	<i>short</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
tangisi	(dangisi)	<i>cry for</i>	tr.vb. (I,4)
tano=melu=melu	(tanmelumel)	<i>mud</i>	n.
tarȳpenge	(taripeng)	<i>lazy</i>	desc.n.
tau	(mutau)	<i>defecate</i>	intr.vb. (V)
taunehe	(tauneh)	<i>thing</i>	n.
taunu	(daun)	<i>dawdle</i>	intr.vb. (I)
tausali	(tausal)	<i>sea snake</i>	n.
tavēlahi	(tavelah)	<i>long</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
tavoi	(tavoi)	<i>navel tree</i>	n.
tehe	(dehei)	<i>slice</i>	tr.vb. (I,4)
teilangi	(teilang)	<i>sky</i>	n.
telaā	(dela)	<i>burp</i>	intr.vb. (I)
telai	(telai)	<i>axe</i>	n.
telaimo	(telaim)	<i>home</i>	loc.n.
telemi	(delemi)	<i>swallow</i>	tr.vb. (I,4)
tevi	(mutev)	<i>swell up</i>	intr.vb. (V)
tidinu	(tidin)	<i>red ants</i>	n.
tii	(mutī)	<i>punch</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
tiisaa	(tīsa)	<i>bad</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
tileve	(tilev)	<i>dew</i>	n.
tilii	(dilit)	<i>sew</i>	tr.vb. (I,4)
tinu	(tin)	<i>intestines</i>	suff.n.
tinu	(mutin)	<i>hot</i>	intr.vb. (V)
tioni	(dioni)	<i>push</i>	tr.vb. (I,4)
tisi	(mutisi)	<i>write</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
tive	(mutiv)	<i>spit</i>	intr.vb. (V)

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
tomane	(toman)	<i>male</i>	desc.n.
too	(dō) (muto)	1. <i>stay</i> 2. <i>clean, bald</i>	intr.vb. (I) intr.vb. (V)
too=malu	(dōmal)	<i>stand</i>	intr.vb. (I)
too=tano	(dōtan)	<i>sit</i>	intr.vb. (I)
tōvūeli	(tovuel)	<i>not exist</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
tuunu	(dūn)	<i>chat, tell stories</i>	intr.vb. (I)
tuvo	(duva)	<i>shoot</i>	tr.vb. (I,2)
uasi	(muasi)	<i>hit, kill</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
uhi	(mūhi)	<i>blow</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
uhiaa	(uhia)	<i>wild yam</i>	n.
uiita	(uīt)	<i>octopus</i>	n.
uiita=loho	(uītaloh)	<i>squid</i>	n.
uli	(mūli)	<i>rub</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
ulumatue	(ulumatu)	<i>old man</i>	n.
umo	(mūm)	<i>work</i>	intr.vb. (V)
ungo	(ungen)	<i>mouth</i>	suff.n.
urulu	(urilin)	<i>elbow, knee</i>	suff.n.
usa	(mūs)	<i>rain</i>	intr.vb. (V)
usi	(usīte)	<i>side</i>	link.n.
usili	(mūsili)	<i>follow</i>	tr.vb. (V,4)
ute	(ut)	<i>shore</i>	loc.n.
uti	(utīte)	<i>seed</i>	link.n.
vaarese	(vāres)	<i>red flying fox</i>	n.
vaase+hee	(vāsehēn)	<i>heel</i>	suff.n.
vakīlii	(vakili)	<i>canoe</i>	n.
vakōraa	(vakora)	<i>coconut shell</i>	n.
valiaa	(valia)	<i>spider</i>	n.
vange	(vangen)	<i>belly</i>	suff.n.
vanei	(vanei)	<i>volcano</i>	n.
vatīhose	(vatihos)	<i>paddle</i>	n.

