THE LANGUAGE OF PAAMA (NEW HEBRIDES)

by

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Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

Terry Crowley
The completion of this dissertation is of course not only the result of my own hard work. It is the product of the hard work and co-operation of many.

Above all, my sincerest gratitude goes to the people of the island of Paama in the New Hebrides. Not only for allowing me to stay on your island, but for encouraging me to come back (and back and back). For adopting me as one of your own, for teaching me something about what it means to be Paamese, and for teaching me to speak your language, such as I managed to learn it.

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The present work is a description of the language spoken on the island of Paama in the New Hebrides, a language which is otherwise undescribed except for a short grammatical sketch that was published in the early 1900's on the basis of a missionary's translation of the Bible. The language, referred to throughout as "Paamese" in the absence of any particular indigenous name, is an Austronesian language of the Oceanic branch. It is a language with much greater morphological complexity than other Oceanic languages such as Fijian and the Polynesian languages, though it is considerably simpler than other Oceanic languages of the southern New Hebrides and New Caledonia.

Chapter I has been written to provide the reader with the linguistic, socio-cultural and geographic background necessary for an appreciation of the remainder of the work.

Chapter II describes the phonological system of the language. This is a rather complex system in that there is a basic set of oppositions, which differs quite markedly from the surface set of 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.

Chapter III presents the various form classes, along with the distinguishing morpho-syntactic characteristics and semantic content of each.
Chapter IV describes the structure of the nominal phrase. It is shown that nominal phrases can be viewed as either simple (containing only a single head) or complex (containing two heads). In a complex nominal phrase, the two nominal phrase heads are related in a number of different ways semantically and grammatically. In this chapter, the nature and behaviour of nominal phrase adjuncts is also described.

Chapter V describes the structure of the verb phrase. One of the most characteristic features of Paamese verbs is the alternation in the form of the initial segments of verb roots according to the nature of the syntactic environment the forms occur in, a characteristic incidentally that Paamese shares with a number of other New Hebridean languages. The inflectional and derivational morphology of Paamese verbs is also described. It is shown that there is some morphological reanalysis taking place in the language, making for difficulties in giving a purely synchronic analysis. Finally, this chapter describes the behaviour of verb phrase adjuncts, especially those verb phrases in which a verbal head is followed by one or more verbal adjuncts.

Chapter VI provides a description of the clause level grammar of the language. The various syntactic relationships which hold between various kinds of phrase level constituents are described, along with the semantic correlates of these constructions. This includes a description of prepositional constructions and the complex possessive-type constructions. Also included in this chapter is a description of interrogative clauses and interjections.

This description does not go beyond the clause level. There is, therefore, no attempt to deal with inter-clausal relations, nor is there any attempt at discourse analysis. This decision has been made so
that the account of the lower levels of analysis could be presented in as much detail as possible. Detailed descriptions of the grammars of insular Melanesian languages are particularly lacking, and it is hoped that this thesis will help fill the gap.

This is not to say, however, that I regard the higher levels of analysis as of lesser significance. Quite the contrary. Rather than give a sketchy account at this stage, I would prefer to leave it as a research priority for the future. Another priority is to publish, for the people of Paama, as many of the stories (traditional and modern) that I recorded on tape in Paamese. There is a strong likelihood that a sizeable volume of Paamese texts will appear in 1980.

Attached as an appendix are the numbers 1-60 in Paamese, a short basic lexicon with English glosses and some illustrative text material with English translations.
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<td>truth</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Geographic Background

The New Hebrides archipelago ("The Group") is located in the middle of a triangle formed by drawing a line between the Solomon Islands, New Calendonia and Fiji in the southwest Pacific (see map 1). The Group has a population of approximately 100,000, which is largely 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 Group, 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 Group.)

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
Map I: LOCATION OF THE NEW HEBRIDES IN THE SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

SOLOMON ISLANDS

NEW CALEDONIA

NEW HEBRIDES

NAURU

KIRIBATI

TUVALU

SAMOA

FIJI

TONGA

NORFOLK IS.

KERMADEC IS.

LORD HOWE IS.

AUSTRALIA

NEW ZEALAND
Map 2: THE NEW HEBRIDES GROUP

- Torres Is.
- Banks Is.
- SANTO
- Aoba
- Maewo
- Pentecost
- Malekula
- Ambrym
- Paama
- Lopevi
- Efate
- Vila
- Erromanga
- Tanna
Map 3: PAAMA and LOPEVI

Contour at 200m. intervals
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 History

The first sustained contacts between Europeans and New Hebrideans began in the first half of the nineteenth century with the beginning of the sandalwood trade. The first missionaries followed immediately afterward, 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.

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 New Hebrideans and setting up coconut plantations.

Until this time, the New Hebrides was under the political control of no European colonial power. In 1906 however, the New Hebrides became a "condominium", 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.

A Representative Assembly has now been formed and in 1977 it was accorded a degree of internal self-government. The two metropolitan powers have agreed that in 1980, full independence should be granted to the New Hebrides. Efforts are now being made to unite
those government services that are duplicated in preparation for this date.

1.2.1 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 the New Hebrides 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 New Hebrideans 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 New Hebridean staff. A French primary school has been built at Tavulai, though this too has now come under the control of a local headmaster.

The two governments have set up primary schools at Liro, Tahi, Vauleli and Luli (English medium) and Vutekai and Tavulai (French medium). There is a British clinic at Liro, a French clinic at Tavulai. There are small co-operative stores at Liro, Tahi, Vauleli, Luli and Lulev (in the British organisation) and Tavulai and Vutekai (in the French organisation). The village of Tahi 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 started 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 Paama belongs to the same culture area as southeast Ambrym, which has been described by Tonkinson (1968: 16-40, 69-92), to which the reader is referred.
The Paamese live in villages centred around the amal 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 asuw 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.

Village life is communal, but governed by fair exchange. One does not have a right to something belonging to someone else unless one has the means to reciprocate in some way.

The economy is horticultural. 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

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.)
leaves (*lauha*) and baked slowly on hot stones to make *alok* or "pudding". This is eaten on any special occasion (including also Sunday dinners).

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 the New Hebrides, 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 informant. 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 informant. Rather, I found that some people were
keen to act as informants 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
even doubt about the validity of this branch of Austronesian), and there is no general agreement. Pawley (1969:98) 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 the New Hebrides, 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 suggests 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 southeast 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
Although there is only patchy data available on languages of the New Hebrides, Paamese appears to show great structural affinity to the languages of north Ambrym (Paton 1971) and the Big Nambas of north Malekula (Fox, forthcoming). Some of the other languages of the New Hebrides, 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. (This observation, if it is in fact valid, would suggest that Pawley's subgrouping may need reconsideration).

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SOUTH</th>
<th>NORTH</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nitehen^2 kaliko</td>
<td>Niteh kaliko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I will cut the cloth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SOUTH</th>
<th>NORTH</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nadehen kaliko</td>
<td>Nareh kaliko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I cut the cloth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagil vuluvul</td>
<td>Nakil vuluvul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I dug the hole.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SOUTH</th>
<th>NORTH</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matudehen kaliko</td>
<td>Metreh kaliko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'We (pcl. excl.) cut the cloth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. 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.
(iv) The northern dialects have either lost the lateral \( \ell \), or changed it to \( i \) adjacent to non-high vowels, whereas the southern dialects have retained it intact. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOUTH</th>
<th>NORTH</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leahono(^3)</td>
<td>eahono 'bush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melau</td>
<td>meau 'scrub turkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valene</td>
<td>vaene 'insect type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halee</td>
<td>hae 'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siisele</td>
<td>siisee 'road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amalo</td>
<td>amai 'reef'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOUTH</th>
<th>NORTH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>auhu</td>
<td>ouhu  'yam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taunehe</td>
<td>townahe 'thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimo</td>
<td>eimo 'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiko</td>
<td>keiko 'you'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 New Hebridean lingua franca Bislama (sometimes spelt in English "Beach-la-mar", and French as

---

3. 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 \( \ell \rightarrow i \rightarrow \emptyset \) rule.
"Bichelamar"). This is a variety of pidgin English 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).

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bislama</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Paamese</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>busi</td>
<td>Fr. bougie</td>
<td>būsi</td>
<td>'spark plug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botel</td>
<td>E. bottle</td>
<td>vōtel</td>
<td>'glass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalsong</td>
<td>Fr. caleçon</td>
<td>kalsong</td>
<td>'men's underpants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trausis</td>
<td>E. trousers</td>
<td>tirausis</td>
<td>'shorts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lai</td>
<td>Fr. l'ail</td>
<td>lāi</td>
<td>'garlic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pima</td>
<td>Fr. piment</td>
<td>pima</td>
<td>'chilli'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabine</td>
<td>Fr. cabinet</td>
<td>kapine</td>
<td>'toilet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koboi</td>
<td>E. cowboy</td>
<td>kopoi</td>
<td>'he-man, cowboy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sospen</td>
<td>E. saucepan</td>
<td>sosipen</td>
<td>'cooking pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaliko</td>
<td>E. calico</td>
<td>kaliko</td>
<td>'cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapat</td>
<td>Port. sapato</td>
<td>sapat</td>
<td>'thongs'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kären.

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 língua franca. Bislama does not enjoy prestige, nor is it stigmatised. It is simply regarded as a means of commun-
ication with non-Paamese. Indeed, it is a fact of Paamese culture that non-accepted language mixing is considered funny, and this is therefore done only for particular effect in conversation. A slip in conversation is likely to be laughed at. (This is not due to an attitude of pride towards the language. The same holds true for slips into Paamese while speaking Bislama.)

There is in fact only one kind of situation in which the Paamese are likely to switch to Bislama when not in a multi-lingual situation, and that 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prenasalised stop</th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>apical/laminal</th>
<th>dorsal/glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oral stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral trill</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Paamese Consonant Inventory
(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 language. 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d} : \text{r} & \quad \text{daho 'he is fat'} \quad \text{raho 'tree type'} \\
\text{b} : \text{v} & \quad \text{be 'fish type'} \quad \text{ve 'he is'} \\
\text{t} : \text{d} & \quad \text{matil\textsuperscript{u} 'he slept'} \quad \text{madil\textsuperscript{i} 'it is cold'} \\
\text{k} : \text{g} & \quad \text{kul\textsuperscript{u} 'swim'} \quad \text{gul\textsuperscript{u} 'he swam'} \\
\text{p} : \text{v} & \quad \text{pusi\textsuperscript{e} 'he kicked it'} \quad \text{vusi\textsuperscript{e} 'he scooped it out'} \\
\text{l} : \text{r} & \quad \text{ala 'sail'} \quad \text{ara 'blood'} \\
\text{l} : \text{n} & \quad \text{latin\textsuperscript{e} 'his mother'} \quad \text{natin\textsuperscript{e} 'his son'} \\
\emptyset : \text{h} & \quad \text{oay 'water'} \quad \text{hoay 'natavua tree'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\( \text{r} \). The segment \( \text{r} \) is realised as a voiced apico-alveolar trill \( r \) between syllabic vowels, and as a single flap \( r \) syllable initially, before a non-syllabic vowel, or in consonant clusters. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>araling(^e)</td>
<td>[aral(n)^e]</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vahe(a)</td>
<td>[fahe(a]\</td>
<td>'perhaps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ralingok(u)</td>
<td>[ralin(k)^u]</td>
<td>'my ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vasir(^o)</td>
<td>[fasir(^o]\</td>
<td>'bird type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avervato</td>
<td>[avervato]</td>
<td>'bird type'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This allophony of \( \text{r} \) contrasts sharply with that of some other New Hebridean languages, e.g. Raga, Nguna, which reportedly have a predominantly retroflex continuant realisation.)

\( \ell \). This segment is realised as a voiced apico-alveolar lateral, with no noticeable allophonic variation. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>langolu</td>
<td>[lanol(u]\</td>
<td>'blue fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meteymal(^i)</td>
<td>[meteymal(^i]\</td>
<td>'village'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \tilde{\text{h}} \). This segment is realised as a voiceless glottal fricative. It has no noticeable allophonic variants. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h(\tilde{\text{k}})ot(^o)</td>
<td>[ha:\text{kot}^o]</td>
<td>'village boundary'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahang(^o)</td>
<td>[ahan(^o]\</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m(\tilde{\text{a}})^i</td>
<td>[ma:h(\tilde{\text{i}}]\</td>
<td>'it is sore'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\( \text{s} \). This segment is realised as a voiceless grooved alveolar
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.

\begin{align*}
\text{avang}^e & \quad [\text{avang}^e] \quad \text{'belly'}\\
\text{vamai} & \quad [\text{va:may}] \quad \text{'it is coming'}\\
\text{vaha} & \quad [\text{faha}] \quad \text{'it is going'}\\
\text{lavi} & \quad [\text{la:vi}] \quad \text{'bird type'}\\
\text{ven}^e & \quad [\text{fe:n}^e] \quad \text{'its track'}\\
\text{sav}^o & \quad [\text{safo} - \text{safo}] \quad \text{'other'}\\
\text{vuvu} & \quad [\text{vu:vu} - \text{vu:vu}] \quad \text{'it is bulging'}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
\text{ngasi}^e & \quad [\text{nasie}^e] \quad \text{'chew it'}\\
\text{vagen}^e & \quad [\text{fa:nen}^e] \quad \text{'his belly'}\\
\text{naim}^o & \quad [\text{naym}^o] \quad \text{'inside'}\\
\text{amay} & \quad [\text{amay}] \quad \text{'come here'}
\end{align*}

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

\[
\text{daho} \quad [\text{ndaho - nd\textsuperscript{d}aho}] \quad \text{'he is fat'}
\]
\[
\text{m\textsuperscript{a}d} \quad [\text{ma:nd} \quad \text{'sweat'}
\]

Phonetic sequences of [mb], [nd] and [ng] 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 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 \textit{tabos} \textsuperscript{e} '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 or 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$tokoli^e$</td>
<td>$[tokoli^e]$</td>
<td>'touch it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$avek^u$</td>
<td>$[avek^u - avek^e]$</td>
<td>'my body'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ato$</td>
<td>$[ato]$</td>
<td>'chicken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$pusi^e$</td>
<td>$[pusi^e]$</td>
<td>'he kicked it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$asup^o$</td>
<td>$[asup^o - asup^e]$</td>
<td>'chief'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$i : y$</td>
<td>$vio$</td>
<td>'it chirped'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u : w$</td>
<td>$suay$</td>
<td>'sandy soil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$vyo$ 'until'  $sway$ 'he disappeared'  

2.1.2 Vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i ı</td>
<td>u ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e ē</td>
<td>o ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Paamese Vowel Inventory

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  i & : e & gilesi^e & 'he unscrewed it' & \text{gelesi}^e & 'he exchanged it' \\
  u & : o & amul^e & 'they stayed' & \text{amol}^i & 'orange' \\
  a & : e & \text{mal}^u & 'it is correct' & \text{mel}^u & 'it is over-ripe' \\
  a & : o & \text{tamesay} & 'sick' & \text{tomesay} & 'we (pcl. incl) are sick'
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  i & : \ddot{i} & \text{sile}^e & 'he got a fright' & \text{sile}^e & 'their bones' \\
  e & : \ddot{e} & \text{men}^e & 'it is ripe' & \text{men}^e & 'his tongue' \\
  o & : \ddot{o} & \text{oralu}^e & 'our (dl. incl)' & \text{oralu}^e & 'our (dl. incl) penises' \\
  a & : \ddot{a} & \text{vati}^e & 'he stopped' & \text{vati}^e & 'he is going to bite it' \\
  u & : \ddot{u} & \text{luhi}^e & 'he planted it' & \text{luhi}^e & 'you two blow it'
\end{align*}
\]

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.
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 \( [i] \). E.g.

- riow \( [\text{riow}] \) 'hermit crab'
- siel\(^e\) \( [\text{siel}^\text{e}] \) 'croton'
- vasir\(^o\) \( [\text{fasir}^\text{o}] \) '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 \( [\text{u}] \). E.g.

- luok\(^u\) \( [\text{luok}\text{u}] \) 'my vomitus'
- munumun\(^u\) \( [\text{munumun}\text{u}] \) '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 \( [e] \) in final closed syllables. E.g.

- wen\(^e\) \( [\text{wen}^\text{e}] \) 'its handle'
- ilele\(^e\) \( [\text{ilele}^\text{e}] \) 'souvenir'
- eaw \( [\text{eaw}] \) 'knife'
- muck\(^e\) \( [\text{mucke}] \) 'breadfruit type'
o. This is a mid, back rounded vowel. It has the realisation [ɔ] in open syllables and [ɔ] in final closed syllables. E.g.

- oay [oay] 'water'
- loh^o [loh^o] '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^o [ahan^o] '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](image)

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:

- $\text{aym}^o$ $\quad [\text{aym} - \text{aym} - \text{aym}^o]$ $\quad \text{'house'}$
- $\text{aym}^e$ $\quad [\text{aym} - \text{aym}^e]$ $\quad \text{'bird type'}$
- $\text{evil}^e$ $\quad [\text{evil} - \text{evil}^e]$ $\quad \text{'it is full'}$
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 $aym^o$ 'house' does indeed have a very high frequency of occurrences as phonetic $[aym^o]$, 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 $[angalehey]$. 

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' |
| tohúlu$^e$ | 'bush vegetable type' |
| tahós$^i$ | 'it is good' |
| 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 most natural generalisations. The phonological system described in 2.1 can be considered uneconomical in that it misses
a number of significant 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 problem 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.

The second problem 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:

```
ye ~ yeɪ ~ yeɪ ~ ie ~ ieɪ ~ ieɪ
```

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

Problems 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'
na+nani+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.
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=kurumuu '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 \( \ddot{a}v \) and \( \ddot{a}p \) 'firewood'; on the other hand, when there is a following clitic, for example -se 'negative expectation', the realisation can only be \( \ddot{a}vis \) '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:
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL INPUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hesa=hesa</td>
<td>hesa=hese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kera=kera</td>
<td>kera=kere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mane=mane</td>
<td>mane=mane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male=male</td>
<td>male=male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL INPUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aute</td>
<td>aute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ute=mese</td>
<td>ute=mese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ausa</td>
<td>ause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usa=loho</td>
<td>usa=loho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL INPUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nea=nea</td>
<td>nea=nee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee=lee</td>
<td>lee=lee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma+koa=koa</td>
<td>ma+koa=koo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soo=soo</td>
<td>soo=soo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Note also the following compound form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avea</td>
<td>avee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vea=lii</td>
<td>vea-lii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'gong'

'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hia=hia</td>
<td>hia=hie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rua=rua</td>
<td>rua=rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hue=hue</td>
<td>hue=hue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nue=nue</td>
<td>nue=nue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vio=vio</td>
<td>vio=vio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'plant type'

'rough sea'

'sand grass'

'tree type'

'it chirped'

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ve</td>
<td>vee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voo</td>
<td>voo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'it is'

'it stinks'

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL INPUT</th>
<th>TRANSCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ro+ve+tei</td>
<td>ro+ve+tei</td>
<td>'it is not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro+voo+tei</td>
<td>ro+voo+tei</td>
<td>'it does not stink'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

- **V**
  - le [-hi] _hilu_ 'breadfruit type'
  - ro [-hi] _rato_ 'ant type'
  - ti [+hi] _punch_ 'punch'
  - vina [-hi] _vinaa_ 'he went up'

The forms are represented simply as _leilu_, _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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL INPUT</th>
<th>TRANSCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vo(o)</td>
<td>voo</td>
<td>'until'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka(a)</td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>'yes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 underlyingly a, though there are no alternations by which this could be established. Therefore, while a form like *ause 'rain' is clearly underlyingly *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.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>[+hi]</th>
<th>[-back]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[+hi]</td>
<td>[+back]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[-hi]</td>
<td>[-lo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[-hi]</td>
<td>[-lo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[+lo]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ि� and ु 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 basic rule of antepenultimate stress assignment 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 (¥) 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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V_{[\text{-hi}]} + V_{[\text{+hi}]} + V_{[\text{-hi}]}
\end{array}
\]

E.g.

veiene 'sand'
houavu 'tree type'
vauehe 'bird type'

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V_{[\text{+hi}]} + V_{[\text{+hi}]} + V_{[\text{+hi}]}
\end{array}
\]

E.g.

ueile 'yam stakes'
uiita 'octopus'

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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V_{[\text{+lo}]} + V_{[\text{+hi}]}
\end{array}
\]
E.g.

aai 'stick'
oai 'water'
suai 'sandy soil'
aau 'vine'
eau 'knife'

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
\left[ +hi \right] + V \\
\left[ +hi \right] + V \\
\left[ -hi \right] \\
\end{array}
\]

E.g.

vasiie 'all'
muluue 'he vomitted'

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 'rope'

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.

visonosaa 'early morning'
metavinavoni 'midnight'
tahosi 'it is good'
sesali 'near'
vakili 'canoe'
There is also a set of trisyllabic nouns with initial $\alpha$- which only optionally takes this feature on the initial vowel. There are therefore alternative forms such as the following:

- ahatu ~ ȧhatu
  'rock'

- ahie ~ ȧhie
  'Malay apple'

- ahue ~ ȧhue
  'turtle'

- atinu ~ ȧtinu
  'island cabbage'

This $\alpha$- 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 $\tilde{u}\tilde{u}$ and $\tilde{i}\tilde{i}$ sequences are disallowed, we do find examples such as the following:

- vuasi
  'pig'

- suai
  'he disappeared'

- vio(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:

- tōvūeli
  'not exist'

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 these 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. V+ [+stress] / \[ (C)V (C)V (C)V# \] \[ ((C)V)(C) --- (C)V# \]

This is essentially an antepenultimate stress rule (though it can be seen that it does apply stress also to non-antepenultimate syllables in some cases).

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>PHONEMIC²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>visokono</td>
<td>visókonο</td>
<td>visokono 'morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manekolii</td>
<td>manekόli</td>
<td>manekolii 'darkness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vasiie</td>
<td>vasiε</td>
<td>vasiie 'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani</td>
<td>ánι</td>
<td>ani 'fever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vee</td>
<td>vé</td>
<td>vee 'it is'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munge</td>
<td>múnge</td>
<td>munge 'uncircumcised'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesai</td>
<td>mésaι</td>
<td>mesai 'he is sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoai</td>
<td>hóai</td>
<td>hoai 'tree type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarипenge</td>
<td>tарипенге</td>
<td>taripenge 'lazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na+tahosi</td>
<td>nαтаhosi</td>
<td>ntahos 'I am good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tаhosi</td>
<td>тαhosi</td>
<td>tahosi 'he is good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vусi</td>
<td>vulаsi</td>
<td>vusi 'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma+tuva+a</td>
<td>matuvaa</td>
<td>matuva 'I will shoot it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matu+vaa</td>
<td>mαтуvαа</td>
<td>matuva 'we (pcl. excl) went!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loho=loho</td>
<td>лолοлο</td>
<td>loholoh 'he ran about'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko+va+sau</td>
<td>kовαsau</td>
<td>kovasaw 'you will sing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The phonemic forms quoted are the output of these stress rules as well as the segmental rules described in 2.6.2.
(Note also that the phonotactically irregular form tovâeli 'not exist' mentioned in 2.5.2 also comes under the scope of this rule. The surface phonemic form is therefore towâel'.)