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss	Form Class
vatikee	(vaticēn)	<i>tail</i>	suff.n.
vatisii	(vatisīn)	<i>shoulder</i>	suff.n.
vatu	(vatin)	<i>head</i>	suff.n.
vauluulu	(vaulūl)	<i>thunder</i>	n.
veiene	(veien)	<i>beach, sand</i>	n.
velaaso	(velāsen)	<i>chin</i>	suff.n.
vere	(ver)	<i>noisy</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
vetaa	(veta)	<i>breadfruit</i>	n.
vieke	(viek)	<i>water taro</i>	n.
vilo	(vilen)	<i>vagina</i>	suff.n.
visi	(vis)	<i>finish</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
visokono	(visokon)	<i>morning</i>	time.n.
visūvongi	(visuvong)	<i>tomorrow</i>	time.n.
vito	(viten)	<i>navel</i>	suff.n.
voiaau	(voiāu)	<i>rope</i>	n.
vola=vola	(volavol)	<i>burao tree</i>	n.
vongiene	(vongien)	<i>night</i>	time.n.
voo	(vō)	<i>stink, rotten</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
voreti	(vorette)	<i>small</i>	link.n.
voto	(voten)	<i>buttocks</i>	suff.n.
vūasi	(vuas)	<i>pig</i>	n.
vulimolasu	(vulimolas)	<i>dust</i>	n.
vulingasu	(vulingasin)	<i>nose</i>	suff.n.
vusi	(vus)	<i>finish</i>	intr.vb. (VI)
vuuti	(vūti)	<i>proud, show-off</i>	tr.vb. (VI,4)

## APPENDIX C

## ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT

As was mentioned in the acknowledgements, a collection of Paamese texts was published in 1980, and a collection of stories can be read in this volume. It should be specifically pointed out, however, that these stories were not published for 'academic' consumption, and there are therefore no morpheme by morpheme glosses, nor even any reasonably literal English translation.

The English translations that do appear in this volume are basically nothing more than outlines of the content, of interest mostly to anthropologists and oral historians perhaps, but not professional linguists.

To make some data available to the academic audience, the following story is presented below for exemplification of structures described in this study. The story was told by Siti Wilson of Tahal Nesa village.

Lok	vati	navit	mahiten	tūnuen	tai.
lo+ku	vati+e	na+vite	ma+hiteni	tuunu+ene	taai
<i>interior.1sg</i>	<i>3sg.real.want.3sg</i>	<i>1sg.real.say</i>	<i>1sg.imm.tell</i>	<i>tell story.nom</i>	<i>one</i>
<i>I want to tell a story.</i>					

Tūnuenenek	vā	mukok.	Navong	tāi	molatin
tuunu+ene=neke	vaa	muko=ke	n+avongi	taai	molātine
<i>tell story.nom.dist</i>	<i>3sg.real.go</i>	<i>3sg.real.thus.prox</i>	<i>loc.time</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>people</i>
<i>The story goes like this.</i>			<i>Once, there were two people.</i>		

elu.	Kail	hau	amūmon	marilapet	tā.	Amūmoni.
elua	kaile	haulue	a+muumo+ni	mari+lapete	taa	a+muumo+ni+e
<i>two</i>	<i>3pl</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>3pl.real.do.tr</i>	<i>big.celebration</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>3pl.real.do.tr.3sg</i>
<i>Many people had a big celebration.</i>					<i>They had it.</i>	

Amuas	vuas.	Alahin	anien	mai.
a+muasi	vūasi	a+lahi+nV	anitene	mai
<i>3pl.real.kill</i>	<i>pig</i>	<i>3pl.real.carry.comm</i>	<i>eat.nom</i>	<i>3sg.real.come</i>
<i>They killed a pig.</i>		<i>They brought food.</i>		

Adāni.	Adāni	mulen	avul.
a+daani+e	a+daani+e	mule=ni	avuli
<i>3pl.real.bake in hole.3sg</i>	<i>3pl.real.bake in hole.3sg</i>	<i>3sg.real.exist.sp</i>	<i>hole</i>
<i>They baked it in a hole.</i>		<i>They baked it in a hole.</i>	

Mul	mul	mul	vō	mas.	Auva
mule	mule	mule	vo(o)	maso	au+vaa
<i>3sg.real.exist</i>	<i>3sg.real exist</i>	<i>3sg.real.exist</i>	<i>until</i>	<i>3sg.real.cooked</i>	<i>3pl.real.go</i>
<i>It stayed there until it was cooked.</i>					<i>They went</i>

alah	leini.	Adītī.	Adītī
a+lahi	leini+e	a+diitii+e	a+diitii+e
<i>3pl.real.carry</i>	<i>outwards.3sg</i>	<i>3pl.real.distribute.3sg</i>	<i>3pl.real.distribute.3sg</i>
<i>and removed it.</i>		<i>They shared it out.</i>	

vō	evus	molatin	elu	lugur	ālalu	lūvā
vo(o)	evusi	molātine	elua	lu+guri	aa+lalue	luu+vaa
<i>until</i>	<i>3sg.real.finish</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>3dl.real.take</i>	<i>poss.ed.3dl</i>	<i>3dl.real.go</i>
<i>and the two people took theirs home.</i>						

telaim.	Lūva	lumul	lungani.	Lungani
telaimo	luu+vaa	lu+mule	lu+ngani+e	lu+ngani+e
<i>home</i>	<i>3dl.real.go</i>	<i>3dl.real.exist</i>	<i>3dl.real.eat.3sg</i>	<i>3dl.real.eat.3sg</i>
<i>They went and they were eating it.</i>				<i>They ate it,</i>

lungani	lungani	vō	tā	kai	ngan	ān.
lu+ngani+e	lu+ngani+e	vo(o)	taa	kaie	ngani	aa+ne
3dl.real.eat.3sg	3dl.real.eat.3sg	until	one	3sg	3sg.real.eat	poss.ed.3sg