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:

\[
\text{II. } V(C) \quad \hat{V} \quad \rightarrow \quad \hat{V}(C)V/ \quad \begin{cases} 
V & [-hi] \\
\hat{V} & +hi \\
\text{qback} & -hi \\
\end{cases}
\]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uriovu</td>
<td>uríovu</td>
<td>uriovu</td>
<td>úriovu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vote+i+tasi</td>
<td>voteítasi</td>
<td>votéitasi</td>
<td>votéytasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahui=neke</td>
<td>tahuíneke</td>
<td>tahúineke</td>
<td>tahúynek'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suai³</td>
<td>súai</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>súay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3. 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.
III. #(C) \( V - V \rightarrow (C) V \bar{V} \)

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i+ali</td>
<td>ñali</td>
<td>ñáli</td>
<td>iáli'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i+ole</td>
<td>íole</td>
<td>íole</td>
<td>iól'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu+ali</td>
<td>lúali</td>
<td>luáli</td>
<td>luáli'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suai</td>
<td>súai</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>súay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[ \text{tábos}^c \quad '\text{inept}' \]
\[ \text{tahós}^l \quad '\text{it is good}' \]

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.

\[ \text{ínau} \quad 'I' \]
\[ \text{ínáu=líi} \quad 'oh, me' \]
\[ \text{ínau=líí=rísi} \quad 'oh, me again' \]
\[ \text{ínau=líí=rísi=ke} \quad 'oh, me again now' \]

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, molatiné 'man' has the following forms:

molatiné 'man'
molatiné=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 molatiné, 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:

\[ \text{IV. } \begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{+hi} \\ \text{-back} \end{pmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{V} \\ \text{[+back]} / - \text{[+hi]} / +\text{back} \\ \text{[+back]} / +\text{hi} / +\text{back} \end{cases} \]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i+umo</td>
<td>uumo</td>
<td>ùm⁰</td>
<td>'they will work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i+uasi+e</td>
<td>uasie</td>
<td>uasi⁰</td>
<td>'they will hit him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mati=ue</td>
<td>matuue</td>
<td>matu⁰</td>
<td>'rising tide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lau+ipio</td>
<td>lauupio</td>
<td>lawpi⁰</td>
<td>'leaf of ipi-tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uiite</td>
<td>wit\textsuperscript{e}</td>
<td>'octopus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hui-</td>
<td>huy-</td>
<td>'important'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahui</td>
<td>tahuy</td>
<td>'banana type'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.2.2 \textbf{E-Backing}

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

\[
\begin{align*}
V & \quad \left[ -\text{hi} \quad -\text{lo} \quad -\text{back} \right] + (\text{back})/ \quad \left[ +\text{hi} \quad +\text{back} \right] \\
V & \quad \left[ +\text{lo} \quad +\text{back} \right]
\end{align*}
\]

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT V PHONEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he+usili+e housilie howsili° 'he will follow him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he+uasi+e houasie howasi° 'he will hit him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uheuhe uhouhe uhowh° 'whitewood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he+oho ... heoh° 'it will be white'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.2.3 **Homorganic Vowel Deletion**

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VI. } & V + \emptyset / \begin{cases} V - V \\ [ \alpha ] \end{cases} \\
& V - V \begin{cases} [ \alpha ] \end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT IV VI PHONEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sii+itee siitee site ° 'juice of it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mee+ene meene men° 'urinating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i+uasi+e uasie uasi° 'they will hit him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luue+ne luene luen° 'his vomitus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu+uaai muaai muay 'he cried'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lau+ipio lauupio laupio lawpi° 'leaf of iplina-tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai+ipio haipio haypi° 'iplina-fruit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[
\text{VII. } e \rightarrow i \begin{cases} 
\text{o} \\
\text{a}
\end{cases} \rightarrow a
\]

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lenga+ealo</td>
<td>lengaialo</td>
<td>lengayal(^o)</td>
<td>'dry bark of oak tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lango+ealo</td>
<td>langoialo</td>
<td>langoyal(^o)</td>
<td>'branch of oak tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
\text{VIII. } e \rightarrow \emptyset / i \rightarrow a
\]
This rule deletes the vowel e whenever it occurs in the sequence iea. Thus:

\[
\text{INPUT VIII PHONEMIC}
\]

\[
vati+ealo \quad \text{vatialo} \quad \text{vatial}^0 \quad \text{'oak tree'}
\]

2.6.2.6 **Glide Formation**

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

\[
\text{IX.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{hi} \\ \text{aback} \\ \text{-stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{glide} \\ \text{-aback} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-hi} \\ \text{-aback} \end{bmatrix}
\]

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.

\[
\text{INPUT}^4 \quad \text{IX} \quad \text{PHONEMIC}
\]

\[
suai \quad \text{sway} \quad \text{sway} \quad \text{'he disappeared'}
\]

\[
uani \quad \text{wani} \quad \text{wan}^1 \quad \text{'cross-cousin'}
\]

4. 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.
úite  wiite  wite  'octopus'
vuéli  vweli  vwel'  'it is not visible'
vió(o)  vyo  vyö  'until'
úpuase  upwase  upwas'  'breadfruit type'
tovuéli  towweli  towwel'  'there is none'

ki-álí  ...  kial'  'you will walk'
i-álí  ...  ial'  'they will walk'
suíai  ...  suay  'sandy soil'
útuua  ...  utua  'boil'
vío  ...  vio  'it chirped'
úriovu  ...  uriov'  'end wall of house'
mulúue  ...  mulù'e  'he vomitted'

The second part of the rule states that 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hé-isí</td>
<td>heysi</td>
<td>heys'</td>
<td>'he will weep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má-umo</td>
<td>mawmo</td>
<td>mawm'</td>
<td>'I am going to work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má-tou</td>
<td>matow</td>
<td>matow</td>
<td>'dry coconut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óái</td>
<td>oay</td>
<td>oay</td>
<td>'fresh water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táhui</td>
<td>tahuy</td>
<td>tahuy</td>
<td>'banana type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>távoi</td>
<td>tavoy</td>
<td>tavoy</td>
<td>'navel tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *iùm'o, we need to order rule IX after rule IV to produce the intermediate form u-ùmo, 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:

\[
\text{INPUT} \quad V \quad \text{IX} \quad \text{PHONEMIC} \\
\text{uhéuhe \ uhouhe \ uhowhe \ uhowh}^e \quad \text{'whitewood'}
\]

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:

\[
\text{INPUT} \quad \text{IX} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{PHONEMIC} \\
\text{uhéuhe \ uhewhe \ uhowhe \ uhowh}^e \quad \text{'whitewood'}
\]

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:

\[
X, \quad V \quad \xrightarrow{\text{[-syllabic] / \{ \# \} \quad \text{XVC V} \quad \{-ahi\} \quad \# \quad \emptyset}} \\
\emptyset / \{ \# \} \quad \text{XVC V} \quad \{-ahi\} \quad \# \quad X \\
(V \quad \text{[-stress]} \quad C \quad = \quad C) \\
(\emptyset) / \{ \# \} \quad \text{XVC V} \quad \{-ahi \quad \text{[-stress]}\} \quad \emptyset \quad C
\]

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\(i\) | ahis \(i\) | 'banana' |
| ahisu | ahis\(u\) | ahis \(u\) | 'rifle' |
| ahue | ahu\(e\) | ahu \(e\) | 'turtle' |
| akio | aki\(o\) | aki \(o\) | '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 |
---|---|---|---|---|
| moli=tiisaa | mol(i)tiisaa | mol(i)tiisaa | mol(i)tisaa | 'lemon' |
| vili=hilii | vil(i)hilii | vil(i)hilii | vil(i)hili | 'it is red' |
| ahue=lii=mau ahueliimaw ahu(e)liimaw ahu(e)liimaw ahu(e)limaw | govaovasi\(e\) | govaovasi | govaovasi\(e\) | 'he slapped it' |
| tāsi=oho | tasioh\(o\) | tasioh | tasioh\(o\) | 'calm sea' |
| lóho=loho | loholoh\(o\) | loholoh | loholoh\(o\) | 'he ran about' |
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ramula+suuvene</td>
<td>ramulasuuvene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meto+maitelu</td>
<td>metomaytelu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>X (ABS)</th>
<th>X (NON-ABS)</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>va-le</td>
<td>vali</td>
<td>val</td>
<td>'it will exist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va-he</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>vahe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *mesa* rather than the correct form, which is *mesay*.

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:

\[ \text{XI. } V \rightarrow (\emptyset) / V C \rightarrow C V (C) V \]

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 \textit{ni-kulu} 'I will swim', nor in \textit{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 \textit{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.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 *hisos* or *hisihos*, whereas *mola-hosi* 'male' is never heard as anything but *molahos*.

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-aveolar    |
| 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 *a*, the preceding consonant an alveolar and the following morpheme an alveolar initial suffix. Thus:
INPUT IX XI PHONEMIC

| gati+tei   | gatitey | gattey | gattey | 'he bit some' |
| ma+an+tei  | maanitey | maantey | mādey | 'I will eat some' |
| ṇani+nau   | ṇaninaw | ṇannaw | ṇanaw | '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 ḍelekuli 'you and I will swim' from ḍelekulu, the northern dialects have ḍelkul. 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 undergoing 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:

\[
\text{XII. } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{aplace} \\ \text{-stop} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{aplace} \\ \text{-stop} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{aplace} \\ \text{-stop} \end{array} \right]
\]
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:

\[ \text{XIII. nt} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{d} / V \quad \text{[+stress]} \\
(d) / V \quad \text{[-stress]} 
\end{cases} \]

E.g.

INPUT IX X XI XII XIII PHONEMIC

hisī=saa hisaa hisa 'what kind of banana'
tinu=nau tinunaw tinnaw tinaw 'island cabbage type'
imō=matuu immatuu imatuu imatu 'former house'
āhe=haau ahehaaw ahhaaw ahāw 'new garden'
ṇani+nau ṇaṇinaw ṇaṇnaw ṇaṇaw 'it burnt me'
gati+tei gatitey gattey ... gattey 'he bit some'
ute=tiisaa uttiisaa ... uṭṭiṣa 'tabu place'

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{XIV. } & \quad \begin{cases} 
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \quad \text{V} \\
\underbracket{\alpha} & \underbracket{\alpha}
\end{array} & \rightarrow \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\begin{array}{c}
\underbracket{\alpha} \\
\left( \text{+long} \right)
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>XIV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāsi=voo</td>
<td>tasivo</td>
<td>'putrid sea water in coconut shell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā+vee</td>
<td>nave</td>
<td>'I am'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>málee</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>'it is unsweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vūo</td>
<td>vō</td>
<td>'it stinks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēe</td>
<td>vē</td>
<td>'it is'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malē=e</td>
<td>malese⁶</td>
<td>malēs⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāa</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ĭu sequences become ṷu, 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 \( \alpha \) 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:

XV. $V^{[+lo]} \rightarrow [\overline{-lo}] / C^{-hi} + C V^{[+lo]}$

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>XIV</th>
<th>XV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta+tahosi</td>
<td>tatahos</td>
<td>tetahos</td>
<td>'good'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma+tahosi</td>
<td>natahos</td>
<td>netahos</td>
<td>'I am good'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma+tahosi</td>
<td>matahos</td>
<td>motahos</td>
<td>'we (pl. excl.) are good'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta+mesai</td>
<td>tamesay</td>
<td>tamesay</td>
<td>'sick'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma+haa</td>
<td>maha</td>
<td>maha</td>
<td>'I am going'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a+tahosi</td>
<td>atahos</td>
<td>atahos</td>
<td>'they are good'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

XVI. $ke \rightarrow \{ \emptyset / --- - C \}$

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ekoke=se=ke</td>
<td>ekose(k^e)</td>
<td>'right here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aute=neke=\textit{ani}=ke</td>
<td>awtene\textit{ani}(k^e)</td>
<td>'that place there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekoke=neke</td>
<td>ekone(k^e)</td>
<td>'over there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muko=neke=se=ke</td>
<td>mukonese(k^e)</td>
<td>'just like that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munake</td>
<td>muna(k^e)</td>
<td>'if'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mueke=neke</td>
<td>muekene(k^e)</td>
<td>'that muek-breadfruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruruveke=ke</td>
<td>ruruveke(k^e)</td>
<td>'this rurwek-fish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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

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 New Hebridean 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>PRODUCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) mule</td>
<td>(e)mule^e</td>
<td>'it exists'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulu</td>
<td>(e)gulu^u</td>
<td>'he swam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saa esa ~ sä</td>
<td>'it perched'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voo evo ~ vo</td>
<td>'it stinks'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) dano</td>
<td>(e)dan^o</td>
<td>'down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dasi</td>
<td>(e)dasi^i</td>
<td>'in the sea'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

XVIII. \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{aplace} \\
\text{+nasal}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\text{-hi} \\
\text{-lo} \\
\text{-back}
\end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{aplace} \\
\text{+nasal}
\end{array} \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INPUT</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tine-ne</td>
<td>tin^e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
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<th>XI</th>
<th>XII</th>
<th>XIII</th>
<th>XIV</th>
<th>XV</th>
<th>XVI</th>
<th>XVII</th>
<th>XVIII</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>I</td>
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<td>XI</td>
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<td>+</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 (Grace 1969; Pawley 1969, 1973).

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proto-Oceanic</th>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>SURFACE FORM</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*daRa-ŋku</td>
<td>rāk'u</td>
<td>raaku rakU</td>
<td>'my blood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*suRi-ŋku</td>
<td>sīk'u</td>
<td>siiku sīkU</td>
<td>'my bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nako-ŋku</td>
<td>nāk'u</td>
<td>naaku nakU</td>
<td>'my face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a laya</td>
<td>alaa</td>
<td>ala</td>
<td>'sail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a nsapa</td>
<td>asaa</td>
<td>asa</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a toqa</td>
<td>atoo</td>
<td>ato</td>
<td>'chicken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*penako</td>
<td>hena</td>
<td>hena</td>
<td>'steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*paqoRu</td>
<td>hāw</td>
<td>haau hāw</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*toko</td>
<td>too</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>'stay'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proto-Oceanic</th>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>SURFACE FORM</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*masaki &gt; mesai</td>
<td>mesay</td>
<td>'sick'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a ika &gt; aie</td>
<td>ay e</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*paqoru &gt; haau</td>
<td>haw</td>
<td>'new'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*maqudi &gt; mauli</td>
<td>mawl i</td>
<td>'alive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mataku &gt; metau</td>
<td>metaw</td>
<td>'afraid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a qunsa &gt; ausa</td>
<td>aws e</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a qulo &gt; aulo</td>
<td>awl o</td>
<td>'maggot'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $vwel^i$ 'it is lost' is reduplicated on the pattern of initial syllable reduplication described in 2.8.1, the actual form is $vwpwel^i$ (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 $vueli$ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>SURFACE FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FREE</td>
<td>COMPOUNDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ausa</td>
<td>usa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aute</td>
<td>ute-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>autu</td>
<td>utu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimo</td>
<td>imo-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>SURFACE FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td>FORM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umo</td>
<td>um$^o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-umo</td>
<td>mawm$^o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usili-e</td>
<td>usili$^e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-usili-e</td>
<td>nawsili$^e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isi</td>
<td>is$^i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va-isi</td>
<td>vays$^i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ili-e</td>
<td>ili$^e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ili-e</td>
<td>mayli$^e$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>SURFACE FORM</th>
<th>FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hulii</td>
<td>huli</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulii-se</td>
<td>hulis</td>
<td>'only the dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atoo</td>
<td>ato</td>
<td>'chicken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too-tiisaa</td>
<td>tōtīsa</td>
<td>'first rooster to crow in the morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutii</td>
<td>muti</td>
<td>'he punched'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutii-e</td>
<td>muti-e</td>
<td>'he punched him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vinaa</td>
<td>vina</td>
<td>'he went up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vinaa-tu</td>
<td>vinā-u</td>
<td>'he went up there'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>SURFACE FORM</th>
<th>FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na-gili-e</td>
<td>nagili</td>
<td>'I dug it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-ili-e</td>
<td>nīli</td>
<td>'I will dig it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-ati-e</td>
<td>heati</td>
<td>'he will bite it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va-ati-e</td>
<td>vāti</td>
<td>'he is going to bite it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu-guve</td>
<td>luguv</td>
<td>'they (two) tipped over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu-uve</td>
<td>lūv</td>
<td>'you two tip over'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>SURFACE FORM</th>
<th>FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amalo</td>
<td>amal°</td>
<td>'reef'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amalo-se</td>
<td>amalos°</td>
<td>'only the reef'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lesi</td>
<td>lesi°</td>
<td>'he saw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lesi-e</td>
<td>lesi°</td>
<td>'he saw it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also interesting at this point to note that the Micronesian languages of Woleai and Ulithi (genetically related 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>REduplicated Form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sitali</td>
<td>si+sitali</td>
<td>'emerge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesai</td>
<td>me+mesai</td>
<td>'sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāhosi</td>
<td>ta+tāhosi</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>ka+kaa</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokoli</td>
<td>to+tokoli</td>
<td>'touch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suai</td>
<td>su+suai</td>
<td>'disappear'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>REduplicated Form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilitu</td>
<td>vi+pilitu</td>
<td>'stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusi</td>
<td>vu+pusi</td>
<td>'kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole</td>
<td>vo+pole</td>
<td>'burnt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demi</td>
<td>re+demi</td>
<td>'think'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT REDuplicated Form</th>
<th>'noisy'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voraa</td>
<td>vo+poraa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lost'</td>
<td>vű+pűeli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.8.2 REDUp

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

\[ i \rightarrow ū \]

E.g. | ROOT REDUplicated Form | 'drink' |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muni</td>
<td>munu=munu</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luhi</td>
<td>luhu=luhu</td>
<td>'plant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhi</td>
<td>uhu=uhu</td>
<td>'blow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>reDUPlicated Form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>matou</td>
<td>matou=tou</td>
<td>'dry coconut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupasu</td>
<td>tupasu=pasu</td>
<td>'smoky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinai</td>
<td>tinai=nai</td>
<td>'lean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitali</td>
<td>sitali=tali</td>
<td>'emerge'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that when we reduplicate disyllables, the reduplication pattern could be just as easily described as *REDUp* or *reDUP*. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loho</td>
<td>loho=loho</td>
<td>'run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mate</td>
<td>mate=mate</td>
<td>'die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lua</td>
<td>lua=lua</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ali</td>
<td>ali=ali</td>
<td>'walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>kaa=kaa</td>
<td>'travel'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 underlyingly 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 $ahat^u$, will break up the syllables as $a-hat^u$, and not as $a-ha-t^u$.

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-Paamese</th>
<th>Paamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*tara &gt;</td>
<td>taa-taa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pia &gt;</td>
<td>hia-hia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mapu &gt;</td>
<td>mahu-mahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mahumah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*noli &gt;</td>
<td>no-li-no-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nolinoli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*voka &gt;</td>
<td>voka-voka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vokavok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lumu &gt;</td>
<td>lumu-lumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lumulum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 [ε-] and Motu has [i-]. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proto Oceanic</th>
<th>Paamese</th>
<th>Underlying Form</th>
<th>Surface Form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*qau</td>
<td>eau</td>
<td>eau</td>
<td>eaw</td>
<td>'bamboo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qando</td>
<td>ealo</td>
<td>ealo</td>
<td>eal°</td>
<td>'sunshine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qasu</td>
<td>easu</td>
<td>easu</td>
<td>easu</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 any common noun phrase (Pawley 1969: 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' |   |
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 (1969: 32) also reconstructs a personal article of the form *i3, which preceded personal nouns and pronouns. He also reconstructs the pronominal forms *kinta '1pl. 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 the New Hebrides, e.g. Nguna (Schütz
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 (1969:48) 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 became 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 addition of the suffix is optional.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proto-Oceanic</th>
<th>Paamese</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*tama &gt;</td>
<td>tame-</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*poto &gt;</td>
<td>voto-</td>
<td>'buttocks'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following on the other hand became obligatorily bound to some full noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Oceanic</th>
<th>Paamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*puŋa &gt; huŋa-</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋkuli &gt; kuli-</td>
<td>'bark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ndau &gt; lau-</td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tansi &gt; tasi-</td>
<td>'last born'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sili &gt; sili-</td>
<td>'sucker'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[ v \rightarrow (p) \% \rightarrow \square _{[-\text{labial}]} \]

This rule optionally defricativises \( v \) to \( p \) when there is an adjacent labial over a word boundary. Note the following examples:
inau nave asuvo vaarei 5
1sg 1sg.real.cop chief precisely

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

ki+umo viisi+e
2sg.dis.do try.3sg
kūm viisi  
kūm pisi
'Try to do it.'

duvama maahini+ni+e
3sg.real.shoot sore.REDUp.tr.3sg

duv mamahini  
dup mamahini
'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.

\[ guri \]  \[ risi+e \]
3sg.real.take back.3sg

gur risi  
gudisi
'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:

5. 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.
(a) the form -saa, which is the clitic form of the interrogative asea 'what' (6.1.3.2.).

(b) the form -sei, which is the clitic form of the interrogative iseι 'who' (6.1.3.2.).

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

\[ n \rightarrow (\emptyset) / \rightarrow = s \]

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORM</th>
<th>SURFACE FORMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one+ne=sei</td>
<td>onensey - onesey 'whose (manipulative)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.man.const.who</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa+ne=sei</td>
<td>änsey - äsey 'whose (edible)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.ed.const.who</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo+ne=sei</td>
<td>monsey - mosey 'whose (potable)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.pot.const.who</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se+ne=sei</td>
<td>sensey - sesey 'whose (by law)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.leg.const.who</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teni=saa</td>
<td>tensa - tesa 'what for?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.what</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Vowel Insertion

There is an optional rule of vowel insertion, by which a vowel is inserted after an 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:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow \begin{cases} V \\ \text{aback} \end{cases} / \begin{cases} V \\ \text{aback} \end{cases} \]

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na+suuki</th>
<th>laati ahisi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.real.scrape out banana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasułu lāt ahisị</td>
<td>nasułu lāt ahis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I scraped out the banana.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ki+s0ohi  revi+ie
2sg.dis.catch properly.3sg
ki+s0h  revi+e
kis0ho revi+e
'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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V_{\alpha} \\
\#
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
V_{\alpha} \\
\#
\end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
V_{\alpha} \\
+\text{long}
\end{array}
\]

E.g.

ko+ve  eehono
2sg.real.cop child
kove  chon°
kovéhon°
'You are a child.'

ma+hiita°  alau
1sg.imm.go down coast
mahita alaw
mahitälaw
'I am going down to the coast.'

au+vaa  a+nani+e
3pl.real.go 3pl.real.eat.3sg
awva a+nani+e
awvänani+e
'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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hinaa} & \quad \text{ute} \\
\text{2sg.imp.go up shore} & \\
\text{hina} & \quad \text{ut}^e \\
\text{hinā} & \quad \text{ut}^e \\
\text{'Go ashore.'} & \\
\text{na+doo} & \quad \text{vaulelii} \\
\text{lsg.real.stay Vauleli} & \\
\text{nado} & \quad \text{vawleli} \\
\text{nado vawleli} & \\
\text{'I stayed at Vauleli.'} & \\
\text{lesi}^+ & \quad \text{tai} \\
\text{3sg.real.see.3sg comp} & \\
\text{lesi tay} & \\
\text{lesi tay} & \\
\text{'He has seen it.'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{UNDERLYING} & \quad \text{SURFACE} \\
\text{FORM} & \quad \text{FORMS} \\
\text{aimo ma}^\text{k\text{u}} & \quad \text{aym}^\text{u} & - & \quad \text{aym mak}^\text{u} \\
\text{house poss.dom.lsg} & & & \\
\text{aute sa}^\text{k\text{u}} & \quad \text{aw}^\text{u} & - & \quad \text{awt sak}^\text{u} \\
\text{place poss.leg.lsg} & & & \\
\text{'my place'} & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]
(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING FORMS</th>
<th>SURFACE FORMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teni aute rel place 'of the place'</td>
<td>tenawte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rani aute abl place 'from the place'</td>
<td>ranawte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eni aute sp place 'to/in/at the place'</td>
<td>enawte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 kana 'eat', for example, can be freely used as a noun meaning "food" or "eating".

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:

Table 4: Nominal Subclasses

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sav</td>
<td>savo 1 'another (sg)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savosav</td>
<td>savo=savo 'other (non-sg)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetāi</td>
<td>ta+taai 'any'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koa(n)</td>
<td>koa(ni) 'some'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tei</td>
<td>tei 'some of it/them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haulu</td>
<td>hau-lue 'many/much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musav</td>
<td>musavo 'many/much (archaic)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. From now on, surface forms are presented in ordinary type, and underlying forms in italics.
(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 taat 'one' can also have definite reference). Grammatically, they are characterized 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.

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 noun mark this case with the preposition enti (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 to this variation.) The first eight nouns exist in pairs of opposites.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nesa</td>
<td>nesaa</td>
<td>'up, above, on top'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netan/dan</td>
<td>netano/dano</td>
<td>'down, below'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naim</td>
<td>naimo</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hale</td>
<td>halee</td>
<td>'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ve)se-sal(i)</td>
<td>(ve)se-sali(i)</td>
<td>'nearby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sautin</td>
<td>sautine</td>
<td>'long way off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mail</td>
<td>maile</td>
<td>'lefthand side'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matu</td>
<td>matuu</td>
<td>'righthand side'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luhi/luhu</td>
<td>luhi/luhu</td>
<td>'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tav</td>
<td>tave</td>
<td>'one side'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
ut ute 'ashore'
alau alau 'seawards'
tauveih 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>near speaker</th>
<th>near addressee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kele</td>
<td>kelee</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaisom</td>
<td>kaisomo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akēk</td>
<td>akeeke</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekok</td>
<td>ekoke</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Location Nouns Relating to Speaker and Addressee

(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 pre-
positionally 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:

- 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:

- liseles  
  liisilese  'always, uncreasingly'
- 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:

- visuvong  
  visuvongi  '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  rūrunē  '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:

visokon  visokono  'morning'
vongien  vongiene  'night'
kovanges  kovangese  'afternoon'
meneal  mene+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.

alet  alete  'level, level area'
mung  munge  'uncircumcised, uncircumcised male'
holaso  holasoo  'promiscuous, promiscuous person'
usūs  usu=usu  'persistent, persistent person'
sikut  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/-ie (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. Following the traditional terminology of Oceanic grammars, the kind of possessive relationship that holds between an alienable noun and a possessor is referred to as "dominant" or "active" possession.

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.). Such nouns do not enter into dominant possessive relationships. Following the traditional Oceanic terminology here the relationship between an inalienable noun and another noun is termed "subordinate" or "passive" possession (keeping in mind the fact that possession is being used in a quite different sense here).

3.1.4.5.1 Free Form Common Nouns

By far the largest class 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' leveue- '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' tiita- '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uti-</td>
<td>'seed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hini-</td>
<td>'husk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aroa-</td>
<td>'handle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laaui-</td>
<td>'sail (of canoe)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane-</td>
<td>'contents/edible part'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valenge-</td>
<td>'hollow part'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahoseka-</td>
<td>'fork (of tree)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>toa-</td>
<td>'sap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maahui-</td>
<td>'billowing smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vone-</td>
<td>'mark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mene-</td>
<td>'flame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahela-</td>
<td>'wash (of vessel)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swa-</td>
<td>'grounds'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more-</td>
<td>'good thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mua-</td>
<td>'first born'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupu-</td>
<td>'sapling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hola-</td>
<td>'short but fully grown tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mari-</td>
<td>'large thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nehi-</td>
<td>'burning material'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lei-</td>
<td>'place characterised by one thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hili-</td>
<td>'someone trying to be something they are not'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) a collectivity of something:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tali-</td>
<td>'group'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vangi-</td>
<td>'tied bundle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(v) some abstract thing that exists only in relation to or as a result of some inanimate thing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIXED NOUNS</th>
<th>LINKED NOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vulu-</td>
<td>'sleeping place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voto-</td>
<td>'buttocks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vatu-</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulungo-</td>
<td>'head-resting place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngasu-</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meto-</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau-</td>
<td>'dorsum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingi-</td>
<td>'lip'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

(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**  
  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:

- **avu**  
  **avue**  
  'grandparent'

- **uan**  
  **uani**  
  'cross-cousin'

- **avov**  
  **avovo**  
  'maternal uncle'

- **susu**  
  **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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANIMATE POSSESSOR</th>
<th>INANIMATE POSSESSOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sii-</em> bone</td>
<td>thorn (of plant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vange-</em> belly</td>
<td>inside surface (of split bamboo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aisiliu-</em> lower back</td>
<td>outside surface (of split bamboo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tino-</em> intestines</td>
<td>inside (of black palm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ralingo-</em> ear</td>
<td>tendril (of vine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mee-</em> tongue</td>
<td>wedge (of handle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ungo-</em> mouth</td>
<td>crater (of volcano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taa-</em> excrement</td>
<td>falling ash (of volcano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>meto-</em> eye</td>
<td>operculum (of shellfish); lid (of bottle, saucepan etc.); marker (of planted yam)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>voreti-</th>
<th>'small'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more-</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasi-</td>
<td>'last born'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tali-</td>
<td>'group'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sili-</td>
<td>'descendant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hili-</td>
<td>'someone trying to be what they are not'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rahi-</th>
<th>'membrane'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lamuli-</td>
<td>'body hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hili-</td>
<td>'skin/feathers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oreli-</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meela-</td>
<td>'roe (of crab/crayfish)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and a small number of inalienable nouns with inanimate possessors that belong to the suffixed class:

\[\text{ue-} \quad \text{'string/handle'}\]

This formal class also includes the four possessive nominals \(\text{ono-}, \text{so-}, \text{mo-} \) and \(\text{aa-}\), 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 \(\text{saaso-} \quad \text{'self'}\), which on all other formal criteria 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>FREE OBJECT</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RESTRICTED OBJECT</td>
<td>ACTIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFLEXIVE</td>
<td>COMMON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NON-REFLEXIVE</td>
<td>WITH SUBJECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NO SUBJECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NUMERAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DEICTIC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Verb Subclasses
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 subcategorisation 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):

\[\text{nii} \quad \text{sit hunched up}\]
\[\text{sii} \quad \text{'happy'}\]
hati 'stop/stand'
tahi 'over-eat'
vini 'do to excess/death'

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 -riš '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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>motion up</th>
<th>maa</th>
<th>motion from speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>motion down</td>
<td>miitaa</td>
<td>hiitaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>level motion</td>
<td>mai</td>
<td>haa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Basic Motion Verbs

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REQUIRED SUBJECT</th>
<th>AMBIENT VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>auea 'rain'</td>
<td>use 'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auea 'rain'</td>
<td>hula=hulai 'drizzle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>easu 'smoke'</td>
<td>tupasu 'smoky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atano 'ground'</td>
<td>kuluulu 'quake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alangi 'wind'</td>
<td>ue 'blow in a cyclone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahile 'lightning'</td>
<td>hile 'lighten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aute 'place'</td>
<td>talimaho 'overcast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *∅*; 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):

- **havivi** *havivii* 'small (sg)'
- **havipi** *havipi* 'small (non-sg)'
- **haitamen** *haitamene* 'large (sg)'
- **hatetamen** *hatetamene* 'large (non-sg)'
- **haite hāu** *haiitee haau* 'new'
- **haite matu** *haiitee 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:

- hāha  
  haaha  '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 (dl)', 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 dis-
tributional grounds, distinguish between phrase-level and clause-level modifiers.

3.6.1 Clause-Level Modifiers
This class comprises the following:

- **vahera/vahesa**
  - **vaheraa/vahesaa**
  - 'the speaker is not sure about the truth of the statement he has made'

- **nahe**
  - **nahee**
  - 'the speaker considers that the statement he makes expresses a probable situation'

- **vesesal(i)**
  - **vesesali(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifiers</th>
<th>'Meanings'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tai</td>
<td>'completive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netin</td>
<td>'recent completive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velah</td>
<td>'ongoing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

vārei vaarei 'truly, just so, very'
ramet raamete 'too much'
vupu vupuu 'thoroughly'
avi vasiie 'all, totally'
revi reviie 'properly'
vilai vilai 'properly'
kuh kuh 'just right'
sesavon sesavono 'extraordinarily, wrongly, dangerously'
neli nelii 'somewhat, rather'
kes kee 'only, just'
sāso- saaso- 'self, on its own'

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINAL MEANING</th>
<th>VERBAL MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hiidi</strong></td>
<td>the join along the middle of a woven mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hoohoi</strong></td>
<td>breadfruit meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kokoraato</strong></td>
<td>children's buzzer toy made out of coconut leaves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are also a few verbs which can be either transitive or intransitive with the same form. Those forms attested include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITIVE MEANING</th>
<th>INTRANSITIVE MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luvosi</td>
<td>deceive, lie to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisi</td>
<td>write something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiisi</td>
<td>ask someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demi</td>
<td>think about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilesi</td>
<td>turn something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telasi</td>
<td>sweep something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kili</td>
<td>dig something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kove</td>
<td>throw something at something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEFINITE NOMINALS</th>
<th>NUMERAL VERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ehise</td>
<td>hise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taai</td>
<td>taai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elua</td>
<td>lua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etelu</td>
<td>telu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehati</td>
<td>hati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elima</td>
<td>lima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 and semantic criteria as 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>inau</td>
<td>incl.</td>
<td>ialue</td>
<td>iatelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>excl.</td>
<td>komalu</td>
<td>komaitelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kaiko</td>
<td></td>
<td>kamilu</td>
<td>kamiitelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kaie</td>
<td></td>
<td>kailue</td>
<td>kaitelu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Paamese Pronouns

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 -\textit{tetu}, which is identical with the verbal root for the numeral "three" (3.2.2.4). Similarly, the dual forms all end in -\textit{Zu} or -\textit{Zues}, which are reminiscent of the verbal root \textit{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.

\begin{verbatim}
Alesi tahos
atlesi+e tahosi
3pl.real.see.3sg 3sg.real.good
'It looks good'
\end{verbatim}

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 New Hebrides 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  
  mau+va  
  1pl.excl.real.go Hingal  
  'We have come from Hingal.'

- Tahos,  
  tahosti  
  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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSOLUTE NUMBER</th>
<th>RELATIVE NON-RELATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Pronominal Number Distinctions

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>letau</td>
<td>letau</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letauli</td>
<td>letauli</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oai</td>
<td>oai</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oailu</td>
<td>oailuu</td>
<td>'watery soup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aim</td>
<td>aimo</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telaim</td>
<td>telaimo</td>
<td>'home'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahel</td>
<td>tahela</td>
<td>'wave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahelal</td>
<td>tahelalu</td>
<td>'waves breaking on shore at close intervals'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 from *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:

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,
VERB STEM | DERIVED NOUN
---|---
hasu | 'give birth' | hasuhas | hasu=hasu | 'uterus'
mee | 'urinate' | même | mee=mee | 'urethra'
voo | 'stink' | vōvo | voo=voo | 'stink-bug'
moti | 'fall' | motimot | moti=moti | 'tree crab (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-. The fact that the original common noun marker *α has been added to this suggests that at an earlier stage the *i was in fact not a prefix but a separate word, as the *α was not incorporated into the root except to maintain a preference for non-mono-syllabic roots, as described in 2.9.) 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.
VERB STEM | DERIVED NOUN
--- | ---
lihi=lihi | 'fan oneself' | ailililih | ai+lihi=lihi | 'fan'  
haa=haali | 'file sharp' | aiahāhāl | ai+haa=haali | 'sharpening stone'  
silu | 'shine light' | aisil | ai+silu | 'torch'  
tisi | 'write/draw' | aitis | ai+tisi | 'loop of string for making hand-string figures'  

(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.

| VERB STEM | DERIVED NOUN | ai+ | VERB STEM | DERIVED NOUN | ai+ |
--- | --- | | --- | --- | |
sinu | 'get dressed' | aisin | ai+sinu | 'shirt/clothes'  
taluhi | 'sleep with blanket' | aitaluh | ai+taluhi | 'blanket'  
tisi | 'write/draw' | aitis | ai+tisi | 'sign/notice'  
hela=helasi | 'step on' | aihelhelas | ai+hela=helasi | 'shoes'  

(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 | ai+ | VERB STEM | DERIVED NOUN | ai+ |
--- | --- | | --- | --- | |
loho | 'run' | ailo | ai+loho | 'messenger; someone who is habitually sent on errands'  
kaaralii | 'spin' | aikār | ai+kaarali | 'children's spinning toy made out of coconut leaves'  
maale | 'agree' | aimal | ai+maale | 'someone who does what they are told or does what they say they will do'
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NOUN STEM</th>
<th>DERIVED LOCATION NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sīsel</td>
<td>'road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veien</td>
<td>'beach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poal</td>
<td>'gully'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>votout</td>
<td>'bottom of garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eivorohus</td>
<td>'bush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulungout</td>
<td>'top of garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āh</td>
<td>'garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avet</td>
<td>'shelf/bench'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aut</td>
<td>'place'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NOUN STEM</th>
<th>DERIVED LOCATION NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>siisele</td>
<td>na+siisele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naveien</td>
<td>na+veiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napoal</td>
<td>na+poalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navotout</td>
<td>na+vote+i+ute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neivorohus</td>
<td>n+eivorohuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nulungout</td>
<td>n+ulungo+i+ute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāh</td>
<td>n+aahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navet</td>
<td>n+avete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naut</td>
<td>n+aut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

' in the bush'  'on the beach'  'in the gully'  'at the bottom of the garden'  'in the bush'  'at the top of the garden'  'in the garden'  'on the shelf/bench'  'somewhere'
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 vitā 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
<th>DERIVED LOCATION NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haa 'go'</td>
<td>kēva kee+vaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai 'come'</td>
<td>kēmai kee+mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīnaa 'go up'</td>
<td>kevīna kee+vīnaa 'up over there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa 'come up'</td>
<td>kēma kee+maa 'up over here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiitaa 'go down'</td>
<td>kevīta kee+viitaa 'down over there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīitaa 'come down'</td>
<td>kemīta kee+mīitaa 'down over here'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
<th>DERIVED NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sau</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuunu</td>
<td>'tell stories'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesai</td>
<td>'sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilu</td>
<td>'cough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiisaa</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re+demi</td>
<td>'think'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>DERIVED NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sau</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuunu</td>
<td>'tell stories'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesai</td>
<td>'sick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
<th>DERIVED NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kani 'eat'</td>
<td>ani+ene 'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saani 'give'</td>
<td>sanien saani+ene 'gift'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisi 'write'</td>
<td>tisien tisi+ene 'handwriting/scriptures'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huli 'pay'</td>
<td>hulien huli+ene 'wages'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
<th>DERIVED NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>too 'live'</td>
<td>too+ene 'living area in village'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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
| dance | Tahi |

holu tahii+ene
| 'dancing at Tahi' |

seluusu liisëlëse
| speak always |

seluusu liisëlëse+ene
| 'always speaking' |

loho sale ranaute
| run away abl.place |

loho sale ranaute+ene
| 'running away from the place' |

hasu teni
| give birth rel |

hasu teni siisële+ene
| 'giving birth to illegitimate children' |

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 from 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'
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-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FREE</th>
<th>COMPOUNDED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ealo</td>
<td>alo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ease</td>
<td>ase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eau</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'sunshine' 'chestnut' 'bamboo'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FREE</th>
<th>COMPOUNDED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahatu</td>
<td>hatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amati</td>
<td>mati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aute</td>
<td>ute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimo</td>
<td>imo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aavi</td>
<td>avi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atano</td>
<td>tano</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'rock' 'tide' 'place' 'house' 'firewood' 'land/ground'
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**
  
  $alo={}\text{vanei}$
  
  sunshine.volcano
  
  'hot sun during rumbling of volcano (said to be caused by the volcano)'

- **utemes**
  
  $ute={}\text{mese}$
  
  place.dry
  
  'place that does not have what you want'

- **auhat**
  
  $au={}\text{hatu}$
  
  bamboo.rock
  
  'hard bamboo type'

- **tōlautan**
  
  $toolau={}\text{tano}$
  
  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**
  
  $aimo\, haa\text{u}$
  
  house new
  
  'new house'

- **imohāu**
  
  $imo\, haa\text{u}$
  
  house.new
  
  'new house'

The productiveness of the contrast between free and compounding forms of the root 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 froms 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. We therefore note correspondences such as the following according to whether the root is followed by a possessive suffix or a compounded stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIXED ROOT</th>
<th>COMPOUNDED ROOT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luho-</td>
<td>luhe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vil-</td>
<td>vile-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vatu-</td>
<td>vati-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngasu-</td>
<td>ngasi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo-</td>
<td>le-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ungo-</td>
<td>unge-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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'
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.

\[\text{volakou} \quad \text{vola+kou} \quad \text{empty container.skinny} \quad \text{'person who is nothing but skin and bones'}\]

\[\text{anerat}[\text{\textit{a}}] \quad \text{ane+raa=taa}[\text{\textit{a}}} \quad \text{contents.REDUp.one} \quad \text{'single-pointed spear'}\]

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'.
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
uehisu
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:

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

- **asholev**
  \[\text{ase=holeve}\]
  - chestnut.large
  - 'chestnut type with large fruit'

- **oai nūt**
  \[\text{oai muate}\]
  - water bush
  - 'rain-water/spring water'

- **langriril**
  \[\text{langi+ririlu}\]
  - wind.circular
  - 'whirlwind'

- **molatin hos**
  \[\text{molatine hosı\text{ı}}\]
  - man good
  - 'mortal person (rather than spirit)'

- **oru**
  \[\text{oo=ruu}\]
  - 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:

- **luvoluvos asu**
  \[\text{luvo=luwosi asue}\]
  - 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**
  \[\text{luvo=luwosi melau}\]
  - 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)'

- **sō lein ahang**
  \[\text{soo leini ahango}\]
  - throw out fire
  - 'breadfruit type (so called because it scatters the coals of the fire when roasted because it is so big)'

- **kiskisvot**
  \[\text{kisi=kisi=vote}\]
  - REDUp.poke.buttocks
  - 'index finger (so called because it is the finger that touches the anus in cleaning after defecation)'
hā kot

go across

'boundary between the land of two villages'

We must also note the following forms:

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.

Mali! Kiles    taunehek!
maalii ki+ilesi    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:
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:

Ak ḥe ḡəvivɨs
aɑ+ku ḥe ḡəvivɨ=ːsɛ
poss.ed.lsg 3sg.dis.cop small.neg.exp
'Mine (to eat) will be just a bit'

Tei vā tai en ahango?
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 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
molatine kailue luu+mai
man dl 3dl.real.come
'The two men are coming'
```

```
Molatin kaitel telumai
molatine 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:
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), they 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!'

'Îr temalikelik kail vasî enaut netan
iire ta+malikeliko kaile vastie enaute netano
1pl.incl adj.black pl all sp.place down
romûmoni mukok
ro+mumu+ni+e muko+ke
1pl.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.
'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
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 haitee matuu 'old'
instance.indef old

haite hāu haitee haau 'new'
instance.indef new

haisav hai=savo 'useless/valueless'
instance.other

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.
(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 nominal. Thus:

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

avong taluhin taunēhēn
avongi ta+lūhi+nV taunēhe+ene
time adj.plant.comm thing.nom
'time for planting things'

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

molatin taluvoluvos min kailēn
molātine ta+luvō=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:
(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  
molåtine koani gaiho  
man indef 3sg.real.strong  
'a strong man'

molatin tekaih  
molåtine 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:

pük tatisa koan tahos  
puuku tattisa koani tähosi  
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 pornography and bad pornography.

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**
  - chief some of pl
  - 'some of the chiefs'

- **molatin haulu**
  - man many
  - 'many men'

- **tauneh koan**
  - 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
  - 1

- **elu**
  - elua
  - 2

- **etel**
  - etelu
  - 3

- **ehat**
  - ehati
  - 4

- **elim**
  - elima
  - 5

- **hālualim**
  - hālualima
  - 10

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

- **lahitāi**
  - *lahi=taai*
  - 6

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':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>laulu <em>lau+lua</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>lautel <em>lau+telu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>lauhat <em>lau+hati</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
molātine kaile (kekee) a+muali=ali
man pl sub 3pl.real.REDUp,go to bush
```
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 aloho=loho
some sub 3sg.real.strong 3pl.real.REDUp,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
moldtine koani (kekee) gaiho dain+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:

Kumoni hesuval koan inau namumuoni
ki+wmo+ni+t e he+suvali koani inau na+mawmo+ni+e
2sg.dis.do.tr.3sg 3sg.dis.ressemble some 1sg 1sg.real,do,tr,3sg
'Do it like I did it.'

The causal preposition veni 'because of', when it has a clausal object, can also express this in the same way:

Hék māh ven koan nedain matou
hee+ku maahi veni koani na+dai+nv matou
hand.1sg 3sg.real.sore caus some 1sg.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 koanī vaarei mule nesaa
2sg.dis.take some precisely 3sg.real.exist above
'Take the one right up on top.'

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- ADJECTIVE ADJECTIVES + OTHER + RELATIVE 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 two 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
  (Idl. excl pun. dat Siti)
  'Siti and 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'

- vese sal ven aim
- vese sabi 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'

lengaõha
lenga+oohaa
dry skin.breadfruit seed
'skin of breadfruit seed'

menåhis
mena+ahisi
ripe fruit.banana
'ripe banana'

sokoíav
soko+i+aavi
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
uti+muni
meleken
melekete+ene
one who always does.drink milk.nom
'habitual milk drinker'
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 noun itee is attached to the root. (This noun is termed "obligatorily linked" as it has no use outside this construction.) E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>INDEFINITE FORM</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lasi-</td>
<td>latte</td>
<td>lattee 'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vati</td>
<td>vatte</td>
<td>vattee 'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hati-</td>
<td>hatte</td>
<td>hattee 'piece'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voreti-</td>
<td>vorette</td>
<td>vorette 'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horati-</td>
<td>horatte</td>
<td>horattee 'hard core'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>INDEFINITE FORM</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uti-</td>
<td>utíte</td>
<td>'seed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasi-</td>
<td>tasíte</td>
<td>'last born'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musi-</td>
<td>musîte</td>
<td>'old and worn out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titi-</td>
<td>titîte</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
\text{Uhia, sīn mul en vieite} \\
\text{uhiaa sii+ne mule eni vie+itee} \\
\text{wild yam thorn.3sg 3sg.real.exist sp vine.indef} \\
\text{'As for wild yams, there are thorns on the vine.'}
\]

or when the referent of the head is not known or considered irrelevant:

\[
\text{Vakili onen marîte vāreis} \\
\text{vakilii one+i+ne marî+itee vaarei=se} \\
\text{canoe poss.man.3sg big.indéf precisely,neg.exp} \\
\text{'His canoe is very big.'}
\]

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 the Northern New Hebrides 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, forthcoming) has a linking particle \(i\) which relates a possessed nominal phrase to a proper possessor. E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na tama i Tusulu} & \quad \text{art father link T.} \\
& \quad \text{'Tusulu's father'} \\
\text{na vale ne-i Seci} & \quad \text{art house poss.link S.} \\
& \quad \text{'Seci's house'} \\
\text{na uvi ke-i Lui} & \quad \text{art yam poss.ed.link L.} \\
& \quad \text{'Lui's yam (to eat)'}
\end{align*}
\]

In these examples, we see that \(i\) clearly does have a linking function.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-ku incl.</td>
<td>-vale</td>
<td>-ratelu</td>
<td>-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excl.</td>
<td>-valu</td>
<td>-maiteulu</td>
<td>-mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-mo</td>
<td>-miliu</td>
<td>-mitelu</td>
<td>-mii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-lalue</td>
<td>-latelu</td>
<td>-le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Paamese Pronominal Suffixes

(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 form, the construct suffix is identical with the third person singular pronominal suffix. Grammatically however, its behaviour is quite different, 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+ne  hulii
eye.const dog
'the dog's eye'
onen  huli
one+ne  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+ne  hulii kailue
eye.const dog  dl
'the two dogs' eyes'
onen  huli kailu
one+ne  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 agreement for number between the second noun and the suffix on the first 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
onen & \quad eau \\
one+ne & \quad eau \\
poss.man.3sg & \quad knife \\
'\text{his knife}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
eau & \quad onen \\
eau & \quad one+ne \\
knife & \quad poss.man.3sg \\
'\text{his knife}'
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
one+ne & \quad Maki \quad eau \\
one+ne & \quad makii \quad eau \\
poss.man.const & \quad Maki \quad knife \\
'Maki's knife'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
eau & \quad onen \quad Maki \\
eau & \quad one+ne \quad makii \\
knife & \quad poss.man.const \quad Maki \\
'Maki's knife'
\end{align*}
\]

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':
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{V} & \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{-back} \\
\text{ahi}
\end{array} \right\} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{V}
\end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{+alv} \\
\end{array} \right\}
\end{align*}
\]

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, -value, -ratelu, -re, -lalue, -latelu, and -le). The second part of the rule states that the vowel 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 vowels of the possessive paradigms of hilu- 'hair' and meto- 'eye' as illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. hiluku incl.hiliralue</td>
<td>hiliratelu</td>
<td>hilire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excl. hilumalu/hilimalu</td>
<td>hilimaitelu/hilimitelu</td>
<td>hilumai/hilimai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. hilumo           hilimilu/hilimi</td>
<td>hilumiteitelu/hilimitelu</td>
<td>hilumii/hilimii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. hiline          hililalue</td>
<td>hililatelu</td>
<td>hilile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. metoku incl.meteralue</td>
<td>meteratelu</td>
<td>metere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excl. metomalu/metemalu</td>
<td>metomaitelu/metemaitelu</td>
<td>metomai/metemai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. metomo           metemilu/metemi</td>
<td>metemilitelu/metemiiitelu</td>
<td>metemii/metemii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. metene          metelalue</td>
<td>metelatelu</td>
<td>metele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-kulii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-malii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nalii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Gender-marking Possessive Suffixes.

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:
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:

tuumali'i '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+ne lukai
child.const Lukai
'Lukai's child'
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.sg.</th>
<th>fem.sg.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tuaku</td>
<td>tuaku</td>
<td>tuakahine</td>
<td>tuaku incl.</td>
<td>tueralue</td>
<td>tueratelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuomalu</td>
<td>tuemalu</td>
<td>tuomitu/tuemitu</td>
<td>tuemittelu</td>
<td>tuemittelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuomitelu/tuemitelu</td>
<td>tuematelu</td>
<td>tuomaitelu/tuemaitelu</td>
<td>tuomatelu/tuematelu</td>
<td>tuomaitelu/tuemaitelu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second irregular noun is that meaning "elbow/knee". This has a variable root *urzlii-* or *urulu-*. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. uruluku</td>
<td>uruluku incl.</td>
<td>urulikalue/urulikalue</td>
<td>uruliratelu/uriratelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urulikomalu/urulikomalu</td>
<td>urulikomalutelu/urulikomalutetu</td>
<td>urulikomalutelu/urulikomalutetu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. urulumo</td>
<td>urulimilu/urulimilu</td>
<td>urulimikalue/urulimikalue</td>
<td>urulimikalutelu/urulimikalutetu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urulimikomalutelu/urulimikomalutetu</td>
<td>urulimikomalutelu/urulimikomalutetu</td>
<td>urulimikomalutelu/urulimikomalutetu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. uruline</td>
<td>uruliralu/urularalu</td>
<td>uruliratelu/uriratelu</td>
<td>uruliratelu/uriratelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uruliratelu/uriratelu</td>
<td>uruliratelu/uriratelu</td>
<td>uruliratelu/uriratelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
<td>urulire/urire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.1sg liver.3sg
'It's my liver (to eat).'</n```

(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
sedaa ona+ku teni hinge+ne
scent poss.man.lsg rel armpit.3sg
'It's my underarm deodorant.'

Oreliato āk ve tītānetai
oreli+atoo a+ku ve tītāa+ne=tai
egg.chicken poss.ed.1sg 3sg.real.cop child.3sg.comp
'Ve have got a chicken in it.'</n```

(iii) When something is used as a name for a characteristic or in swearing without associating something with a particular owner. E.g.