*until eventually one had eaten his.*

Ngan	ān	vō	ngan	vasī.	Ngani	vō
ngani	aa+ne	vo(o)	ngani	vasi+e	ngani+e	vo(o)
3sg.real.eat	poss.ed.3sg	until	3sg.real.eat	all.3sg	3sg.real.eat.3sg	until

*He ate until it was finished. He ate it until he had*

ngan	vasīn	hili+ven	vuas.	En	vongien
ngani	vasii+nV	hili+i+ve+ne	vūasi	eni	vongiene
3sg.real.eat	all.comm	skin.link.body.const	pig	obl	night

*eaten all the skin of the pig. During the night,*

romatitiei.	Vit	vahān	kapine.	Vāen
ro+matilu+tei	vite	va+haa=ni	kapinee	vaa+ene
3sg.real.neg.sleep.part	3sg.real.want	3sg.imm.go.sp	toilet	3sg.real.go.sp

*he couldn't sleep. He wanted to go to the toilet. He went there*

romutautei.	Mutau	mīta	veral.
ro+mutau+tei	mutau	miitaa	verale
3sg.real.defecate.part	3sg.real.defecate	3sg.real.come down	3sg.real.blocked

*but couldn't defecate. He strained in defecation but it was blocked.*

Hilīven	vuas dō	kolen	uruvoten.	Mul
hili+i+ve+ne	vūasi doo	kole+nV	uruvote+ne	mule
skin.link.body.const	pig	3sg.real.stay	cover.comm	anus.3sg

*The pig skin was blocking his anus. He stayed*

vā	vā	vō	aut	lan.	Visokon
vaa	vaa	vo(o)	aute	lani	visokono
3sg.real.go	3sg.real.go	until	place	3sg.real.daylight	morning

*there until sunrise. Very early*

vāreis	vatte	tas.	Vā	meteal
vaarei=se	vat+tee	taa+se	vaa	mete+ealo
precisely.neg.exp	type.indef	one.neg.exp	3sg.real.go	eye.daylight

*in the morning it was still the same. It went on and the sun went*

vīta	mesal	vahe	kovanges.	Vā
viitaa	mesale	va+he	kovāngese	vaa
3sg.real.go down	open space	3sg.imm.cop	late afternoon	3sg.real.go

*low in the sky on late afternoon was near. He went to*

les	taulet	onen.	Vā	viteni	min
lesi	tauletu	one+nV	vaa	viteni+e	mini
3sg.real.see	cross-cousin	poss.man.3sg	3sg.real.go	3sg.real.say.3sg	pun.dat

*see his cross-cousin. He went and said to his cross-cousin:*

uan	onen	vit	"Uan,	lok
uani	one+nV	vite	uani	lo+ku
cross-cousin	poss.man.3sg	3sg.real.say	cross-cousin	interior.1sg

*"Cross-cousin, I want you*

vati	navit	kovalesinau."	Uan	onen
vati+t	na+vite	ko+va+lesi+нау	uani	one+nV
3sg.real.want to look at me."	1sg.real.say	2sg.imm.see.1sg	cross-cousin	poss.man.3sg
			His cross-cousin	said:

vit	"Malesik	en asa?"	"Ei,	lehehās
vite	ma+lesi+ko	eni asaa	ei	lehe+haa=se
3sg.real.say	1sg.imm.see.2sg	caus what	exclamation	1dl.incl.dis.go.neg.exp
	"What do I have to look at you for?"		"Oh, let's just go home and	

telaim	kilesies.	Kiles	taunehēn."	"Tahos,
telaimo	ki+lesi+e=se	ki+lesi	taunehe=ene	tāhosi
home	2sg.dis.see.3sg.neg.exp	2sg.dis.see	thing.sp	3sg.real.good
you can see it.		You will see something there"		"Ok, go there,

hāt	lovaha."	Lūvā	telaim gulāt	tirausis.
haa+tu	lo+va+ha	luu+vaa	telaimo gulaati	tirausise
2sg.imp.go.dest	1dl.incl.imm.go	3dl.real.go	home	3sg.real.remove shorts
let's go."		They went home and he took of his pants.		