```
Vilen!
vile+ne
.vagina.3sg
'Cunt!'  

Ōn!
oo+ne
.penis.3sg
'Cock!'  

Lasen!
lase+ne
testicules.3sg
'Balls!'  
```
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALIENABLE FORM</th>
<th>INALIENABLE FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amee</td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>araa</td>
<td>'blood/wine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaa</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asii</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ataa</td>
<td>'excrement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aralinge</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avito</td>
<td>'navel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avilo</td>
<td>'vagina'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auvo</td>
<td>'weariness caused by lack of sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aluho</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahele</td>
<td>'limb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oaa</td>
<td>'penis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angoo</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aulungo</td>
<td>'pillow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avatu</td>
<td>'head/leader'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avote</td>
<td>'buttocks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angasu</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amete</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avuli</td>
<td>'hole to put things in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahilu</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Corresponding Free and Bound Form Nouns

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 ve 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+i+e suvali araa
3pl.real.do.tr.3sg 3sg.real.ressemble blood
'They made it like blood.'

and the following illustrate their use when there is no particular possessor referred to:

Maki ve ais tenaut Vaum
makiit ve aisie tenaute vamo
Maki 3sg.real.cop name rel.place Paama
'Maki is a Paamese name.'

Oai ten ahil he 8/-
oai teni ahilu he ete selene
water rel hair 3sg.dis.cop 80 cents
'The hair-dye will cost 80 cents.'

Finally, the following illustrate their use as epithets or in exclamations:

Avang!
avange
belly
'Fatso!'

Avat!
avatu
head
'Big-head!'

Araling!
aralinge
ear
'Nosey-parker!'
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 vatine
  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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>onaku incl. oralue</td>
<td>oratelu</td>
<td>orere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excl. onomalu/onemalu</td>
<td>onomaitelu/onemaitelu</td>
<td>onomai/onemai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>onomono</td>
<td>onomilu/onamilu</td>
<td>onomiitelu/onamiitelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>onene</td>
<td>oolalue</td>
<td>olatelu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>aaku incl. aaralue</td>
<td>aaratelu</td>
<td>aare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excl. aamalu</td>
<td>aamaitelu</td>
<td>aamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>aamomo</td>
<td>aamilu</td>
<td>aamiitelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>aamone</td>
<td>aloalue</td>
<td>aalatelu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>makuku incl. moralue</td>
<td>moratelu</td>
<td>more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excl. momalu</td>
<td>momaitelu</td>
<td>momai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>momomo</td>
<td>momilu</td>
<td>momiitelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>mome</td>
<td>moolalue</td>
<td>molatelu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>sakuku incl. seralue</td>
<td>seratelu</td>
<td>sere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excl. somalu/semalu</td>
<td>somaitelu/semaitelu</td>
<td>somai/semai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>somomo</td>
<td>somilu/samilu</td>
<td>somiitelu/samiitelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>seme</td>
<td>selalue</td>
<td>selatelu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 eso-; 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 that 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tauneh} & \quad \text{taumēn} & \quad \text{onen} \\
\text{taunēhe} & \quad \text{ta+wmeene} & \quad \text{one+ne} \\
\text{thing} & \quad \text{adj.work} & \quad \text{poss.man,3sg} \\
\text{'his working things'} \\
\text{merekel} & \quad \text{haulu} & \quad \text{onen} \\
\text{merekele} & \quad \text{hautue} & \quad \text{one+ne} \\
\text{miracle} & \quad \text{many} & \quad \text{poss.man.const God} \\
\text{'the many miracle of God'} \\
\text{lohon} & \quad \text{etel} & \quad \text{olalu} \\
\text{lohono} & \quad \text{etelu} & \quad \text{o+lalue} \\
\text{child} & \quad \text{three} & \quad \text{poss.man.3dl} \\
\text{'their (two) three children'}
\end{align*}
\]
(ii) immediately following the head of the possessed nominal phrase, and before its adjuncts:

- tauneh onen taumăn
  '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 taumăn
  'his working things'

When the possessor is a noun however, only the first of the two orders is possible (though all three orders are possible when the possessor is the interrogative isẽi 'who?):

- tunuen onen melau
  'the story about the scrub turkey'

- tauneh onen Maki taumăn
  'Maki's working things'

*onen Maki tauneh taumăn
  'Maki's working things'

But:

- vakili onen isẽi
  'whose canoe?'

- onen isẽi vakili
  '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 aα- 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 simple 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 opposed to the generic term aute 'place', which is a common
noun and therefore not subject of the syntactic restrictions placed on location nouns. E.g.

Aut Tanei mulamun adōen tahos
aute tanei mulamune adoo+ene tāhosī
place Tanei 3sg.real.precede 3pl.real.stay.sp 3sg.real.good
'Before, when they lived at Tanei, it was good.'

Nales aut kail Vaum
na+lesi aute kaite vaumo
1sg.real.see place pl Paama
'I saw the parts of Paama.'

Mahit meselen molatin tāi tenaut Vauleli
mahi+te mesel+ni mol+tine taai tenaute vauli+lī
1sg.imm.say clear.tr person one rel.place Vauleli
'I will talk about someone from Vauleli.'

Aut Tahi muas aut Līro
aute tahii muasī aute liiroo
place Tahi 3sg.real.beat place Līro
'Tahi beat Līro (at football).'  

(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
αahe laau
garden Lau
'the garden of Lau'

veien Lumalel
veiene lumalele
beach Lumalel
'Lumalel beach'

poal Nahoravoavo
poalu nahoravoa=voa
gully Nahoravoavo
'Nahoravoavo gully'

vanei Ulvelah
vanei ulvelahi
volcano Lopevi
'Lopevi volcano'

(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+visi tai
grandfather Lukai 3sg.real.well.rep comp
'Grandfather Lukai is well again.'

Nales natumali Tion
nate+lesi natu+malii tione
1sg.real.see offspring.2sg.masc John
'I saw your son John.'

Skultisaa Mail Pōl romumotei kosa
skultisaa maile poole ro+mumo+tei kosa
teacher Mail Paul 3sg.neg.real.work.part today
'Teacher Mail Paul is not working today.'

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+vere+tei
2pl child pi 2pl.pot.make noise.part
'You boys, don't make a noise.'

Komai tuak kail maumai
komai tuaku kaile mau+mai
lpl.excl brother pi lpl.excl.real.come
'We brothers have come.'

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 son telai tai Vauleli
siivi marataa sooni telai tai vaulelii
ship Marata 3sg.real.throw anchor comp Vauleli
'The Marata has anchored at Vauleli.'

Tauneh vasī kail mesalo kailenek lah
tauneh vasii kaile mesaloo kaile=neke lahi
thing all pl shellfish pl.dist 3sg.real.carry
kat vasī
cat vasii accompani 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aisi}s & \quad \text{lautakul} \\
\text{aisitise} & \quad \text{lau+takule} \\
\text{thatch slab leaf sago} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft sago leaf thatch slab\textquoteright} \\
\text{atuvol auh} & \\
\text{atuvolo auhu} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft basket of yams\textquoteright} \\
\text{basket yam} & \\
\text{kilo ahis} & \\
\text{kiloo ahisi} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft kilogram of bananas\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{komai} & \quad \text{min} \quad \text{lohon kail ten sukul} \\
\text{komai} & \quad \text{mini} \quad \text{lohono kaile teni sukulu} \\
\text{1pl.excl pun.dat child pl rel school} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft us and the school children\textquoteright} \\
\text{telaim kail onomai} & \\
\text{telaimo kaile ono+mai} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft our homes\textquoteright} \\
\text{home pl poss.man.lpl.excl} & \\
\text{tauneh keke avuli} & \quad \text{eni sitoa ten polaua} \\
\text{taunehe kekee a+vuli+e} & \quad \text{eni sitoaa teni polauaa} \\
\text{thing sub 3pl.real.buy.3sg sp store rel bread} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft things bought in the store for the bread\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tauneh} & \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{polaua} \quad \text{keke} \quad \text{avuli} \\
\text{tauneehe} & \quad \text{teni} \quad \text{polauaa} \quad \text{kekee} \quad \text{avuli}+\text{e} \\
\text{thing} & \quad \text{rel} \quad \text{bread} \quad \text{sub} \quad 3\text{pl. real. buy. 3sg sp store} \\
'\text{things bought in the store for the bread}'
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lohon} & \quad \text{olalu} \quad \text{elu} \\
\text{lohono} & \quad \text{o+lalue} \quad \text{elua} \\
\text{child} & \quad \text{poss. man. 3dl two} \\
'\text{their two's child/their two's two children}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tauneh} & \quad \text{onen} \quad \text{tovuli} \quad \text{kail} \\
\text{taunehe} & \quad \text{one+ne} \quad \text{tovulii} \quad \text{kaile} \\
\text{thing} & \quad \text{poss. man. const old lady pl} \\
'\text{the old ladies' thing/the old lady's things}'
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aven} & \quad \text{molatin} \quad \text{kail} \\
\text{ave+ne} & \quad \text{molatine} \quad \text{kaile} \\
\text{body. const person pl} \\
'\text{the men's bodies/the parts of the body of the men}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lauåi} & \quad \text{takou} \quad \text{haulu} \\
\text{lau+aai} & \quad \text{ta+kou} \quad \text{haulue} \\
\text{leaf. tree adj. dry many} \\
'\text{many dry leaves of the tree/many leaves of the dry tree/dry leaves of many trees}'
\end{align*}
\]
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).

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 New Hebridean languages, which exhibit similar patterns of root-initial alternations (Pawley 1969:117-18; Tryon 1974:325-47). Table 13 summarises the full range of root-initial alternations for all six classes.
174.

Table 13: Verb Root-Initial Alternation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I t-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III k-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV h-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>v-</td>
<td>v-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Verb Root-Initial Alternation.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Form</th>
<th>Used in Environments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>as second part of compound noun construction (4.1.1.2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>as an adjunct to a verb phrase head (5.3.1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>in the realis mood of the verb (5.2.1.1.1.1.1) in the negative form of the verb (5.2.1.1.1.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Distribution of Verb Root Forms According to Morpho-syntactic Environment.

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I. } & \left\{ t_I \right\} : \text{[+voiced]} / \sqrt{D} \\
& \{ k_{II,III} \}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\text{II. } k_{III} : \emptyset / \sqrt{B}
\]

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.

\[
\text{III. } t_I : r / \sqrt{C}
\]

Verbs belonging to class I have a correspondence between initial \( t \)- in the A-Form and initial \( r \)- in the C-Form.

\[
\text{IV. } h : v / \left\{ \sqrt{C} \right\}
\]

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:

\[
\text{V. } \emptyset _V : \mu \text{u} / \sqrt{D}
\]

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 \( \mu \text{u} \)-.
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- Forms 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:
A- Form | D- Form
---|---
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 underlingly as \( p- \), which becomes \( v- \) (arbitrarily) when pre-nasalised and \( h- \) (again, arbitrarily) when not. Thus:

A- Form | D- Form
---|---
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>titilu</td>
<td>'sew'</td>
<td>titilu</td>
<td>'drip'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tii</td>
<td>'pull vine'</td>
<td>tii</td>
<td>'punch'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tee</td>
<td>'insufficient'</td>
<td>tee</td>
<td>'open hand'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telaa</td>
<td>'belch'</td>
<td>telaa</td>
<td>'extend arm'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teini</td>
<td>'throw down'</td>
<td>teini</td>
<td>'line up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too</td>
<td>'stay'</td>
<td>too</td>
<td>'clean'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tavelahi</td>
<td>'long'</td>
<td>tavelahi</td>
<td>'apply colour'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kani</td>
<td>'shine/twinkle'</td>
<td>kani</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kati</td>
<td>'tight'</td>
<td>kati</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>'differ'</td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soo</td>
<td>'hit (of shot)'</td>
<td>soo</td>
<td>'slip'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( t )-</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td></td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k )-</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( s )-</td>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( l )-</td>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( r )-</td>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Distribution of Consonant-initial Roots Between Verb Classes.

(Note that the small number of \( t \)-initial verbs belonging in class VI are all statives, e.g. teahui 'many', tovueli 'not exist', t\( \ddot{a} \)hosei 'good', tiisaa 'bad', temalee 'easy' etc. Pawley (1969:45) 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 hosei '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 *tahosi* '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: *timu* 'hot', *taluhii* '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.'
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 kelesi+e
> 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
> a+giliilini
> 3pl.real.stick in post
> 'They stuck in the posts.'
Irogiliidei  pōs
i+ro+gililini+tei  poose
3pl.dis.neg.stick in.part post
'They will not stick in the posts.'

and the form iliilini in B- Form environments:

Ililin  pōs
i+iliilini  poose
3pl.dis.stick in post
'They will stick in the posts.'

and finally, the form kiliilini elsewhere:

Sal  kiliilini
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
da  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.'

Nirovalitei
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.REDUp.sharpen
'sharpening stone'

hālien
haali+ene
sharpen.nom
'sharpening'
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.'
```

tasioh

```
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'
```

```
vovo
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)':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Luati} & \quad lu+ati+e \\
& \quad 2\text{dl.imp.bite.3sg} \\
& \quad 'You two bite it!'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lugati} & \quad lu+gati+e \\
& \quad 3\text{dl.real.bite.3sg} \\
& \quad 'They (two) bit it.'
\end{align*}
\]

and the verb \( uhi \) 'blow (class V)':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Luhi} & \quad lu+uhi+e \\
& \quad 2\text{dl.imp.blow.3sg} \\
& \quad 'You two blow it!'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lumuhi} & \quad lu+muhi+e \\
& \quad 3\text{dl.real.blow.3sg} \\
& \quad 'They (two) blew it.'
\end{align*}
\]

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
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 retaun
muaili tattaunu
3sg.real.walk REdup.play
'He is strolling along.'

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 REduplicated as ka+kaa, uasi 'hit' is REduplicated 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.

| ROOT FORM |
|---|---|---|---|
| CLASS | X | Y | C |
| 1 | -e | -a | -aa |
| 2 | -o | -a | -aa |
| 3 | -a | -a | -aa |
| 4 | -v | -v | -v |

Table 16: Verb Root-Final Alternations.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT FORM</th>
<th>USED IN ENVIRONMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>word finally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>before common object cross-reference suffix -nV (5.2.1.2.2.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>before reduplicated part of root (2.8.2; 2.8.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>before bound object pronoun (5.2.1.2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>before proper object cross-reference suffix -e/-ie (5.2.1.2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>before partitive suffix -te'i (5.2.1.2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>before nominalising suffix -ene (4.1.1.2.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Distribution of Verb Root Forms According to Morpho-syntactic environment.

The alternations that hold in the forms of the roots can be covered by two correspondence statements relating to a "basic" form. Thus:

\[
V_{1,2,3} : a / Y \\
V_{1,2,3} : aa / Z
\]

These statements, as formulated, treat the A- Form as basic. To treat the B- or C- 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 A- 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>COMMON OBJECT</th>
<th>2SG OBJECT</th>
<th>PARTITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kilele</td>
<td>gilelenV</td>
<td>gilelako</td>
<td>gilelaatei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'know'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tuvo</td>
<td>ñuvonV</td>
<td>ñwako</td>
<td>ñvaatei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'shoot'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kookoa</td>
<td>kookoanV</td>
<td>kookoako</td>
<td>kookoaatei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'soften'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
(thereby parallelling the definition of the position of head in the
nominal phrase, as described in 4.1.1). The head can therefore be
occupied by any of those subtypes of verbs described in 3.2.

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:

\[
\text{SUBJECT MARKER} + \text{MOOD MARKER} + \text{NEGATIVE MARKER} + \text{STEM}
\]

The subject and mood prefixes are normally clearly distin-
guishable 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. na- incl.</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>ro-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- excl.</td>
<td>malu-</td>
<td>matu-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ko-</td>
<td>mulu-</td>
<td>mutu-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ø-</td>
<td>lu-</td>
<td>telu-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Subject-marking Prefixes.

(As stated in the description of the phonology, there is a morpho-phonemic 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>MARKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>realis</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate</td>
<td>va-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distant</td>
<td>portmanteau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potential</td>
<td>na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prohibitive</td>
<td>potential + partitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>portmanteau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
We also need to set up one special allomorphic rule to deal with variation in the forms of the prefixes \textit{ni-}, \textit{ki-} and \textit{i-}:

\[
\begin{align*}
V \begin{array}{c} +hi \\ -\text{back} \end{array} & \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} +\text{back} \end{array} / -C \begin{array}{c} +hi \\ +\text{back} \end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

This rule is optional, and has the effect of backing the vowel \textit{i} to \textit{u} when the initial syllable of the following stem contains the vowel \textit{u}. Thus, the first person singular distant form of the verb \textit{huli} 'buy' can be either \textit{nihuli} or \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{he-} could conceivably be derived from a proto-Oceanic desiderative marker of the form \textit{*pia} (Pawley 1969:57). The irregularity in the vowels of the subject markers could be attributed to the fronting effect of the original future marker \textit{*i}, also reconstructed for proto-Oceanic by Pawley (1969:48).

The portmanteau imperative subject prefixes are:

\begin{tabular}{llll}
sg. & \textbf{∅} & \textbf{∅} & \textbf{∅} \\
dl. & \textbf{lu} & \textbf{lu} & \textbf{lu} \\
plcl. & \textbf{telu} & \textbf{telu} & \textbf{telu} \\
pl. & \textbf{alu} & \textbf{alu} & \textbf{alu}
\end{tabular}
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 \textit{ma-}, rather than the sequence of \textit{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 from 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.
Table 21: Paamese Mood Categories.

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 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 is therefore atypical for an Oceanic language, as Oceanic languages predominantly mark aspectual categories inflectionally. (This is also true of proto-Oceanic as it is reconstructed by Pawley (1969:41-44).)

5.2.1.1.1.1 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 anterior.
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+mwm+ni aloko
woman pl 3pl.real.do.tr pudding

can have any of the following readings:

'The women made the pudding (anterior to present).'</n
'The women are making the pudding (simultaneous with
present).'</n
'Women make pudding (no temporal specification).'</n

As the realis is unmarked for tense, it is compatible with various
temporal markers that relate an event in temporal space either anterior
to or simultaneous with the present. E.g.

Letau kail amūmon alok nenganeh
letau kaile a+mwm+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+mwm+ni aloko kosaa
woman pl 3pl.real.do.tr pudding now
'The women are making the pudding now.'

Letau kail amūmon alok liiseles
letau kaile a+mwm+ni aloko liiselesa
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 posterior 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
'nearby', vaitiru 'later on', visuvongi '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 amëmon alok
letau kaile a+mu+le a+mu+mo+ní aloko
woman pl 3pl.real.exist 3pl.real.do.tr pudding

'The women {are} making pudding (progressive).'

Letau kail amëmon alokotai
letau kaile a+mu+mo+ní a+ko+tei aloko=tai
woman pl 3pl.real.do.tr pudding.comp

'The women {have} made the pudding (completive).'

5.2.1.1.1.2 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
kaiko haa halee
2sg 2sg.imp.go outside
'You go outside!'

Alumai vesesal
alu+mai vesësalì
2pl.imp.come near
'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+roma+tei vesësalì
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 5.2.1.1.1.3.2.

5.2.1.1.1.3 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.

5.2.1.1.1.3.1 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.

Sim nemavul
sit+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+ume viniti+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 cooccur with the negative marker as pointed out in 5.2.1.1.1.1.2.) 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 anāmaitei naim
lohono anaranaitei naimo
child 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 natehe+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+nasaau+tei
1sg lsg.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 throwing stick 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 throwing stick 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 vité ngani valú
avue vitée ngani+e va+lúue
grandfather 3sg.real.say 3sg.real.eat.3sg 3sg.imm.vomit
'Grandfather says when he eats it he feels like vomiting.'

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 va+maso
rice 3sg.imm.cooked
'The rice is nearly cooked.'

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
2sg.imm.go outside

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 (5.2.1.1.1.1.2), 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+vakiliii a+va+tai+e kaa kosaa iire
time sub.canoe 3pl.imm.cut.3sg cl now 1pl.incl
rodai en telai
ro+daite eni telai
3sg.real.cut.3sg ob1 axe

'When a canoe is to be cut today, we cut it with an axe.'

Avatuva kail en hisuput
a+va+tuva+a kaile eni hisiiputi
3pl.imm.shoot.prop 3pl ob1 bow
'They are going to shoot each other with bows.'

Mahā Liro kēk
ma+haa liiroo kee+ke
1sg.imm.go Liro sub.prox
'I am going to Liro now.'
Kovalesi?
ko+va+leste+e
2sg.imm.see.3sg
'Would you like to see it?'

The immediate form is also used with the time noun 
vesesaliìi '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 vesesaliìi va+vusi
water almost 3sg.imm.finish
'The water has nearly run out.'

*Oai vesesali hēvus
oai vesesaliìi 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.lsg 3sg.imm.come 3sg.imm.come comp
'If my father were coming, he would have come by now.'

5.2.1.1.1.4.2 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 hetîn polaua
kaie he+ti+inV 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 heevisi eni kovangese
water 3sg.dis.finish obi 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 vavusi eni kovangese
water 3sg.imm.finish obi 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:
5.2.1.1.1.5 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAIN CLAUSE MOOD</th>
<th>MAIN CLAUSE POLARITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potential</td>
<td>potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prohibitive</td>
<td>potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>realis</td>
<td>realis/immediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate</td>
<td>immediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>immediate/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>distant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Subordinate Clause Mood Marking According to Main Clause Mood/Polarity Marking.

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+va+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+sooni+tei 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
saani+e va+maai
2sg.imp.give.3sg 3sg.imm.come
'Give it to me.'

Sāni hēmai
saani+e hee+maai
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.
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.eat.part breadfruit  
'He didn't eat the breadfruit.'

(ii) **any intransitive verb. E.g.**

Inau naromesaitei  
inau na+ro+mesai+tei  
lsg lsg.real.neg.sick.part  
'I am not sick.'

Oai rogurutei velah  
oai ro+guru+tei velahi  
water 3sg.real.neg.boil.part ong  
'The water is not boiling yet.'

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:

Buusii rogukulutei  
buueii ro+gu+kulu+tei  
cat 3sg.real.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 naromumuaas kail  
lohono kaile na+ro+mu+muasi kaile  
child pl lsg.real.neg.REdup.hit 3pl  
'I never hit children.'
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+ru+muasi+tei kaile
child pi 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
*IIl 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nau</td>
<td>-inau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-iko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg.obj.</th>
<th>2sg.obj.</th>
<th>3sg.obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tehe</td>
<td>'cut'</td>
<td>tehe-inau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longe</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
<td>longe-nau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lesi</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>lesi-nau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gilela} & \quad \text{inau} \\
\text{gilel+na} & \quad \text{inau} \\
3\text{sg.real.know.prop 1sg} & \\
'\text{He knows me.}'
\end{align*}
\]

but:

\[
\begin{align*}
*\text{Gilelanau} \\
\text{gilel+na} \\
3\text{sg.real.know.1sg}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

5.2.2.1.2.1 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Agilela} & \quad \text{inau} \\
\text{a+gilel+na} & \quad \text{inau} \\
3\text{pl.real.know.prop 1sg} & \\
'They know me.'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Adehei} & \quad \text{kaik?} \\
\text{a+dehe+ie} & \quad \text{kaiko} \\
3\text{pl.real.cut.prop 2sg} & \\
'\text{Are you circumcised?}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Adili} & \quad \text{Sai} \\
\text{a+dili+ie} & \quad \text{saie} \\
3\text{pl.real.inject.prop Sai} & \\
'Sai got an injection.'
\end{align*}
\]
Contrast these examples with:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nalongs} & \quad \text{Mail} \\
na+lesi & \quad maile \\
lsg.real.see & \quad Mail \\
'I saw Mail.' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
*\text{Nalesi} & \quad \text{Mail} \\
na+lesi+e & \quad maile \\
lsg.real.see.prop & \quad Mail \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.2.2.1.2.2 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.) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nagilelen} & \quad \text{sauen} \\
nagilelen+nV & \quad sautene \\
lsg.real.know.comm & \quad sing.nom \\
'I know the song.' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aduvon} & \quad \text{aman} \\
a+duvo+nV & \quad amanu \\
3pl.real.shoot.comm & \quad \text{bird} \\
'They shot the bird.' \\
\end{align*}
\]
Komūhin       amaru
ko+muihi+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       vaselūstei
ævu koie va+selausi+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 Cooccurrence 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 cooccur with these categories. There are, however, restrictions on the cooccurrence 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 cooccurrence of a second person singular bound object and the partitive, which occur in the order just presented. E.g.

Rolesikotei
\[ro+lesi+kot+tei\]
3sg.real.neg.see.2sg.part
'He didn't see you.'

Otherwise, whenever the partitive and any of the other inflectional categories cooccur, 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 \(-\emptyset\). Thus:

Longe
\[longe+\]
3sg.real.hear.3sg
'He heard him.'

Rolongetei
\[ro+longe+tei\]
3sg.real.hear.part
'He didn't hear him.'

Longen re\(\tilde{e}\)k
\[longe+nV\]
3sg.real.hear.comm voice.1sg
'He heard my voice.'

Rolongetei re\(\tilde{e}\)k
\[ro+longe+tei\]
3sg.real.hear.part voice.1sg
'He didn't hear my voice.'

Longe Mail
\[longe+\]
3sg.real.hear.prop Mail
'He heard 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.'

*Rolonengautei
ro+longe+nau+tei
3sg.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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper Obj.</th>
<th>Common Obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alveolar C plus i</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-alveolar C plus i</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any V plus V; any C plus V other than i</td>
<td>-e/-ie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 reanalysed 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 (1969:61) does in fact reconstruct 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 as "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 pro-
hibitive (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 also acquired a distinctly negative function here also.

The second problem relating to this suffix involves its cooccurrence 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 the New Hebrides), for example, the negative is marked discontinuously by the prefix *'s- and the suffix -aan. E.g.

\[
i-\text{'s}-\text{aungin-aan} \\
lsg.\text{neg.eat.neg} \\
'I\ didn't\ eat'
\]

The prefix *'s- is apparently the historically prior negative prefix, and the suffix -aan is apparently related to the nominalising suffix:

\[
n-\text{aungin-aan} \\
nom.\text{eat.nom} \\
'food'
\]

(The prefix \text{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 closely related Kwamera, also spoken on Tanna, which expresses negation by means of a special negative verb followed by the verb in nominalised form. E.g.

\[
i-\text{ak-apwa} \quad n-\text{avengin-ien} \\
lsg.\text{non.past.not} \quad nom.\text{eat.nom} \\
'I\ don't\ eat'
\]

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 (1969:45) 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 vaharel
lo+ku vati+e ma+uasi+ko va+haa+relu
interior.lsg 3sg.real.want.3sg 1sg.imm.hit.2sg 3sg.imm.times.three
'I want to hit you three times.'

Hatte hehālu nituvak ven selūsienenek
hat+tee he+haa+lua ni+twa+ko veni seluusii+ene=neke
occasion 3sg.dis.times.two 1sg.dis.shoot.2sg caus speak.nom.dist
'(Do it) twice, and I'll shoot you for saying that!'

Kai muasinau vāhis?
kaie muasi+nau vaa+hise
3sg 3sg.real.hit.1sg 3sg.real.times.how many
'How many times did he hit me?'

5.2.2.1.2  Ma- STAT

Pawley (1969:42) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>DERIVED STATIVE FORM IN <em>ma-</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loko</td>
<td>ma+loko=loko 'sticky (of food)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumi</td>
<td>ma+lumu=lumu 'wrinkled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riduu</td>
<td>ma+riduu 'sunken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisile</td>
<td>ma+sisile 'burnt down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sive</td>
<td>ma+sive 'split'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 'baggy'

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 1969:49), which apparently marked an action as taking place away from the speaker. 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:

\[ \text{haa} \rightarrow \text{haa}+\text{tu} \quad \text{'go'} \]
\[ \text{hinaa} \rightarrow \text{hinaa}+\text{tu} \quad \text{'go up'} \]
\[ \text{hiitaa} \rightarrow \text{hiitaa}+\text{tu} \quad \text{'go down'} \]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inau nedaingeingeni keke nihit\text{\texttt{a}}} & \quad \text{Liro nesa} \\
\text{inau na+daiingige+ni+e kekee ni+hiitaa=tu} & \quad \text{liiroo nesa} \\
\text{lsg lsg.real.ignorant.tr.3sg sub 1sg.dis.go down.dest} & \quad \text{no lsg.dis.stay.neg.exp Liro above} \\
\text{vuol nit\text{\texttt{o}}} & \quad \text{vuoli ni+too=se} \\
\text{hinaa+tu} & \quad \text{hiitaa+tu} \\
\text{'I don't know if I will go down (to you) or stay at Liro nesa.'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 the central New
New Hebrides, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tau</td>
<td>'defecate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siho</td>
<td>'have diarrhea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sii</td>
<td>'fart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahi</td>
<td>'make pudding'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luva</td>
<td>'free, undone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and those which have corresponding transitive forms in -si are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tangi</td>
<td>'wail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hela</td>
<td>'step'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mea</td>
<td>'urinate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hau</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, some of those transitive/intransitive pairs distinguished by the presence or absence of -ni are presented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saki</td>
<td>'do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wno</td>
<td>'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saa</td>
<td>'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soo</td>
<td>'throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tio</td>
<td>'push'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tivii</td>
<td>tiviini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'throw down'</td>
<td>'throw down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hite</td>
<td>hiteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'speak'</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lee</td>
<td>lesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nii</td>
<td>niti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'burn'</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>usa</td>
<td>usaini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rain'</td>
<td>'rain on'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
-\textit{ni} derived from original *-\textit{Ci} and the -\textit{ni} derived from \textit{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:

Auvolum be teksas
\textit{auvolumi} be teksase
3pl.real.dance.tr European dancing

and:

Auvol en taksas
\textit{auvolu} eni teksase
3pl.real.dance obl European dancing

'They danced European style (i.e. They danced the Texas).'

there is no contrast between:

Kai san mane
\textit{kaie saani} mane
3sg 3sg.real.give money

'He gave the money.'

and:

*Kai sa en mane
\textit{kaie saa} eni mane
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?
\textit{taunehe=ke a+ga+kani+e}
\textit{thing.prox 3pl.real.REdup.eat.3sg}
'Is this edible?'

Inau naromemesaitei
\textit{inau na+ro+me+mesai+tei}
\textit{lsg lsg.real.neg.REdup.sick.part}
'I never get sick.'

Mules mematil
\textit{mule=se ma+matilu}
\textit{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
\textit{a+laa=laapoo}
\textit{3pl.real.REDup.fall}
'They fell down all over the place.'

Halela kail amukeyka
\textit{hai̱ḻa= kaile a+muk+kaa}
bird type pl 3pl.real.REdup.fly
'The halela-birds flew in all directions.'
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 vasi
kaie vane=hane enaute vasiie
3sg 3sg.real.REDUp.copulate sp.place all
'He is promiscuous (i.e. copulates anywhere, anytime).'</p>

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
molatine kaile a+da+tangosaa muko=ke
person pl 3pl.real.REDup.rise 3sg.real,thus.prox
'The people went up like this.'</p>

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'
- pusí '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 use we are likely to find one of the following contrasts in function:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REDUp</th>
<th>REdup</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>detransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interrupted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uninterrupted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

so, contrast:

Naromumudei
na meilleure
lsg.real.neg.REdup.drink.part
'1 don't drink beer.'
227.

Naromunumundei
na+ro+munu+munu+tei
1sg.real.neg.REDuP.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.REDuP.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'

kasi=hele
wash.hand
'wash one's hands'

taa=taa=hilu
REDuP.cut.hair
'preen feathers'

taa=vatu
cut.head
'nod one's head'

kalialii=vatu
shake.head
'shake one's head'
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 requiring the D- Form of the root, it changes it to *ng-*.

So, contrast:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a+ngani} & \quad \text{3pl.real.eat/burn} \\
\text{i+ani} & \quad \text{3pl.dis.eat/burn}
\end{align*}
\]

(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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kiris} & \quad \text{kimai} \\
\text{ki+risi} & \quad \text{ki+i+mai} \\
\text{2sg.dis.return} & \quad \text{2sg.dis.come} \\
& \quad \text{Come back.}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sai} & \quad \text{eris} & \quad \text{emai} \\
\text{sale erisi} & \quad \text{emai} \\
\text{Sai} & \quad \text{3sg.real.return} & \quad \text{3sg.real.come} \\
& \quad \text{Sai came back.}'
\end{align*}
\]

There is also an alternative form of the root used only where the D-Form is required, and this is *disi*. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sai} & \quad \text{edis} & \quad \text{emai} \\
\text{sale edisi} & \quad \text{emai} \\
\text{Sai} & \quad \text{3sg.real.return} & \quad \text{3sg.real.come} \\
& \quad \text{Sai came back.}'
\end{align*}
\]
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:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{sg.} & \text{dl.} & \text{pcl.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{come} & \text{amai} & \text{luu+mai} & \text{telu+mai} & \text{alu+mai} \\
\text{come up} & \text{amaa} & \text{lu+maa} & \text{telu+maa} & \text{alu+maa} \\
\text{come down} & \text{amiitaa} & \text{lu+miitaa} & \text{telu+miitaa} & \text{alu+miitaa}
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{sg.} & \text{dl.} & \text{pcl.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{IMMEDIATE} & 1 & \text{ma+amai} & \text{incl.} & \text{lo+va+amai} & \text{to+va+amai} & \text{ro+va+amai} \\
 & 2 & \text{ko+va+amai} & \text{excl.} & \text{malu+va+amai} & \text{matu+va+amai} & \text{ma+va+amai} \\
 & 3 & \text{va+amai} & & \text{lu+va+amai} & \text{telu+va+amai} & \text{alu+amai} \\
\text{POTENTIAL} & 1 & \text{na+na+amai} & \text{incl.} & \text{lo+na+amai} & \text{to+na+amai} & \text{ro+na+amai} \\
 & 2 & \text{ko+na+amai} & \text{excl.} & \text{malu+na+amai} & \text{matu+na+amai} & \text{ma+na+amai} \\
 & 3 & \text{na+amai} & & \text{lu+na+amai} & \text{telu+na+amai} & \text{alu+na+amai} \\
\end{array}
\]

(Based on the regular root, these paradigms would be of the form 'ma+mai lsg.imm', '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-.
imperative paradigms of these verbs are therefore:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dl.</th>
<th>pcl.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>haa</td>
<td>lu+haa ~</td>
<td>telu+haa ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lu+vaa</td>
<td>telu+vaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go up</td>
<td>hinaa</td>
<td>lu+hinaa ~</td>
<td>telu+hinaa ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lu+vinaa</td>
<td>telu+vinaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down</td>
<td>hiitaa</td>
<td>lu+hiitaa ~</td>
<td>telu+hiitaa ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lu+viitaa</td>
<td>telu+viitaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?
salase vaa=vee
Salas 3sg.real.go.where
'Where has Salas gone?'

Salas veive?
salase vei=vee
Salas 3sg.real.go.where
'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 of course 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
3\text{sg.real} & \\
taa(i) & \text{'one'} \\
elua & \text{'two'} \\
etelu & \text{'three'} \\
ehati & \text{'four'} \\
elima & \text{'five'} \\
ehise & \text{'how many'}
\end{align*}
\]

The regular behaviour of these verbs in other environments requiring the D-Form of the root is shown by the following examples:

Naguri rovattei
\[
\text{nagurai} \text{+ ro+vatii+tei} \\
\text{lsg.real.take.3sg 3sg.real.neg.four.part} \\
\text{'I didn't take four.'}
\]

Hatte tás nauvā Līro, heroluetei
\[
\text{hattē} \text{+ taa=se nau+va} \text{a liiroo he+ro+lu+aitē} \\
occasion one.neg.exp lsg.real.go Liro 3sg.dis.neg,two.part \\
\text{'I have only been to Liro once, there won't be a second time.'}
\]

(ii) In reduplication and with the TIMES prefix haa- (5.2.2.1.1), the t-initial forms change this to r-. E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{TIMES} & \quad \text{REPLICATED} \\
haa+raa(i) & \quad raa=taa(i) & \text{'one'} \\
haa+lua & \quad lua=lua & \text{'two'} \\
haa+relu & \quad re+telu & \text{'three'} \\
haa+hati & \quad hati=hati & \text{'four'}
\end{align*}
\]
'five'

'how many'

E.g.

Kaik kikamen hairātas
kaiko ki+kame+nv hai+raa=taa=ee
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 lsg.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 'do 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 tumali?
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+ani koseini raise
lsg.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?
kaiko ko+va+asaa
2sg 2sg.imm.do what
'What are you going to do?'

Avāseini?
a+va+aseini+e
3pl.imm.do what.3sg
'What's to be done about it?'

Kīha kīsa?
kit+ihaa ki+iisaa
2sg.dis.go 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNSTRESSED</th>
<th>STRESSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>nau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>au-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo-</td>
<td>loo-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mu-  muu-   '2pl.real'
ni-  ni-    '1sg.dis'
ki-  kii-   '2sg.dis'
he-  hee-   '3sg.dis'
ro-  roo-   '3sg.real.neg'

(Note that polysyllabic prefixes such as matu- 'lpcl.excl.real' and lehe- 'ldl.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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAKING REGULAR PREFIXES</th>
<th>TAKING SPECIAL PREFIXES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$h$- hanu</td>
<td>'whistle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasu</td>
<td>'give birth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiso</td>
<td>'shout'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hela</td>
<td>'step'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 (forthcoming). 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 (forthcoming) 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 \textit{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 \textit{he}-, then there is a reduction of the double sequence of \textit{he} to a single occurrence of the syllable. Thus:

\begin{verbatim}
He    rēri
he    rerit
3sg.dis.cop ready
'He will be ready.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
*Hehe    rēri
he+he    rerit
3sg.dis.cop ready
\end{verbatim}

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 \textit{he}, this fusion does not take place.)
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.

E.g.

Ihe rēri
i+he rerii
3pl.dis.cop ready
'They will be ready.'
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 constituent 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
lsg.real.take break wood
'I took hold of the wood, thereby breaking it.'

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
ki+selausi merau=se
2sg.dis.speak soft.neg.exp
'Just speak softly.'

Kipus meraunies
ki+pusi merau+ni+e=se
2sg.dis.kick soft.tr.3sg.neg.exp
'Just kick it softly.'
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Agahit} & \quad \text{alok} \\
\text{a+gahiti} & \quad \text{aloko} \\
3\text{pl.real.make pudding pudding} & \quad \text{They made the pudding.}' \\
\text{Agah} & \quad \text{kolen} \quad \text{ato} \\
\text{a+gahi} & \quad \text{kole+nV} \quad \text{atoo} \\
3\text{pl.real.make pudding cover.comm chicken} & \quad \text{They covered the chicken over in the pudding.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navelas} & \quad \text{merales} \\
\text{na+velasi} & \quad \text{meralese} \\
1\text{sg.real.step on coral} & \quad \text{I stepped on the coral.}' \\
\text{Navel} & \quad \text{varein} \quad \text{merales} \\
\text{na+vela} & \quad \text{vaarei+ni} \quad \text{meralese} \\
1\text{sg.real.step precisely.tr coral} & \quad \text{I stepped right on the coral.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kitioni} & \quad \text{ki+tioni+e} \\
2\text{sg.dis.push.3sg} & \quad \text{Push it.}' \\
\text{Kitio} & \quad \text{kati} \\
\text{ki+tio} & \quad \text{kati+e} \\
2\text{sg.dis.push intense.3sg} & \quad \text{Push it hard.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kani=ani} & \quad \text{hatetamene} \\
\text{REDUp.eat large.non-sg} & \quad \text{be a large eater}' \\
\end{align*}
\]
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 mulu
kai e muluue
3sg 3sg.real.vomit
'He just dry retched.'

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 hatetamedei
inau naro+ngani+ani hatetame+tei
1sg 1sg.real.neg.REDUp.eat large.non-sg.part
'I am not a big eater.'
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:

\[ saki \ mini \]
cause pun.dat
'treat'

\[ selu \ mini \]
utter pun.dat
'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.

\[ Inau \ mahina \ mail \ vasin \ uhia \ keke \]
\[ Inau \ ma+hinaa \ ma+ili \ vasiimV \ uhiaa \ kekee \]
\[ lsg \ lsg.imm.go \ up \ lsg.imm.dig \ all.comm \ wild \ yam \ sub \]
\[ nagil \ rani \]
\[ na+gili \ rani+e \]
\[ lsg.real.dig \ abl.3sg \]
'I am going to go up and dig all the yams that I only dug some of before.'
'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:

\[
*Nagili\quad ran \\
natgili\quad rani \\
1sg.real.dig.3sg abl
\]

The partitive suffix -tei also behaves in the same way:

\[
Irosak\quad vedei \\
+i+ro+saki\quad veni+tei \\
3pl.dis.neg.do caus.part \\
'They will not argue about it.'
\]

\[
*Irosakitei\quad ven \\
+i+ro+saki+tei\quad veni \\
3pl.dis.neg.do.part caus
\]

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 the New Hebrides, on Epi (Tryon, pers. comm.), in the language of the Big Nambas of Malekula (Fox, forthcoming), and on southeast Ambrym (Parker 1970). It is also reported in some of the Oceanic languages of Papua New Guinea, for example Nakanai on New Britain (Johnston 1978:245-78). 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).

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:

\begin{equation}
\text{Eau mata-pa-paa la viso taku} \\
\text{lsg look.redup.seek art knife poss.lsg} \\
'\text{I am looking for my knife.'}
\end{equation}

but tie soata 'climb up' as a chained clause in:

\begin{equation}
\text{Egite tie so-ata (tie) la gove} \\
\text{3pl climb go.up prep art mountain} \\
'They climbed up the/a mountain.'
\end{equation}

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 parallelling 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:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Eas} & \text{dupas} & \text{kīriril} & \text{vā} & \text{naim} \\
\text{easu} & \text{dupasu} & \text{kīstrilu} & \text{vaa} & \text{naimo} \\
\end{array}
\]

smoke 3sg.real.smoky go through 3sg.real.go inside 'The smoke went through (the gaps in the wall) inside.'

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
*\text{Eas} & \text{dupas(u)kīriril} & \text{vā} & \text{naim} \\
\text{easu} & \text{duapeu=kīstrilu} & \text{vaa} & \text{naimo} \\
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Inau} & \text{narogā} & \text{ut} & \text{vinīnautei} \\
\text{inau} & \text{na+ro+gaa} & \text{ute} & \text{vinii+inautei} \\
\text{lsg} & \text{lsg.neg.real.travel} & \text{ashore} & \text{do to excess.lsg.part} \\
\end{array}
\]

'lsg lsg. neg. real. travel ashore do to excess lsg. 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
sale muumo tetohonip ni 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 transitivising 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:
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:

Easu rodupas kisirilutei vahā naim
  easu ro+dupasu kisvrilu+tei vaaha naimo
smoke 3sg.real.neg.smoky go through.part 3sg.imm.go inside.

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 'do to excess/death'
usili 'do in the manner of/be about'
viiisi 'try to do'
lahi 'do quickly'

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kaik kogās} & \quad \text{ut vinīk} \\
\text{kaiko ko+=gaa=se} & \quad \text{ute vinii+ko} \\
\text{2sg 2sg.real.travel.neg.exp shore do to excess.2sg} & \quad \text{'You have been travelling by shore too much'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inau narolestei} & \quad \text{sinoma usil Elvis} \\
\text{inau na+ro+lesi+tei} & \quad \text{sinomaa usili elvisi} \\
\text{lsg lsg.real.neg.see.part movie follow Elvis} & \quad \text{'I didn't see the movie about Elvis.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Matuvak} & \quad \text{viisi} \\
\text{ma+twa+ko} & \quad \text{viisi+e} \\
\text{lsg.imm.shoot.2sg try.3sg} & \quad \text{'I am going to try to shoot you.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kian} & \quad \text{ahis lah} \\
\text{ki+ani ahisi lahi} & \quad \text{2sg.dis.eat banana quickly} \\
\text{'Eat the banana quickly.'}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the adjuncts \textit{viisi} 'try' and \textit{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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Matuv} & \quad \text{viisi} \\
\text{ma+tucco} & \quad \text{viisi+ko} \\
\text{lsg.imm.shoot try.2sg} & \quad \text{'I am going to try to shoot you.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kian} & \quad \text{lahin ahis} \\
\text{ki+ani lahi+ni ahisi} & \quad \text{2sg.dis.eat quickly.tr banana} \\
\text{'Eat the banana quickly.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Attempts to produce similar kinds of constructions with other verbs were consistently rejected by all speakers. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*Aselūs} & \quad \text{min lohon kail lē kat mane} \\
\text{areieluusi} & \quad \text{mini lohono kaile lee kati manee} \\
\text{3pl.real.speak pun.dat boy pl see intense money} & \quad \text{'They spoke to the boys to find the money.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*Kai heluhin} & \quad \text{auh rohotoh kosa} \\
\text{kaihe+luhi+tv} & \quad \text{auhu roho=toho kosaa} \\
\text{3sg 3sg.dis.plant.comm yam do for the first time today} & \quad \text{'He is going to plant yams for the first time today.'}
\end{align*}
\]
These could only be expressed as complex sentence constructions and not as serial verbs. Thus:

Aselūs min lohon kail avale kat mane
+seluus+ mini lohono kaile avale+lee kati mane+
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 heluhin+V auhu he+vmo 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 (d) a prepositional phrase in which the preposition is either *eni* or *teni*. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Phrase</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vahe uain mamuni</td>
<td>If it were wine, I would drink it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vahe uaine ma+muni+e</td>
<td>'If it were wine, I would drink it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve kail elim</td>
<td>There were five of them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve kaile elima</td>
<td>'There were five of them.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oreliato ăk ve titānetai</td>
<td>My egg is fertilised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oreli+tattoo ă+ku ve tita+tane=tai</td>
<td>'My egg is fertilised.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vahe ialu</td>
<td>'Let me come with you (i.e. If it were the two of us).'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vahe ialue</td>
<td>'Let me come with you (i.e. If it were the two of us).'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hegan onak he ten sāk  
_hengani ona=ku he teni soake_  
bait poss.man.lsg 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  
molātine elua  
person two  
'There were two people.'

Long kati en maritauneh  
longe kati+ene maritauneh  
hear intense.nom big.thing  
'Obedience is an important thing.'

Enaut Tahal nesa keke nado tueitinek  
enautē tahalu nesaa kekee na+doo tueitine=ke  
sp.place Tahal above sub lsg.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-realís or non-third person singular. E.g.

Love molatin elu  
lo+ve molātine elua  
lidl.incl.real.cop person two  
'There are two of us.'

Long kati en rovetei maritauneh  
longe kati+ene ro+ve+tei maritauneh  
hear intense.nom 3sg.real.cop.part big.thing  
'Obedience is not an important thing.'

He enaut Tahal nesa keke nito tueitin  
he enautē tahalu nesaa kekee ni+too tueitine  
3sg.dis.cop sp.place Tahal above sub lsg.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 kekêk rove āmaltei
airo kekee=ke ro+ve āamali+tei
building sub.prox 3sg.real.cop meeting house. part
'This building is not a meeting house.'

Molatin kail tenaut Vaum arove taripengetei
molåtine kaile tenaute vaumo a+ro+ve tarîpenge+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 kekêk rovetei āmal
airo kekee=ke ro+ve+tei āamali
house sub.prox 3sg.real.neg.cop.part meeting house
'This building is not a meeting house.'

Molatin kail tenaut Vaum arovetei taripeng
molåtine kaile tenaute vaumo a+ro+ve+tei tarîpenge
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 sâketei
hengani onak+ku he+ro+ve teni sâakettei
bait poss.man.lsg 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'
sunoki  'smoke'

E.g.

Inau nelānin  tituen
inau na+laani+ni  titu+ene
lsg  lsg.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  rērin  tauneh  vasi
ave  reerii+ni  tauneh  vaste
3pl.real.cop  ready.tr  thing  all
'They got everything ready.'

Vē  sitat  mutin
ve  eatatati  mutimu
3sg.real.cop  start  3sg.real.hot
'It's started to get hot.'

Inau nave  tagio  minik
inau na+ve  tagioo  mini+ko
lsg  lsg.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:

Aromununumun  nelītei,  amunumun  haulu
a+ro+munu+munu  nelīitei  amunumun  haulue
3pl.real.neg.REDU+drink somewhat.part 3pl.real.REDU+drink much
'They didn't just drink a bit, they drank a lot.'
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 kaiê maîmo kuhie=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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{molatin } & \text{ vasī} \\
\text{molātine } & \text{ vasiie} \\
\text{person all} & \text{ 'everyone'} \\
\text{ani } & \text{ revī} \\
\text{anīi } & \text{ revīie} \\
\text{green coconut proper} & \text{ 'a proper green coconut'}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rovopolītei } & \text{ rāmet} \\
\text{ro+} & \text{vopolil+i+tei } \text{ rāmete} \\
3\text{sg.real.black.part } & \text{ too} \\
\text{'It's not too black.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rovopoli } & \text{ rāmettei} \\
\text{ro+} & \text{vopolii } \text{ rāmete+tei} \\
3\text{sg.real.neg.black } & \text{ too.part} \\
\text{'It's not too black.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kian } & \text{ meteseni} \\
\text{ki+ani } & \text{ mete=se+ni+e} \\
2\text{sg.dis.eat } & \text{ raw.neg.exp.tr.3sg} \\
\text{'Just eat it raw.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>NP ADJUNCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>selwusi</td>
<td>'speak' the language being used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukulu</td>
<td>'study' the language used as the medium of instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>'travel' the thing something resembles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>płeex</td>
<td>'play' the game or instrument played</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hite</td>
<td>'say' the thing said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hite</td>
<td>'think' the thing thought</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g.

Aselus lanüs
a+selwusi lamau électrique
3pl.real.speak language
'They were speaking the vernacular.'

Inau nasukul Veranis inau na+sükulu veraanise
1sg lsg.real.study French
'I went to a French school.'

Kai mual ga ahin kail
kaie muali gaa ahine kaile
3sg 3sg.real.walk 3sg.real.travel woman pl
'He walks like a woman.'

Kaik kipile kät?
kaiko kipi+łeex kaati
2sg 2sg.dis.play cards
'Are you going to play cards?'

Kai viteni vit kaik ki+mai
kaie vīteni+e vīte kaiko kii+mai
3sg 3sg.real.say.tr.3sg 3sg.real.say 2sg 2sg.real.come
'He said that you would come.'

Navit kovāmai tai
na+vite ko+va+āmai tai
1sg.real.think 2sg.real.come 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:

*Aselūsi
a+selusit+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 kipilën kät?
kaiko ki+pileenV 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. Clause level grammar is viewed as a statement of the possibilities for combining phrase-level constituents into units that are syntactic representations of semantic units we have been referring to as events (Foley and Van Valin, forthcoming).

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 morpho-syntactic constructions. We find the following general types of morpho-syntactic relationships between phrase-level constituents at the clause level:

(i) \((NP) (VP)\). A clause may contain one of 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.

In the discussion which follows, we describe the defining morpho-syntactic properties of these various constructions. It should be kept in mind, however, that, as the clause is the syntactic expression of a semantic unit we call an event, there will necessarily be a definable correlation between these constructions and the various semantic properties of any event.

All events necessarily involve predications expressing states, actions or processes. Involved in an event, there may also be one or more participants. The participants in an event are involved either with respect to the predication, or with respect to another participant. The number of roles participants may play in events is limited, and includes such roles as actor, patient, instrument, goal, location, beneficiary, experiencer etc. (Note that while a syntactic construction can be defined formally, this is much more difficult with a semantic relationship. This means that while the notion of "role-playing" of participants in events is universally accepted by linguists - though expressed differently to be sure - ideas on the actual number of basic roles and the semantic characterisation of these tends to differ quite widely.)

The number of morpho-syntactic constructions at the clause level that are outlined above is certainly less than the number of specific semantic relationships that hold between participants in an
event, and between participants and the predicate. These overt morpho-
syntactic categories are therefore intersected by a number of overt and 
covert semantic categories to enable the coding and decoding of these 
semantic relationships to be unambiguously effected. The semantic 
factors involved include the referential category of a participant in 
an event, and the particular nature of the predicate. This means 
therefore, that only certain kinds of participants can play certain 
roles in certain events, and not in others. For instance, only in-
animate participants can function as instruments in the performance of 
an action; animate or location participants, on the other hand, cannot.

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 we will need to recognise to enable 
disambiguation of ambiguous constructions to be effected.

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 morpho-syntactic 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 morpho-syntactically 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) The subject nominal phrase is cross-referenced on the verb phrase by one of the prefixes described in 5.2.1.1.1.

(ii) There can never be any nominal phrase intervening between it and the following verb phrase.

(iii) It receives zero-marking.

The object relationship, on the other hand, is defined by the following facts:

(i) 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).

(iii) Again, there is zero-marking.

Thus, in the following example, the subject nominal phrase is *kaiko '2sg' and the object is *ree+ku 'my voice':

Kaik kolongen rek 
kaiko ko+longe+nV ree+ku
2sg 2sg.real.hear.comm voice.lsg
'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. 

Selūsien kailu vasi keke kolsonge en ratio
seluusi+ene kailue vastie kekse ko+longe+e eni rati0o
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 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aus} & \quad \text{mūs} \\
& \quad \text{ausa mausa} \\
\text{rain} & \quad 3\text{sg.real.rain} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'It is raining.'

It is therefore incorrect to say:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mūs} \\
& \quad \text{musea} \\
\text{3sg.real.rain} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*Aus} & \quad \text{haulu mūs} \\
& \quad \text{ausa haulue mausa} \\
\text{rain much} & \quad 3\text{sg.real.rain} \\
\text{'It is raining a lot.'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*Haioai} & \quad \text{keke mai} \\
& \quad \text{haioai keke mai} \\
\text{fruit.water sub} & \quad 3\text{sg.real.come abl cloud} \\
\text{ran mahumah mūs} & \quad \text{ran mahu=mahu musea} \\
\text{3sg.real.rain} & \quad \text{3sg.real.rain} \\
\text{'Drops of water which come from the clouds are raining.'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REQUIRED SUBJET</th>
<th>IMPERSONAL VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luho-</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meto-</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meto-</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa-</td>
<td>'forehead'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ave-</td>
<td>'body'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo-</td>
<td>'interior'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is therefore possible to say only:

```
Metok  long
meto+ku longo
eye.lsg 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:
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hono</td>
<td>'winded'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hati</td>
<td>'want, like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maahisi</td>
<td>'pity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mobongo</td>
<td>'forgetful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobongini</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesele</td>
<td>'able to remember'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangisi</td>
<td>'upset about'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaasi</td>
<td>'happy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, the form ulu- is attested as the subject of the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>metau</td>
<td>'afraid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisaa</td>
<td>'depressed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maleilei</td>
<td>'get a fright'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaane</td>
<td>'afraid'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g.

Ulum metau?
ulu+mo metau
ulu.2sg 3sg.real.afraid
'Are you afraid?'

Lok rovattei maha
lo+ku ro+vati+tei maha
interior.1sg 3sg.real.neg.want.part 1sg.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
naimetau
lsg.real.afraid
'I am afraid.'

Uluk metau
ulu+ku metau
ulu.lsg 3sg.real.afraid
'I am afraid.'

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPERSONAL USE</th>
<th>USUAL USE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuru</td>
<td>rumble (of stomach)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selu</td>
<td>rumble (of stomach)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toho</td>
<td>uncooked in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hile=hilesi</td>
<td>starving hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesele</td>
<td>remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangisi</td>
<td>upset about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaasi</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maahi</td>
<td>sick of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madili</td>
<td>climax sexually</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(of females)                        |

So, compare the following example in which the verb is used impersonally:
'He is upset about it.'

with this example, in which the verb is used with a personal subject:

'He is crying for peanuts.'

It was pointed out in 3.2.1.1 that there are two sub-types 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.

In the first of these verbal types (3.2.1.1.1) there is a requirement that the object slot be filled by a pronominal form marking the same category distinctions as the subject. E.g.

'I am happy.'

'They over-ate 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:

'They over-ate a lot.'

When the object is genuinely reflexive however, this is possible. E.g.
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 \(en\), \(ten\), \(rani\), \(ven\) 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 selûs  min   tâta  ven  mane  onak
    kaie seluusi    mini    taataa  veni    mane  ona+ku
3sg  3sg.real.speak pun.dat father caus money poss.man.1sg
'He spoke to father about my money.'

Mail Ham  sän   lêta  minau  ranaute  Vîla
     maile haamo esani   leetaa mini+nau  ranaute  vilâa
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+seluuusi gaiho mini lohono kail le+n+amali
3pl.real.speak 3sg.real.strong pun.dat child pl loc.meeting house
'They told the children off in the meeting house.'

Kai melaa ran āmal ven eas
kaie melaaa 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
kaie seluusi
3sg 3sg.real.speak pun.dat 3pl sp church
'He spoke to them in church about their money.'

*Kai vas
kaie vasu
3sg 3sg.real.give birth sp hospital
'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Inanimate and non-human animate</th>
<th>Ø-Time</th>
<th>P-Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>punctual dative</td>
<td>mini</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referential</td>
<td>mini</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>eni/teni</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>teni</td>
<td>teni</td>
<td>teni</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>areal dative</td>
<td>veni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>rani</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causal</td>
<td>eni/veni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24: Nominal Case Markers.
(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.
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 tovuelien
toose onono paterike tōvueli=ene
'tYour torch has no batteries in it.'

Aut keatahas vāen kai müsil kati
aute keatahasu vaa+ene kai müsilili kati+e
'Wherever the sow went, he followed her there.'

Gahit auh muas ato
gahiti auhu muasti atoo
'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
kate guke aa+me=se
3sg 3sg.real.cook poss.ed.3sg.neg.exp
'He only cooks for himself.'

Reheluhuluhi ser
rehe+lulu=luhu se+re
1pl.incl.dis.REDUp.plant poss.leg.lpl.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
vakiliit tovueli 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aut} & \quad \text{Tanei, mulamun} & \quad \text{adōen} & \quad \text{tahos} \\
\text{aute} & \quad \text{tanei} & \quad \text{mulamune} & \quad \text{a+do=en} & \quad \text{tahosi} \\
\text{place} & \quad \text{Tanei} & \quad 3\text{sg.real.precede} & \quad 3\text{pl.real.stay.sp} & \quad 3\text{sg.real.good} \\
\text{It used to be good before when they lived at Tanei.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 *veiene* 'beach', *poalu* 'gully', *vanei* 'volcano' etc. So, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vanei} & \quad \text{Ulvelah doh} & \quad \text{en naintin sikstiuan} \\
\text{vanei} & \quad \text{ulvētahi doho} & \quad \text{en naintini sikstitiuane} \\
\text{volcano} & \quad \text{Lopevi} & \quad 3\text{sg.real.erupt obl} & \quad 1961 \\
\text{Lopevi volcano erupted in 1961.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 as possessors (though this is considered to be stylistically bad). E.g.
Tahi lingin ipu ān Līro
Tahi 3sg.real.put.comm loss poss.part.const Līro
'Tahi defeated Līro (at football).'</n>

Inau namumon vōt usil ut
Inau namumon vōt usil ut
lsg 1sg.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 Tahi
Kai mai ranaut Tahi
3sg 3sg.real.come abl.place Tahi
'He came from Tahi.'

Narolestei keleaut Tanso
Narolestei keleaut Tanso
lsg.real.neg.see.part point.place southeast Ambryn
'I couldn't see southeast Ambrym Point.'

while the following are quite unacceptable:

*Kai mai ran Tahi
*Kai mai ran Tahi
3sg 3sg.real.come abl Tahi

*Narolestei kele Tanso
*Narolestei kele Tanso
lsg.real.see.part point.southeast 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.

Vauleleli valus vā les kail
Vauleleli vā les kail
3sg.real.row 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.see 3pl
'Vaulele rows to go and see them.'

Marolestei Līro kail
Marolestei Līro kail
lsg.imm.neg.see.part Līro pl
'I don't want to see the people of Līro.')</n>

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 morpho-syntactic 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 divîn ahat vinâm tahul
kaie diviini ahatu vinaa=ni tahule
3sg 3sg.real.throw down rock 3sg.real.go up.sp rubbish
'He threw rocks down over the rubbish.'

Tân vanei gâren tehiauh
taa=ne vanei gaare+ni tehiauh
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 vani
meteilau one+ne gahiti+e vaa+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 pislcmaa
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 mulre+ 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.REDUp.run sp beach
'The children ran around on the beach.'

Mail viteal
maite viteali
Mail 3sg.real.laugh
'Mail laughed.'

Utiuheuh gârali mot vâ netan
uti+uhe+he gârali moti vaa netano
seed.whitewood 3sg.real.spin 3sg.real.fall 3sg.real.go down
'The whitewood seeds spun, falling down.'

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. E.g.

Mād  gurinau  
maade  guri+nau  
sweat 3sg.real.take.lsg  
'I am sweating.'

Mesaien  gurinau  
mesai+ene  guri+nau  
sick.nom 3sg.real.take.lsg  
'I am sick.'

Holau  gurinau  
holau  guri+nau  
hunger 3sg.real.take.lsg  
'I am hungry.'

Maroro  gatinau  
maroroo  gati+nau  
thirst 3sg.real.bite.lsg  
'I am thirsty.'

An  gatinau  
anī  gati+nau  
coldness 3sg.real.bite.lsg  
'I am cold.'

Amal  gatinau  
amalo  gati+nau  
hunger 3sg.real.bite.lsg  
'I am hungry.'

Mēk  gatinau  
mee+ku  gati+nau  
urine.lsg 3sg.real.bite.lsg  
'I want to urinate.'

Vulihesihes  gatinau  
vulihesihesi  gati+nau  
crotch-itch 3sg.real.bite.lsg  
'I have crotch-itch.'

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.
Äi mavul
aai mavulu
tree 3sg.real.break
'The tree is broken/broke.'

Huli esak emat
hulii esa+ku emate
dog poss.leg.1sg 3sg.real.die
'My dog is dead/died.'

Aim mak mariso
aimo ma+ku marisoo
house poss.dom.1sg 3sg.real.big
'My house is big.'

It also includes the entity counted, that is, expressed by one of the
numeral verbs (3.2.2.3). E.g.

Ialu lotās
ialue lo+taa=se
ldl.incl ldl.incl.real.one.neg.exp sp
en ninin
eni nini+ne
'spirit.3sg
'You and I are one in his spirit.'

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 tu+tsee koeaa
3sg.real.neg.cop.part Tuesday today
'It's not Tuesday today.'

Vahe ialu
va+he ialue
3sg.imm.cop ldl.incl
'May it be you and I.'

Alonge tahos
a+longe+e tāhosī
3pl.real.feel.3sg 3sg.real.good
'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. E.g.

Selūsien gaih avaselūsini
seluusitene gaiho avu+seluusini+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 vattee 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+mmule a+malese eni
3sg.real.hear.tr.3sg sub 3pl.real.exist 3pl.real.rustle sp
laueas
la+w+ease
leaf.chestnut
'He heard that there was rustling in the chestnut leaves.'

Alonge tahos
a+longene tūhosi
3pl.real.feel.3sg 3sg.real.good
'It feels good.'

Amūs vīte suval lokohis
ammuus vii+ritee suvali loko=histi
3pl.real.smell smell.indef 3sg.real.ressemble pudding.banana
'It smells like banana pudding.'

Lok rovattei avalesinau vasuval
lo+ku ro+vatitei ava+lesi+nau va+suvali
interior.1sg 3sg.real.neg.want.part 3pl.imm.see.1sg 3sg.imm.ressemble
letau
letau
woman
'I don't want to look like a woman.'

Tēri vīs onen haite keke ašāni
teriti viti one+me hairitee kekee a+saani+n
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 vaulelli 3pl 3pl.real.REDuP.drink Vauleli
'They are drinking at Vauleli.'

and:

Amunumun Vauleli
a+munu=munu vaulelli 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 *-03 *-Ci and *-Cak(ni). 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 (Schutz 1969), Big Nambas (Fox, forthcoming) and Nakanai (Johnston 1978), though they are retained in others, e.g. Fijian (Milner 1972), Kwaio (Keesing, mimeo), and Lenakel (Lynch, pers. comm.).

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 solukut ulumatu tāi
kaiete soolukututulumutuetaa
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.'

Nhitiin hisuput
ni+hitiiini hisiputi
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:

Navohoin veta
va+voohooi+nV vetaa
1sg.real.make into hōhoi.comm breadfruit
'I made the breadfruit into hōhoi.'

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 either.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kai mutau</th>
<th>eni tirausis onen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaie mutau</td>
<td>eni tirausise one+ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg 3sg.real.defecate sp shorts poss.man.3sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'He defecated on his shorts.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kai mutaut</th>
<th>tirausis onen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaie mutaut+ti</td>
<td>tirausise one+ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg 3sg.real.defecate.tr shorts poss.man.3sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'He shat his shorts.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *-Cakifni in only a single attested form (5.2.2.2.2). The language does not, therefore, have a productive means at its disposal 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
na+gulu eni atasi
lsg.real.swim sp sea

Nagulun atas
na+gulu=ni atasi
lsg.real.swim.sp sea
'I swam in the sea.'

Kaitis volau en ani
kaitise volau eni anii
Kaitis 3sg.real.climb sp coconut

Kaitis volau=ni ani
kaitise volau=ni anii
Kaitis 3sg.real.climb.sp coconut
'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.'

Kaitis rovolautein ani
kaitise ro+volau+tei=ni anii
Kaitis 3sg.real.neg.climb.part.sp coconut
'Kaitis didn't climb up the coconut tree.'

(ii) When the nominal phrase following eni has been deleted or moved and its reference is determined anaphorically, the case-marker is cliticised to the preceding constituent in the form -ene when it marks the spatial case. (The marker eni when it marks all other cases however still becomes -ni in its clitic form rather than -eni.) The fact that we have constructions of the type:

Atas, naguluen
atasi na+gulu=ene
sea 1sg.real.swim.sp
'As for the sea, I swam in it.'

*Atas, naguluni
atasi na+gulu=ni+e
sea 1sg.real.swim.tr.3sg

indicates that the -ni is still a case marker rather than a derivational suffix.

Actually however, the status of this cliticised form of the multifunctional case marker eni is currently undergoing reanalysis in Paamese. The reasons for this appear to be that:
(i) *eni* is in a sense the unmarked case marker (see, therefore, the wide range of functions it has as an oblique case marker in 6.1.2.3.1).

(ii) The cliticised form of *eni*, i.e. -ni is identical in form with the most frequently attested of the residual transitive suffixes described in 6.1.2.2.2 above.

(iii) The clause pattern described above is a very commonly encountered one.

While it is not possible to decide from the surface form in the affirmative whether the cliticised -ni is functioning as an oblique case marker or as a non-patient object-promoting suffix, there can necessarily be no semantic contrast in the affirmative. In the negative however, the contrast is clear, and speakers do accept that there is a semantic contrast between transitive and intransitive forms. In the transitive form, we simply express the idea that the action of the predicate involves only the expressed object. E.g.

Inau narolāudei aman
inau na+ro+iaau+ni+tei amanu
1sg 1sg.real.neg.hunt.tr.part bird
'I didn't hunt birds.'

Sai rosūsūdeimun hēn
eairo+suusuu+ni+tei+mune heene
Sai 3sg.real.neg.suck.tr.part.add thumb.3sg
'Sai doesn't suck his thumb any more.'

Kai rosāudei āh sen
kairo+saau+ni+tei aahe seene
3sg 3sg.real.neg.visit.tr.part garden poss.leg.3sg
'He doesn't visit his garden.'

Kai rovangėdei vuas
kairo+vangee+ni+tei vūasi
3sg 3sg.real.neg.pregnant.tr.part pig
'She didn't conceive a piglet.'

Inau naroselūsidei Verānis
inau na+ro+seluusi+ni+tei veraanisi
1sg 1sg.real.neg.speak.tr.part French
'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
lsg lsg.real.neg.hunt.part obl bird
'I didn't hunt birds (though I did hunt other things).'

Sai rosūsūteimun en hēn
saie ro+sauusau+tei+mune eni hee+ne
Sai 3sg.real.neg.suck.part.add obl thumb.3sg
'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 garden 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 vileaī
3sg 3sg.real.neg.pregnant.part obl pig
'She didn't conceive a piglet (though she did conceive something else).'

Inau naroselūstei en Verānis
inau na+ro+seluusi+tei eni veraantisī
lsg lsg.real.neg.speak.part obl French
'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.
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 New Hebridean languages for which data is available, e.g. Lonwolwol (Paton 1971) and Big Nambas (Fox, forthcoming). Johnston (1978:317) 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 however.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORPHO-SYNTACTIC CATEGORY</th>
<th>GENERAL SEMANTIC CATEGORIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>punctual dative</td>
<td>direct physical effect or association with an entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>areal dative</td>
<td>indirect distant effect or association with an entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causal</td>
<td>the reason for which an event takes place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prepositional</td>
<td>motion towards an entity with an intention to act upon it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 25: Basic Meaning-Form Correlations at the Clause Level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORPHO-SYNTACTIC CATEGORY</th>
<th>GENERAL SEMANTIC CATEGORIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ablativ</td>
<td>motion or location away from an entity or comparison with an entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>spatial orientation of an entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referential</td>
<td>entity in mind when an action is performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>product or instrument essentially involved in an action; temporal orientation of an event; residue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>subordinate particular characteristic of inanimate entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa-</td>
<td>social control with intention to eat; subordinate particular characteristic of animate entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>social control with intention to drink, use as house, wear or sleep in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so-</td>
<td>social control by traditional law or custom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ono-</td>
<td>other kinds of social control; subordinate possession with alienable nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linked noun</td>
<td>subordinate possession with linked nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffixed noun</td>
<td>subordinate possession with suffixed nouns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

(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.

\[\text{Inau nesan ratio onak mini} \]
\[\text{inau na+saani ratioo ona+ku mini+e} \]
\[\text{lsg lsg.real.give radio poss.man.lsg pun.dat.3sg} \]
\[\text{'}I gave him my radio.\text{'} \]

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.

\[\text{Onom vilmemun nesani ven Rei Kalimo} \]
\[\text{ono+mo vilme=mune na+saanite veni ree kalimoo} \]
\[\text{poss.man.2sg film.add lsg.real.give.3sg ar.dat Ray Gallimore} \]
\[\text{'}I delivered your film to Ray Gallimore's too (though I didn't give it to him personally).\text{'} \]

(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 address. E.g.

\[\text{Amusau min Ir en sukul} \]
\[\text{a’musau mini iivre eni sukulu} \]
\[\text{3pl.real.sing pun.dat 1pl.incl sp school} \]
\[\text{'}They sang to us in school.\text{'} \]
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 selusien hetamaleš mini
vaitiru seluusine 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 tīsaa mini+e
beer 3sg.real.bad pun.dat.3sg
'Beer is bad for him.'

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 māmaa
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 tīre keke keksaa
3sg.real.exist precisely pun.dat lpl.incl sub now
rovain veiehsomok gā
ro+vain+V veiehe=somoke gaa
lpl.incl.real.weave.comm fence.cert 3sg.real.travel
raheit āh ser
raheiti ahe serre
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?
kotko kor+ovisuu+tei mini letauli tāi eni sīisele
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
naangani atoo dalī mini raise
1sg.real.eat chicken 3sg.real.with pun.dat rice
'I ate chicken with rice.'

Kai lah ruai min lohon kail
kate 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 d̪o ven tunali
kaie doo veni tuanali
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 d̪o tau min ʔr
kaie doo tau mini ʔire
3sg 3sg.real.exist behind pun.dat 1pl.incl
'He steered instead of us.'

Kihiles vilai mini
ki+hilesi vilai+e mini+e
2sg.dis.turn properly.3sg pun.dat.3sg
'Turn it properly for him (as he can't do it).'

Kaik kitai mini
kaiko ki+tai+e mini+e
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+ni+e mini+ko
1sg .1sg.dis.do.tr.3sg pun.dat.2sg
'Shall I do it for you instead?'

Amūmon tahatianien min vekaho kail
a+muamo+ni ta=hati+ani+ene mini vekahoo kaile
3pl.real.do.tr one.piece.eat.nom pun.dat circumcised boy pi
'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.
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 native 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:

\[
\text{Avasi mini} \\
\text{a+vasi+e mini+e} \\
\text{3pl.real.give birth to.3sg pun.dat.3sg}
\]

'He was born with them (i.e. freckles).'

The areal dative however, is used to relate the location noun *vesesali(i)* 'nearby' to another nominal phrase, as in:

\[
\text{Kai do vesesal venaut ut} \\
\text{kate doo vesesali venaute ute} \\
\text{3sg 3sg.real.stay nearby ar.dat.place shore}
\]

'He lives near the shore.'

The fact that the punctual dative is not used relates to the semantics of *vesesali(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=mine lo+muumo nevatiinatu
1sg ipl.incl pun.dat.2sg.add 1dl.incl.real.work Nevatinat
'I was working with you at Nevatinat.'