Vit	"Kilesi	en votok."	Kai	suasu.
vite	ki+lesite	eni voto+ku	kaie	sua=sua
3sg.real.say	2sg.dis.see.3sg	sp buttocks.1sg	3sg	3sg.real.bend over
He said:	"Look at my backside."		He bent over.	

Les	hīliven	vuas dō	kolen	uruvoten.
lesi	hili+i+ve+ne	vūasi doo	kole+nV	uruvote+ne
3sg.real.see	skin.link.body.const	pig	3sg.real.stay	cover.comm anus.3sg
He saw the pig	skin blocking his anus.			

Vit	"Uan,	kongan	vuas nenganeh.	Kai dō
vite	uani	ko+ngani	vūasi nenganehe	kaie doo
3sg.real.say	cross-cousin	2sg.real.eat	pig yesterday	3sg 3sg.real.stay
He said:	"Cross-cousin, yesterday you ate some pig.			Now it's blocking

kolen	uruvotomok.	Tahos,	nīha	nikur	vōtel
kole+nV	uruvoto+mo=ke	tāhosi	nii+haa	ni+kuri	vootele
cover.comm	anus.2sg.prox	3sg.real.go	1sg.dis.go	1sg.dis.take	glass
up your anus.		So I will go and bring some glass and I			

hēmai	niteh	vāsi	eni."	Vā	gur
hee+mai	ni+tehe	vaasite	enite	vaa	guri
3sg.dis.come	1sg.dis.slice	split.3sg	obl.3sg	3sg.real.go	3sg.real.take
will cut through it with it."				He went and brought some	

vōtel	mai.	Navong	kevatehei	suasu.
vootele	mai	n+avongi	ke+va+tehe+ie	sua=sua
glass	3sg.real.come	loc.time	sub.3sg.imm.slice.3sg	3sg.real.bent over
glass.		When he was going to cut it, he bent over.		

Sān	vatin	vārei	vita	malun
saani	vati+ne	vaarei	viitaa	malu=ni
3sg.real.give	head.3sg	precisely	3sg.real.go down	3sg.real.direct.sp
He put his head right at	his cross-cousins backside.			

voten	uan	onen.	Dehen
vote+ne	uani	one+nv	dehe+nV
buttocks.const	cross-cousin	poss.man.3sg	3sg.real.slice.comm

*He cut the pig*

hilīven	vuas.	Dehei	dehei
hili+i+ve+ne	vūasi	dehe+ie	dehe+ie
skin.link.body.const	pig	3sg.real.slice.3sg	3sg.real.slice.3sg

*He cut it and cut it until he had cut skin.*

dehei	vō	munak	deh	vāsi	ata
dehe+ie	vo(o)	munake	dehe	vaasi+e	ataa
3sg.real.slice.3sg	until	when	3sg.real.slice	split.3sg	excrement

*through it, and excrement came down and completely*

mīta	gur	kol	vārein	nān.	Vatin
miitaa	guri	kole	vaarei+ni	naa+ne	vati+ne
3sg.real.come down	3sg.real.take	cover	precisely.tr	face.3sg	head.3sg

*covered his face. His head*

vē	atās.	Loh	vārei	vīta
ve	ataa=se	loho	vaarei	viitaa
3sg.real.cop	excrement.neg.exp	3sg.real.run	precisely	3sg.real.go down

*was nothing but excrement. He ran right down to the sea.*

vān	atas.	Guli	leini.	Mā.	Uan
vaa=ni	atasi	gulii	leinite	maa	uani
3sg.real.go.sp	sea	3sg.real.bathe	outwards.3sg	3sg.real.come up	cross-cousin

*He washed it off. He came back. His cross-*

onen	muas	vuas	tāris	gān
one+nV	muasi	vūasi	taa=rise	gaa=ni
poss.man.3sg	3sg.real.kill	pig	one.rep	3sg.real.come from.sp

*cousin killed another pig for that business.*

hattēnek.	Sak	leini	vā	vus.
hat+tee=neke	saki	leinite	vaa	vusi
matter.indef.dist	3sg.real.do	outwards.3sg	3sg.real.go	3sg.real.finish.

*He settled it until it was forgotten.*

Kai netinek.  
kaie netine=ke  
3sg. rec.prox  
*That's all.*



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