Inau komal min Mail malumum Tanei
inau komalu mini maile malu+muumo tanei
1sg 1dl.excl pun.dat Mail 1dl.excl.real.work Tanei
'Mail and I were working at Tanei.'

Anien amil min Siti kek
ani+ene aa+milu mini sitii ke=ke
food.nom poss.ed.2dl ar.dat Siti sub.prox
'This is your's and Siti's food.'

Kamil min Siti muluvāve?
kamilu mini sitii mulu+vaa=vee
2dl pun.dat Siti 2dl.real.go.where
'Where did you and Siti go?'

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 ve 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* or *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 asi kail ven vakili
meteisau kaile a+sii+e kaile veni vakili
skilled man pl 3pl.real.happy.prop 3pl caus canoe
'The skilled men were happy with the canoe.'

Amules agov lit İr
a+mule=e se a+gove liti iirc
3pl.real.exist.neg.exp 3pl.real.stone chase 1pl.incl
ven vatiaranek
veni vatiaraa=neke caus tree.nandau that
'They would chase us with stones because of that nandau tree.'

Telusel tetovoai ven vuasinek
telu+selu tetovoai veni vtaasi=neke
3dl.real.speak in turns caus pig.dist
'They argued over the pig.'

Rovanian ven molatin kail kekēk
ro+va+ani=ani veni molatine kaile keke=ke
1pl.incl.imm.REDUp.eat caus person pl sub.prox
'Let's eat in honour of these people.'

Naviteal vāreis ven huli kā lohon kail
na+viti=kali vaarei=se veni hulii kaa lohono kaile
1sg.real.laugh precisely.neg.exp caus dog cl boy pl
'I really laughed at the dogs and the boys.'
The following examples however, indicate that the same semantic role can also be expressed by eni:

Kai metau en mav
kaie metau eni maavi
3sg 3sg.real.afraid sp lizard
'He is afraid of lizards.'

Ros vit amal gati en taunehek
roose vite axnalo gati+e eni taunehe=ke
Rose 3sg.real.say hunger 3sg.real.bite.3sg caus thing.prox
'Rose said she was hungry for that thing.'

Nale kati en hën
na+lee kati+e eni hee+ne
lsg.real.see intense.3sg caus leg.3sg
'I looked after him because of his leg.'

Molatin kail haulu auvin en amal
molatine kaile haulue au+vinu eni amalo
person pl many 3pl.real.die out caus hunger
'Many people died of hunger.'

Nemasmasik en lê katien onom
namasmasi+ko eni lee kati+ene onom+mo
lsg.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?'
(c) **Purposive**

The prupositive 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 engaged in some motion towards a goal or indulges in the 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 vīsinau eni mane**
  
  *kaie vii+esinau eni manee*
  
  3sg 3sg.real.ask.lsg caus money
  
  'He asked me for money.'

- **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 vat+i+anti veni anti+se*
  
  3sg 3sg.real.climb.obi 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 visinau ven mane
kai 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
kai vasu teni sīsele
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ala ten siv} & \quad \text{alaa teni siivi} \\
\text{sail rel ship} & \quad '\text{sail of a ship}' \\
\text{mas ten ratio} & \quad \text{maase teni ratioo} \\
\text{antenna rel radio} & \quad '\text{radio antenna}' \\
\text{asem ten vakili} & \quad \text{aseme teni vakillii} \\
\text{outrigger rel canoe} & \quad '\text{outrigger of the canoe}'
\end{align*}
\]

(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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ala ten siv} & \quad \text{alaa teni siivi} \\
\text{sail rel ship} & \quad '\text{sail for a ship}' \\
\text{mas ten ratio} & \quad \text{maase teni ratioo} \\
\text{antenna rel radio} & \quad '\text{antenna for a radio}' \\
\text{asem ten vakili} & \quad \text{aseme teni vakillii} \\
\text{outrigger rel canoe} & \quad '\text{outrigger for a canoe}'
\end{align*}
\]

(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
molâtine teni atasi
person rel sea
'coastal person'

aut ten alang
aute teni alangî
place rel wind
'windy place'

ais ten kâstom
aise teni kaastomo
name rel tradition
'traditional name'

sauen ten vakili
sau+ene teni vakîlî
sing.nom rel canoe
'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.)

(d) Ablative

The ablative case, marked by the preposition ranî, 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+kô
lsg.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.REDUp.run abl.lsg
'The children ran away from me.'

Eas dupas ran ahang
easu dupasu ranî 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 sautîne 'far off' or halee 'outside'. E.g.
The noun *vesesali(i)* 'nearby' is also compatible with this case, as well as the areal dative, as described in (a) above. E.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cl}
\text{vesesali} & \text{sukul} \\
\text{abl} & \text{suki} \\
\end{array}
\]

'near the church'

The ablative can also be used to refer to something against which an entity is compared. E.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cl}
\text{Angani} & \text{tesav} \\
\text{a+ngani+e} & \text{teesavo} \\
\text{ran} & \text{tauneh} \\
\text{kailek} & \text{kaile=ke} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{It tastes different from these things.}'

(e) 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.

\[
\begin{array}{cl}
\text{Nadetengairil} & \text{en} \\
\text{a+detengairi} & \text{en} \\
\text{atan} & \text{atano} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{I knelt on the ground.}'
Inau nadō Tahal nesa tueitinek
inau na+doo tahalu nesaa tueitine=ke
1sg 1sg.real.stay Tahal above long time.prox
'I have been staying at Tahal nesa for a long time now.'

Mulenikos
mulē=ni+ko=se
3sg.real.exist.sp.2sg.neg.exp
'It's entirely up to you.'

Alingin isen mulen Mail
a+lingi+nV isene 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
au+mai eni velene
3pl.real.come sp beach
'They came to the beach.'

Naumot en atan
nau+moti eni atano
1sg.real.fall sp ground
'I fell to the ground.'

Amual vā en leiiai
a+muali vaa eni lei+ai
3pl.real.walk 3sg.real.go sp stand of timber,tree
'They walked into the bush.'

Mahāris telaim kek
ma+haa=risi telaimo kee=ke
1sg.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 táng
oai simi=simi eni taange
water 3sg.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
kate mai ranaute tahii
3sg 3sg.real.come abl.place Tahi
'He came from Tahi.'

but not:

*Kai mai enaut Tahi
kate 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 tesav en vakili kailek
a+lesi+e teesavo eni vakili kaile=ke
3pl.real.see.3sg 3sg.real.different sp canoe pl.prox
'It looked different from these canoes.'

Auvasuk amul en metalo
au+vaasuko amule 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.
E.g.

naim en sukul
naimo eni stkulu
inside sp church
'inside the church'

nesa en hau
nesaa eni hauo
above sp hill
'on top of the hill'

It can also be used when the first nominal phrase refers to something
from among a larger set of things. E.g.

tasite en kail
tasi+itee eni kaile
last born.indef sp 3pl
'the last born of them'
(f) **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
vaite muumo tetohoni+e mini morastī
Sai 3sg.real.do imitate.3sg ref Morasi
'Sai did it in imitation of Morasi.'

Mahiten tūnuen tāi en meteimal onak
ma+hite=ni tawu+ene taa i eni meteimali onau+ku
lsg.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+ni+e mini+e eni ree+ne 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+ville=hilei mini molatine taa i tenaute liimanu
3pl.real.REDUp.gossip ref person one rel.place Epi
'They gossiped about someone from Epi.'

(g) **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). 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
lsg.real.shoot.comm bird obi rifle
'I shot the bird with a rifle.'

Namuasi en vaulev
na+muasi+t eni vauleve
lsg.real.kill.3sg obi 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+muomo+ni aloko eni ahiei
3pl.real.do.tr pudding obi banana
'Pudding is made out of banana.'

(iii) What is sometimes referred to as a "cognate object", i.e. the entity which comes into being as the result of an action. E.g.

Avise kail en meteisau
a+vise+e kaile eni meteisau
3pl.real.call.prop 3pl obi skilled man
'They called them meteisau.'

Mahīsinikon selūsien tenaut Vaum
ma+hiisai+ni+ko=ni seluusi+ene tenaute vaumno
1sg.imm.teach.tr.2sg.obl speak.nom rel.place Paama
'I am going to teach you Paamese.'

Kovisi nau en kueistin
ko+visi+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 taaĩ
1sg.real.sleep dream obi old man one
'I dreamt about an old man.'

Kai evil mutiv en ara
kaie evilu mutive eni araα
3sg 3sg.real.cough 3sg.real.spit obi blood
'He coughed, spitting blood.'

Kai makul en selūsien tāi
kaie makulu eni seluusi+ene taaĩ
3sg 3sg.real.cooee obi speak.nom one
'He cooeeed a message.'
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
kai ene venaa eni manee
3sg 3sg.real.steal obl money
'He stole money.'

Nasin en aisin
na+sinu eni ai+sinu
lsg.real.dress obl inst.dress
'I wore clothes.'

Nagulul en mane
na+gulu-ulu eni manee
lsg.real.REDUp.shake obl money
'I rattled the money.'

Nagoteh en metareh
na+gotehe eni metarehe
lsg.real.shut door obl door
'I shut the door.'

Kogalokal en hek
ko+galo=kalo eni hee+ku
2sg.real.REDUp.move obl hand lsg
'You moved my hand.'

Navusai en vakili
na+vuusai eni vaklili
lsg.real.tip over obl canoe
'I tipped over the canoe.'

Ateli evil en ara
atelii evile eni araa
basket 3sg.real.full obl lychee
'My basket is full of lychees.'

Aleleak en vakili
a+leleaki eni vaklili
3pl.real.take on maiden trip obl canoe
'They took the canoe out on its maiden trip.'

Avalus en vakili
a+valuse eni vaklili
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.
The idea of "with relation to". E.g.

Sākari  ve  usūs  en  tauneh
sakaarrii  ve  usumusu  eni  tauneh
Sakari  3sg.real.cop  persistent  obl  thing
'Sakari is persistent at things.'

Tirausis  onak  mariso  enik
tirauusise  ona+ku  marisco  eni+ko
shorts  poss.man.1sg  3sg.real.big  obl.2sg
'My shorts are too big for you.'

Kai  tahos  en  sauwen
kate  tāhosī  eni  sau+ene
3sg  3sg.real.good  obl  sing.nom
'He is good at singing.'

The point or duration of time during which an event takes place. E.g.

Kai  matil  en  hauspitetel  vongien  tāi
kate  matilu  eni  haeusptieltel  vongiene  taat
3sg  3sg.real.sleep  sp  hospital  night  one
'He slept for one night in the hospital.'

Ve  marīte  kā  vā  Ostrelia  en  auh  etel
ve  mari+tee  kaa  vaa  ostreliaa  eni  auhu  etelu
3sg.real.cop  big.indef  cl  3sg.real.go  Australia  obl  year  three
'He grew up and went to Australia for three years.'

Tokita  kail  alesi  kā  avit  heromūmotei
tokitaa  kalte  a+lesi+e  kaa  a+vite  he+ro+mu+mo+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
nar+ro+mu+mo+tei  avongi  elua  veni+e  asuvo  mesai
1sg.real.neg.work.part  day  two  caus.3sg  boss  3sg.real.sick
'I haven't worked for three 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 pronominial 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 (1975; and forthcoming) 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 traditional 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:

```plaintext
auh āk
auhu aα+ku
yam poss.ed.lsg
'my yams (to eat)'

vuas āk
vuasi aα+ku
pig poss.ed.lsg
'my pork'

alok āk
aloko aα+ku
pudding poss.ed.lsg
'my pudding'
```

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 obligatory associated with this possessive nominal. For instance, a bag of rice would be referred to as either:

```plaintext
āk rais
aα+ku raise
poss.ed.lsg rice
```

using the edible possessive nominal, or as:

```plaintext
onak rais
ona+ku raise
poss.man.lsg rice
```

using the manipulative possessive nominal (see below). A cooked plate of rice however, if it were to be eaten, could only be expressed as `aα+ku raise`.

(Note however, that the possessive nominal `aα-` 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.

Lele rovattei vakük änes
le+le ro+vati+tei va+kuke a+a+ne=se
interior.3pl 3sg.real.neg.want.part 3sg.imm.cook poss.ed.3sg.neg.exp
'They don't want him to cook for himself.'

Romulesuk rosinahang al namal
ro+mule=suko ro+sahango a+le n+a+amali
lpl.incl.real.exist.sub lpl.incl.real.roast poss.ed.3pl loc.meeting.house
'Then we just roast for them in the meeting house.'

(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, this 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
ani l ma+ku
green coconut poss.pot.lsg
'my green coconut (to drink)'
oai mak
oai l ma+ku
water poss.pot.lsg
'my water (to drink)'
(Note 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paamese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sigom</td>
<td>'chewing gum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atehe</td>
<td>'sugar cane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukaa</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melene</td>
<td>'watermelon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loolee</td>
<td>'lolly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiskrimi</td>
<td>'ice-cream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maagoo</td>
<td>'mango'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amoli</td>
<td>'orange'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
house poss.dom.lsg
'my house'
```

Other nouns of this type include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paamese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anuu</td>
<td>'nest, place to give birth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valee</td>
<td>'burrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atuu</td>
<td>'womb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suuvene</td>
<td>'placenta'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metarehe</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peisi</td>
<td>'back wall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoi+aimo</td>
<td>'roof'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ii) possession of clothing and things used for sleeping.  E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ainsin mak} \\
\text{aisinu ma+ku} \\
\text{inst. dress poss.dom.lsg} \\
\text{my clothes}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kaik kimuni mak} \\
\text{kaiko kimuni+e ma+ku} \\
\text{2sg 2sg.dis.drink.3sg poss.pot.lsg} \\
\text{You drink it for me.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(c) So-

The so- possessive nominal expresses the social relationship that holds when the relationship is determined by traditional law or custom.  E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aut sak} \\
\text{aute sa+ku} \\
\text{place poss.leg.lsg} \\
\text{my place (according to law)'}
\end{align*}
\]

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.
(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 ani+ene '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 se+ne Érik
kosaa reheluhuluh=luhu se+ne eeri ke
today lpl.incl.dis.REDU.up.plant poss.1leg.const Eric
'Today we will do the planting for Eric.'
Atahas sak mul nganian
attahasu sa+ku mule ngani=ani
sow poss.leg.lsg 3sg.real.exist 3sg.real.REDUp.eat
sen asuv nah
se+ne asuvo n+aahe
poss.leg.const chief loc.garden
'My sow was eating the chief's food in the garden.'

Visuvong ikol sen Soel
visuvongi 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
vakzlii ona+ku
canoe poss.man.lsg
'my canoe'

telai onak
telai ona+ku
axe poss.man.lsg
'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
aimo ma+ku
house poss.dom.lsg

aim onak
aimo ona+ku
house poss.man.lsg
'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 are not necessarily characteristic of all people are regarded as being possessed in this way. E.g.

```plaintext
metave onak
metavee ona+ku
sleep poss.man.lsg
'sleep in my eye.'

manu onak
manue ona+ku
sore poss.man.lsg
'my sore'

redemien onak
re+demi+ene ona+ku
REdup.think.nom poss.man.lsg
'my idea'
```

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.

```plaintext
susu onak
sussuu ona+ku
breast poss.man.lsg
'my breast'

tata onak
taataa ona+ku
father poss.man.lsg
```
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.

\begin{align*}
\text{rahivo} & \quad \text{onak} \\
\text{rahiwoo} & \quad \text{ona+ku} \\
\text{snot} & \quad \text{poss.man.lsg} \\
'\text{my snot}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{brata} & \quad \text{onak} \\
\text{brataa} & \quad \text{ona+ku} \\
\text{brother} & \quad \text{poss.man.lsg} \\
'\text{my brother}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{string} & \quad \text{onak} \\
\text{stvingi} & \quad \text{ona+ku} \\
\text{vein} & \quad \text{poss.man.lsg} \\
'\text{my vein}'
\end{align*}

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.

\begin{align*}
\text{Lumūmon} & \quad \text{perēn} \quad \text{olalu} \\
\text{lu+muumo+ni} & \quad \text{pereene o+lalue} \\
\text{3dl.real.do.tr} & \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{poss.} \\
'\text{They made friends with each other}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Tomake} & \quad \text{vā} \quad \text{mūm} \quad \text{onen} \quad \text{asuvonek} \\
\text{tomakii} & \quad \text{vaa} \quad \text{muumo} \quad \text{one+ne} \quad \text{asuvo=neke} \\
\text{Tomaki} & \quad \text{3sg.real.go} \quad \text{3sg.real.work} \quad \text{poss.man.const} \quad \text{chief.dist} \\
'\text{Tomaki went and worked for that boss}'
\end{align*}

\subsection{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, forthcoming).

There are two basic kinds of semantic relationships that are considered to be of this general type. They are what Olson (forthcoming) 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ām} & \quad \text{āi} \\
\text{aa+mo} & \quad \text{aat} \\
\text{poss.part.2sg stick} & \quad \text{'your stick (which you are going to be hit with)'} \\
\text{ām} & \quad \text{sitrav} \\
\text{aa+mo} & \quad \text{sitrave} \\
\text{poss.part.2sg belt} & \quad \text{'your belt (which you are going to be strapped with)'}
\end{align*}
\]
Note also the following very common expression:

\[\text{āam tahos} \quad \text{aa+mo } t\text{thosī} \quad \text{poss.part.2sg 3sg.real.good}\]

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:

**āam sinek**
poss.part.2sg snake
'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)'

**atuvo āam**
arrown poss.part.2sg
'your arrow (which you are going to be shot with)'

**ahol āam**
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)'

**usi+itee āam**
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)'

**siihoo āam**
mask poss.part.2sg
'your mask (which I am going to frighten you with)'

**ipu āam**
loss poss.part.2sg
'your loss/disadvantage (in playing a game)'

Note also the following very common expression:

\[\text{Am tahos} \quad \text{aa+mo } t\text{thosī} \quad \text{poss.part.2sg 3sg.real.good}\]

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.lsg
'my (unusually large or numerous) sores'

utua āk
utuaa aa+ku
boil poss.part.lsg
'my boils'

arul āk
aruli aa+ku
ear wax poss.part.lsg
'my ear wax'

āk aut
aa+ku autu
poss.part.lsg lice
'my lice'

āk mesaien
aa+ku mesai+ene
poss.part.lsg sick.nom
'my disease'

(ii) nouns referring to a thing that is particularly associated with one thing or individual. E.g.

haiali an uīt
haialiī aa+ne uīta
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 voiašu
sau+ene aa+ne voiašue
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.

- susu suusu 'breast'
- rengareng renga=renga 'calf'
- uikoko uikookoo 'larynx'
- ueredelem u+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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ani} & \quad \text{mak} \\
\text{anii} & \quad \text{ma+ku} \\
\text{green coconut} & \quad \text{poss.pot.lsg}
\end{align*}
\]

it would mean that the speaker intended to drink the water of the green coconut, while in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ani} & \quad \text{āk} \\
\text{anii} & \quad \text{aa+ku} \\
\text{green coconut} & \quad \text{poss.ed.lsg}
\end{align*}
\]
it would mean that the speaker intended to eat the white flesh inside.

The phrase:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ani} & \text{sak} \\
\text{ani} & \text{ea+ku} \\
\text{green coconut poss.leg.lsg}
\end{array}
\]

would refer to the coconuts growing in the speaker's plantation. Finally, the phrase:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ani} & \text{onak} \\
\text{ani} & \text{ona+ku} \\
\text{green coconut poss.man.lsg}
\end{array}
\]

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 *hooho*. 

Similarly, we find that:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{āmal} & \text{mor} \\
\text{aamali} & \text{mo+re} \\
\text{meeting house poss.dom.lpl.incl}
\end{array}
\]

is used to mean 'our meeting house' when the intention is to sleep in it, while in:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{āmal} & \text{orer} \\
\text{aamali} & \text{ore+re} \\
\text{meeting house poss.man.lpl.ind}
\end{array}
\]

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 *one-* , 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:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{auh} & \text{onak} \\
\text{auhu} & \text{ona+ku} \\
yam & \text{poss.man.lsg}
\end{array}
\]

in which the unmarked possessive nominal is used, the normal meaning
for *auhu* would instead be 'year' (i.e. yam season). E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Auh} & \quad \text{onak} & \quad \text{tuadivaiv} \\
\text{auhu} & \quad \text{ona}^{+}k\nu & \quad \text{tuadivaivi} \\
\text{yam} & \quad \text{poss.man.lsg} & \quad 25 \\
& \text{'}I am 25 years old (i.e. my yam seasons are 25).' \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{manu} & \quad \text{onak} \\
\text{manue} & \quad \text{ona}^{+}k\nu \\
\text{sore} & \quad \text{poss.man.lsg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

the meaning is simply that the speaker has a sore, with nothing particularly odd or characteristic about it. But in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{manu} & \quad \text{äk} \\
\text{manue} & \quad \text{aa}^{+}k\nu \\
\text{sore} & \quad \text{poss.part.lsg}. \\
\end{align*}
\]
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&iət \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{vuas} \\
&iəate \quad \text{teni} \quad vũasi \\
&\text{yard} \quad \text{rel} \quad \text{pig} \\
&'\text{pig yard}' \\
&\text{vuluvul} \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{tovuli} \\
&vulu=vulu \quad \text{teni} \quad \text{tovulii} \\
&\text{hole} \quad \text{rel} \quad \text{old lady} \\
&'\text{hole for the old lady to be buried in}'
\end{align*}
\]

which express a subordinate possession relationship. These contrast semantically with:

\[
\begin{align*}
&iət \quad \text{onen} \quad \text{vuas} \\
&iəate \quad \text{onen}+\text{ne} \quad vũasi \\
&\text{yard} \quad \text{poss.man.const} \quad \text{pig} \\
&'\text{the pig's yard}' \\
&\text{vuluvul} \quad \text{onen} \quad \text{tovuli} \\
&vulu=vulu \quad \text{onen}+\text{ne} \quad \text{tovulii} \\
&\text{hole} \quad \text{poss.man.const} \quad \text{old lady} \\
&'\text{the old lady's hole}'
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vōlet} & \text{  ām} \\
v\text{oolete} & \text{ aa+mo} \\
\text{bullet} & \text{ poss.part.2sg}
\end{align*}
\]

*vōlet tenik
voolete teni+ko
bullet rel.2sg
'bullet that you are going to be shot with')

6.1.3  Modifier Relationships

Having described in some detail the nature of the syntactic and semantic relationships that hold between a 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vesesali} & \text{ oai} \  \text{vavus} \\
\text{vesesalii} & \text{ oai} \  \text{va+vusi} \\
\text{almost} & \text{ water 3sg.imm.finish} \\
& \text{ 'The water has almost run out.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Also:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Oai} & \text{ vesesali} \  \text{vavus} \\
\text{Oai} & \text{ vavus vesesali}
\end{align*}
\]

(Note that there are some syntactically complex clause-level modifiers also, which behave in the same way. E.g.)
6.1.3.2 Phrase Level Modifiers

According to the definition of the class of phrase-level modifiers presented in 3.6.1, these constituents can follow any constituent within the clause. While they do not syntactically modify the clause as a unit, as is the case with clause-level modifiers as described in 6.1.3.1, they are still treated as a clause level phenomenon, as they can modify any constituent within the clause, and not simply one class of constituent.

There are three placement possibilities within a phrase for any of these modifiers. These are listed below with examples:

(i) They can follow the final constituent of the phrase. E.g.

madeka kailu vilai
madekaa kailue vilai
butterfly dl properly
'two proper butterflies (said because they were spotted mating)'

molatin kailenek
molatine kaile=neke
person pl.dist
'those people'

inau ialu minikomun
inau ialue mini+ko=mune
1sg 1dl.incl pun.dat.2sg.add
'you and I'

(ii) They can follow the first constituent of the phrase. E.g.

ai vasi kail
aai vastie kaile
tree all pl
'all the trees'
(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
kai ngani vetaa kese=se
3sg 3sg.real.eat breadfruit only.neg.exp
'He only eats breadfruit.'

Kongan veta=tai?
ko+ngani vetaa=tai
2sg.real.eat breadfruit.comp
'Have you eaten the breadfruit?'

Amumon uotasaplai tai olel
a+mamo+ni uotasaplai tai ole+le
3pl.real.do.tr water supply comp poss.man.3pl
'They have already built their water supply.'

Haitëk gulat 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
koa+kaile=ke a+duvo+nV 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.

Madei varei 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FREE FORM</th>
<th>CLITIC FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tai</td>
<td>-tai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekoke</td>
<td>-koke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evee</td>
<td>-vee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isei</td>
<td>-sei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asaa</td>
<td>-saa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'tai' - 'completive'
'eni' - 'preposition (5.2.2.3)'
'ekoke' - 'here'
'evēe' - 'where'
'isei' - 'which (person), who'
'asaa' - 'which (thing), what'

Thus, note the following examples:

Kaik kōvāve?
kaiko koo+va=vee
2sg 2sg.real.go.where
'Where are you going?'

Matou oneseinek?
matou one+ne=sei=neke
copra poss.man.const.who.dist
'Whose is that copra?'

Kai matilukok
kaie matilu=koke
3sg 3sg.real.sleep.here
'He sleeps here.'

which alternate with:
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 is 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.

```
Kovisinau kovit en Sulai inau nīThāta
ko+viisi+nau kovite eni sulai inau nii+haa=tai
2sg.real.ask.lsg 2sg.real.say obl July lsg lsg.dis.go.comp
Vīla vuol
viilaa vūoli
Vīla or

'You asked me if I will have already gone to Vīla in July.'
```

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.

```
Lok vati mānian tai
lo+ku vati+e ma+ani=ani tai
interior.lsg 3sg.real.want.3sg lsg.imm.REDUp.eat comp
'I would like to have eaten.'

Nauvāta Līro
nau+vaa=tai līroo
1sg.real.go.comp līro
'I have been to Līro.'
```
Haulütai
hauluu=tai
much.comp
'It's (become) a lot.'

Tahos tai
tānosi tai
3sg.real.good comp
'It's (become) good.'

Mat tai
mate tai
3sg.real.die comp
'He had died.'

Oreliato āk ve tītānetai
oreli+atoo aa+ku ve tiitaa+mē=tai
egg.chicken poss.ed.lsg 3sg.real.cop offspring.3sg.comp
'My egg has got a chicken in it.'

Inau tai
inau tai
1sg comp
'It's me.'

Sion kai taik
sione kaiē tai=ke
John 3sg comp.prox
'Here is John now.'

(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 tāi, but differs from it in that it marks immediate completion of an action or change of state. E.g.

Selūsien teni kai netinek
seluusi+ene teni+ē kaiē netine=ke
speak.nom rel.3sg 3sg rec.prox
'The story about it is just that.'

Kai mat netin alingin simen
kaiē mate netine a+lingi+mV simene
3sg 3sg.real.die rec 3pl.real.put.comm cement
'They put the cement on when he had only just died.'

Agasi kosa netin
a+gasi+ē koeaa netine
3pl.real.3sg today rec
'They washed it just today.'
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 eiose velahi
lsg comp George ong
'I've been (tagged), there's still George.'

Havivi velah
havivii velahi
small ong
'There's still a bit.'

Inau naromunutei velah
inau na+ro+munau+tei velahi
lsg lsg.real.neg.dive.part ong
'I haven't been diving yet.'

Siti ve 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 naromumotei tai
inau na+ro+munau+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.'

Komitātai komatiluk?  
ko+mitaa=tau 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?  
asaa=ke  
what.prox  
'What's this?'

Aimok onak  
aimo=ke ona+ku  
house.prox poss.man.1sg  
'This house is mine.'

Meleto kokolen āratel vuas kailuek  
mele+too ko+kole+nV aaratel u vuasi 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).'
These were the ideas of the old man who was doing it.

'I have forgotten the matter which you are talking about.'

'They decided on the day, such that the very next day they would be married.'

'That's all now.'

'It is daylight now.'

'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.

'What's that?'

'That's all now.'
'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 koani matulesinek ve
taunehe koani matu+lesi+neke ve
thing indef lpcl.excl.real.see.3sg.dist 3sg.real.cop

'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.
asuwo etelu keke telu+lahi ruai telu+seluusi
chief three sub 3dl.real.carry gather 3pcl.real.speak

Amitäsk adon aut tās.
a+mitaa+suko a+doo=ni aute taa=se
3pl.real.come down.sub 3pl.real.stay.sp place one.neg.exp

Adō Ūru auh tās evus,
a+doo waruue auhu taa=se evuei
3pl.real.stay Uru year one.neg.exp 3sg.real.finish

asuv kaiteluk teluvāskuk telules tīser
asuwo kaitelu=ke telu+va= suko telu+lesi tiisere
chief pcl.prox 3pl.real.go.sub 3pl.real.see teacher

tāmun mīta
taa=mume mitaa
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.'
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  aselūs  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+daingeingen+ni  seluusi+ene  kaa  muko=neke
3pl.real.ignorant.tr speak.nom  cl  3sg.real.thus.dist
'They didn't know the language, and that's how it was.'

Kosa  romukteimunenek
kosaa  ro+mukotei=mune=neke
now  3sg.real.part.thus.add.dist
'It's not like that any more.'

Mukosek
muko=se=ke
3sg.real.thus.neg.exp.prox
'It's just so-so.'
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 described an event or an entity which the speaker perceives to be extreme or unusual in some way. E.g.

Tahosivis!
tāhosī=visi
3sg.real.good.ext
'It was really good.'

Ostrelia mariautevis!
ostreliaa mari+aute=visi
Australia big.place.ext
'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 Uvelah alesi tahosivis tahos
aute Ulvelahi a+lesi+t e tāhosī=visi tāhosī
place Lopevi 3pl.real.see.3sg 3sg.real.good.ext 3sg.real.good
'Lopevi looks just fantastic!'

Ahi tamemai kotahosivis kotahosimok
ahii tamemai ko+tāhosī=visi ko+tāhosī=moke
God father.lpl.excl 2sg.real.good.ext 2sg.real.good.true
'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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tāli kai sak} & \quad \text{ras valoh} \\
\text{taa=lii kaie saki} & \quad \text{rasi va+loho} \\
\text{one.em 3sg 3sg.real.do unable 3sg.imm.run} & \quad \text{'One poor boy couldn't run away.' (PITY)} \\
\text{Maileli vātai} & \\
\text{maile=lii vaa=tai} & \quad \text{Mail.em 3sg.real.go.comp} \\
\text{'Mail has gone.' (SADNESS)} & \quad \text{'I am dead.' (SADNESS)} \\
\text{Naumat taili} & \\
\text{nau+mate tai=lii} & \quad \text{1sg.real.die comp.em} \\
\text{'Unfortunately, today it goes like that.' (REGRET)} & \quad \text{now.em 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.thus.dist} \\
\text{Kosāli vā vā mukonek} & \\
\text{koeaa=lii vaa vaa muko=neke} & \quad \text{3sg.real.go 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.thus.dist} \\
\text{'Un fortunately, today it goes like that.' (REGRET)} & \quad \text{now.em 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.thus.dist} \\
\text{Ue, metālōli!} & \\
\text{ue metaaloo=lii} & \quad \text{oh European.em} \\
\text{'Oh, a European.' (FEAR)} & \quad \text{'Oh, a European.' (FEAR)} \\
\text{Marimāveli!} & \\
\text{mari+maave=lii} & \quad \text{big.lizard.em} \\
\text{'Oh, a big lizard.' (FEAR)} & \quad \text{'Oh, a big lizard.' (FEAR)} \\
\text{Aut mutinuli} & \\
\text{aute mutimu=lii} & \quad \text{place 3sg.real.hot.em} \\
\text{'It's so hot.' (EXASPERATION)} & \quad \text{'It's so hot.' (EXASPERATION)} \\
\text{MariSaimonoli} & \\
\text{mari+saimono=lii} & \quad \text{big.Simon.em} \\
\text{'Big Simon.' (RIDICULE)} & \quad \text{'Big Simon.' (RIDICULE)}
\end{align*}
\]

The following exemplify the marking of positive emotions:
The emotion clitic -lìi can also be used to make an imperative more polite, adding the idea of deference. E.g.

Haus tinvìseli
hauśi tinviise=lìi
2sg.imp.carry tinned fish.em
'Please bring some tinned fish.'

Kikàtaunauli.
kì+kaatau+ni+nau=lìi
2sg.dis.help.tr.lsg.em
'Please help me.'

Maileli amai
maile+lìi amai
Mail.em 2sg.imp.come
'Mail, please come here.'

(b) 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 līiroo inau=se
'Who went to Līro? Just me.'

Inau nian alokos
inau ni+nani aloko=se
'I will only eat pudding.'

Kaikosesuk kodo?
kaiko=se=suko ko+doo
'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
'He's got a name (rather than being nameless).' 

Selūsien onomai temalēs
seluusi+ene ono+mai temalee=se
'Our language is easy (rather than being difficult).'

Kove torongos velah
ko+ve torongo=se velahi
'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
apuruu vaarei+ni vootoo ona+ku=se
3pl.real.waste precisely.tr photo poss.man.lsg.neg.exp
'My photos were all wasted.'

An gat vareinaus
ani gati vaarei+ni+nau=se
cold 3sg.real.bite precisely.tr.lsg.neg.ext
'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 ue inaumun nedaingeingeni
kai vit e inau=mune ne+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 mausa 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!
konamesai=nga=risi
2sg.pot.sick.obv.rep
'Watch out or you'll get sick again.'

Ahinga lingin tauneh kailek
ahii=ngaa lingi+nV tauneha 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 of 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 musin oreliatōris?
isei musii+ni oreli+atoo=risi
who 3sg.real.fart.tr egg.chicken.rep
'Who farted chicken eggs again?'

Auvol Vaulelīris
au+volu vaulelii=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 sān metel minieris
itii amine saam mete+le minie=risi
Idi Amin 3sg.real.give medal pun.dat.3sg.rep
'Idi Amin gives himself medals.'

Kai mun rāneris
kate muni raai+ne=risi
3sg 3sg.real.drink blood,3sg.rep
'He drinks his own blood.'
Inau nalesinairisi en kilās
inau na+lesti+nai=risi eni kilaase
1sg lsg.real.see.lsg.rep sp mirror
'I can see myself in the mirror.'

Suvulurisi 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?
matile vaat tai kaiko=seko koor+do
Mail 3sg.real.go comp 2sg.neg.exp.cont 2sg.real.stay
'Now that Mail has gone, are you staying on your own?'

Vatisōnen mītāsuk kek
vati+sooni+ene 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 kais=suko roo+makettei
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+sooni+tei tueitine kaa vaheraa eni sarere=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.

Magōmau!
maagoo=mau mango.extent
'What a lot of mangoes!'

Marihēnemau!
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.

```
Mahīsik tuak en Okis kaik kitōsemau
ma+hiisi+ko tuaku eni okise kaiko ki+too=se=mau
1sg.imm.ask.2sg brother obi August 2sg 2sg.dis.stay.neg.exp.pr.ev
```

```
Vaum?
vaumo
Paama
'I would like to ask you brother, will you still be on Paama in August?'
```

```
Naromuasteimau mul muai
na+ro+rmiasi+tei+mau mule muai
1sg.real.neg.hit.part.pr.ev 3sg.real.exist 3sg.real.cry
'He was crying before I even hit him.'
```

Note that the subsequent event can be unexpressed in the sentence, as in:

```
Nirosādeimau māne onom ten sūs
ni+ro+saani+tei+mau maanee ono+mo teni suuse
1sg.dis.neg.give.part.pr.ev money poss.man.2sg rel shoes
'I won't give you the money for the shoes just yet.'
```

```
Molatin kailenek ave havipīsemau
molātine kaile=neke a+ve havipī=se=mau
person pl.dist 3pl.real.cop small.non-sg.neg.exp.pr.ev
'Those people were still only small.'
```

In the imperative, or in the optative uses of the distant and immediate moods, a verb can be marked with the clitic -mau to express a degree of politeness over the form without -mau. The politeness derives from the fact that the -mau means that the addressee is free to continue on with some other action after performing the action required of him. E.g.
Kīhārisimau!
kii+haa=risi=mau
2sg.dis.go.rep.pr.ev
'Go back.'

Sān  tōsemau
saani  toose=mau
2sg.imp.give torch.pr.ev
'Give me the torch.'

(j) CERTain -somoke

The clitic -somoke indicates that an event or some entity is certainly as described and not in some other way. E.g.,

Salas, kogulsomok?
salase ko+gulu=somoke
Salas 2sg.real.have bath.cert
'Salas, have you really had a bath?'

Avong taluhin  auh mulsomok
avongi ta+luki+nV  ahu mule=somoke
time adj.plant.comm yam 3sg.real.exist.cert
'There is a definite time for planting yams.'

Vivtīnsomok  kovuli  tōni
vivtiini=somoke ko+vulii  tooni+e
15.cert 2sg.real.count miss.3sg
'It's actually 15, you miscounted them.'

(k) COMPARative/TRUth/OBLIGation -moke

This clitic appears to have a number of functions depending on the particular kind of constituent it is attached to. These functions do appear to be 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.
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 lo+ku vati+e ma+sare+e
1sg interior.1sg 3sg.real.want.3sg lsg.imm.catch.3sg

When the verb is non-real is, then the presence of the clitic -moke expresses the idea of obligation. E.g.

Vanei dohomok
vanei doho=moke
volcano 3sg.real.erupt.tru
'It is true that the volcano erupted.'
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.

\[
\text{Korov\text{\`a}tei naut vongien? Ev\text{\`e}mok?}
\]
\[
\text{ko\text{\`o}vo\text{\`a}tei n\text{\`a}ute vongiene eve\text{\`e}moke}
\]
\[
2\text{sg.real.neg.go.part loc.place night where.oblig}
\]
\[
'Did you go somewhere in the night? Where?'
\]

The difference in meaning between the clitics -\textit{moke} and -\textit{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 -\textit{somoke} indicates that an event is described with certainty by the speaker, -\textit{moke} indicates simply the truth of the statement, without reference to the viewpoint of the speaker. So, contrast:

\[
\text{Vanei dohomok}
\]
\[
\text{vanei doho=\textit{moke}}
\]
\[
\text{volcano 3sg.real.erupt.tru}
\]
\[
'(It is true that) the volcano erupted.'
\]

\[
\text{Vanei dohsomok}
\]
\[
\text{vanei doho=\textit{somoke}}
\]
\[
\text{volcano 3sg.real.erupt.cert}
\]
\[
'(I believe that) the volcano erupted.'
\]

### 6.2 Non-declarative Speech Acts

Any utterance can be viewed as having a particular illocutionary force, as described in Wierzbicka (1972:122-49) and Austin (1971). 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 "pre-sentence" 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 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
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 vuo(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kiiha Liro?</th>
<th>Ka, niiha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kii+haa liiroo</td>
<td>kaa nii+haa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.dis.go Liro</td>
<td>agree lsg.dis.go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Are you going to Liro?'</td>
<td>'Yes, I will go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuo, nirovatei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuo(o) ni+ro+vaa+tei</td>
<td>disagree lsg.dis.neg.go.part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'No, I will not go.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kirovatei Liro?</th>
<th>Ka, nirovatei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki+ro+vaa+tei liiroo</td>
<td>kaa ni+ro+vaa+tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.dis.neg.go.part Liro</td>
<td>agree lsg.dis.neg.go.part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Are you not going to Liro?'</td>
<td>'No, I will not go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuo, niiha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuo(o) nii+haa</td>
<td>disagree lsg.dis.go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Yes, I will go.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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
kī+ro+va+at+ei līroo sī nī+haa
2sg.dis.neg.go.part Liro yes 1sg.dis.go
'Are you going to Liro? Yes, I am going."

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
na+dai+ge+inge+ni+e
lsg.real.ignorant.tr.3sg
'I don't know.'

Vahera
vaheraa
perhaps
'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:

? a a ? a
kaa

e e
vuo(o)

h i i n a
I don't know the answer

a b 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>expectation of truth</th>
<th>desire for truth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intonation question</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opposite polarity question</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag question</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opposite polarity tag question</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26: Yes/No Question Types.

6.2.1.1.1 **Intonation Questions**

This kind of question has the identical constituent order to the corresponding statement, and is distinguished 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:
Kōvātaī?
koo+vaa=tai
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 tōvueli ma+telasi=e
poss.man.2sg broom 3sg.real.not exist lsg.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 a?
kaiko ko+tâhosí aa
2sg 2sg.real.good Q
'You're good, aren't you?'

Koromũnaudei a?
ko+ro+manau+tei aa
2sg.real.neg.stupid.part Q
'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 vuo(o)/vuoli, which is followed by the questioned material in the opposite polarity to the first occurrence. Thus:

Kiha vuo kirovatei?
kii+haa vuo(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:

Kihaa Liro vuo kirovatei?
kii+haa liiroo vuo(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 mukavee 'how'. E.g.
Finally, the disjunction vu(o)/violi can follow the basic form of the clause with a level intonation (rather than a falling intonation as in statement final position). E.g.

Kiha vuō?
kiihaa vu(o)
2sg.dis.go or 3sg.dis.how
'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 non-humans'
isei  'asking about humans'
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{K\text{"i}mairis} & \quad \text{nengais?} \\
\text{ki-i-mai=i-rei} & \quad \text{nengaisi} \\
2\text{sg.dis.come.rep when} & \\
'\text{When will you come back?}' \\
\text{Koga} & \quad \text{kekave?} \\
\text{ko+gaa} & \quad \text{kekavee} \\
2\text{sg.real.travel whereabouts} & \\
'\text{Whereabouts do you come from?}'
\end{align*}
\]

(Human names are regarded as having human reference and non-human names non-human reference for the purposes of interrogation. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Isen} & \quad \text{isei?} \\
\text{ise+ne} & \quad \text{isei} \\
\text{name.3sg who} & \\
'\text{What's his/her name?}' \\
\text{Isen} & \quad \text{asa?} \\
\text{ise+ne} & \quad \text{asa} \\
\text{name.3sg what} & \\
'\text{What's its name?}'}
\end{align*}
\]

The interrogative nominal forms \textit{asa}, \textit{isei} and \textit{kavee} can modify nouns, asking which particular one of a set. The form \textit{asa} in this construction appears as the clitic \textit{-saa} and the form \textit{isei} optionally appears as \textit{-sei} (6.1.3.2). E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aut} & \quad \text{kave} \\
\text{aute} & \quad \text{kavee} \\
\text{place where} & \\
'\text{which place?}' \\
\text{sivi}\text{sa} & \\
\text{siivi=saa} & \text{ship.what} \\
'\text{which ship?}' \\
\text{molatinsei} & \\
\text{moldtine=sei} & \text{person.who} \\
'\text{which person?}'
\end{align*}
\]

(Note that \textit{kavee} can also follow a personal name to ask which of a number of different people by the same name. E.g.}
There are four interrogative verbs:

- **hise** 'asking about numeral verbs'
- **mukävee** '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 mukävee has a formally similar form mukekävee expressing 'however' rather than just 'how'. Thus:

Rais gosa?
raise gosaa
rice 3sg.real.do what
'How is the rice getting on?'

Nisakini hemukekave?
ni+saki+ni+e he+mukekävee
1sg.dis.do.tr.3sg 3sg.dis.however
'However will I do it?'

Mosāni vahis?
ma+saani+e va+hise
1sg.imm.give.3sg 3sg.imm.how many
'How many will I give?'

Avāseini?
a+va+aseini+e
3pl.imm.do what.3sg
'What is to be done about it?'

Finally, we have the interrogative hise used to ask about numerals. E.g.

Molatin ehis?
molātine 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
- aue
- auee
- amused surprise
- hain
- haine
- mild surprise
ue(inau)       ue(inau)       mild disfavour or sorrow
ei              ei               general surprise
aio             aioo              physical pleasure
esu(r)          esuu/esure       mild surprise and disbelief
ohov            ohove             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 the 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Paamese Numeral</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tāi</td>
<td>taai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>elu</td>
<td>elua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>etel</td>
<td>etelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ehat</td>
<td>ehati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>elim</td>
<td>elim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>lahitāi</td>
<td>lahi=taai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>laulu</td>
<td>lau+lua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>lautel</td>
<td>lau+telu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>lauhat</td>
<td>lau+hati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>hālualim</td>
<td>hālualime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tāi dan tāi</td>
<td>tāi dano tāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>tāi dan elu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
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<td>tāi dano etelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tāi dano ehati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
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<td>tāi dano elim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tāi dano lahi=taai</td>
</tr>
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<td>tāi dano lau+lua</td>
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<td>hanuu savo tāi</td>
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<td>hanuu savo elua</td>
</tr>
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<td>hanuu savo etelu</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>hanu sav tāi dan laulu</td>
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<tr>
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<td>------------------------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hanu sav tāi dan laulu</td>
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<td>hanu mau elu hanu sav elim</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>hanu mau elu hanu sav hālualim</td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi dan tāi</td>
<td>hanu mau elu hanu sav tāi dan tāi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
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<td>hanu mau etel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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). (Many of the forms given by Tryon are phonetically and semantically inaccurate.)

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 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 nouns (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*.

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<td>(āi)</td>
<td>tree</td>
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<td>(āl)</td>
<td>nangkalat tree</td>
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<td>(rekaun)</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
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<td><strong>risi</strong></td>
<td>(ris)</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>saani</strong></td>
<td>(sāni)</td>
<td>give</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>sali</strong></td>
<td>(sali)</td>
<td>spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sali</strong></td>
<td>(sali)</td>
<td>squat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sarei</strong></td>
<td>(sare)</td>
<td>fasten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sau</strong></td>
<td>(musau)</td>
<td>sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sehe</strong></td>
<td>(sehei)</td>
<td>scoop out, open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>seluusi</strong></td>
<td>(selūsi)</td>
<td>speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sieni</strong></td>
<td>(sieni)</td>
<td>fill up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>siho</strong></td>
<td>(musi)</td>
<td>have diarrhoea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sii</strong></td>
<td>(sīn)</td>
<td>1. bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(sīte)</td>
<td>2. juice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(musi)</td>
<td>3. fart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(sī)</td>
<td>4. happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(musi)</td>
<td>5. retract fore-skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sii+meto</strong></td>
<td>(simeten)</td>
<td>tears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sii+sele</strong></td>
<td>(sisel)</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sili</strong></td>
<td>(silīte)</td>
<td>descendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>silu</strong></td>
<td>(sil)</td>
<td>shine light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sinu</strong></td>
<td>(sin)</td>
<td>dressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sitali</strong></td>
<td>(sital)</td>
<td>emerge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
soko (sokoite) remains, crumbs link.n.
sohi (sōhi) catch tr.vb. (VI,4)
soon (sōni) throw tr.vb. (VI,4)
suue (musū) root up ground (of pig) intr.vb. (V)
suu=suu (susu) 1. breast n.
soohi (sohi) catch tr.vb. (VI,4)
soorvi (soni) throw tr.vb. (VI,4)
suue (musū) root up ground (of pig) intr.vb. (V)
suu=suu (susu) 1. breast n.
suuvene (sūven) pandanus mat n.
suvali (suvali) ressemble tr.vb. (VI,4)
suwulu (suvuli) climb down intr.vb. (VI)
suwunu (suvun) sneeze intr.vb. (VI)

suue (musū) root up ground (of pig) intr.vb. (V)
suu=suu (susu) 1. breast n.
suuvene (sūven) pandanus mat n.
suvali (suvali) ressemble tr.vb. (VI,4)
suwulu (suvuli) climb down intr.vb. (VI)
suwunu (suvun) sneeze intr.vb. (VI)

suvunu (suvun) sneeze intr.vb. (VI)
suvali (suvali) ressemble tr.vb. (VI,4)
suwulu (suvuli) climb down intr.vb. (VI)
suu=suu (susu) 1. breast n.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>telai</td>
<td>(telai) axe</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telaimo</td>
<td>(telaim) home</td>
<td>loc.n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telemi</td>
<td>(delemi) swallow</td>
<td>tr.vb. (I,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tevi</td>
<td>(mutev) swell up</td>
<td>intr.vb. (V)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tidiniu</td>
<td>(tidin) red ants</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tii</td>
<td>(mutī) punch</td>
<td>tr.vb. (V,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiisaa</td>
<td>(tīsa) bad</td>
<td>intr.vb. (VI)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tileve</td>
<td>(tilev) dew</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tili</td>
<td>(dilī) sew</td>
<td>tr.vb. (I,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tino</td>
<td>(tin) intestines</td>
<td>suff.n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timu</td>
<td>(mutin) hot</td>
<td>intr.vb. (V)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tioni</td>
<td>(dioni) push</td>
<td>tr.vb. (I,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisi</td>
<td>(mutisi) write</td>
<td>tr.vb. (V,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tive</td>
<td>(mutiv) spit</td>
<td>intr.vb. (V)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomane</td>
<td>(toman) male</td>
<td>desc.n.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>too</td>
<td>(dō) 1. stay</td>
<td>intr.vb. (I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too=malu</td>
<td>(muto) 2. clean, bald</td>
<td>intr.vb. (V)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too=tano</td>
<td>(dōtan) sit</td>
<td>intr.vb. (I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tovueli</td>
<td>(tovuel) not exist</td>
<td>intr.vb. (VI)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuunu</td>
<td>(dūn) chat, tell stories</td>
<td>intr.vb. (I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuvo</td>
<td>(duvo) shoot</td>
<td>tr.vb. (I,2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uasi</td>
<td>(muasi) hit, kill</td>
<td>tr.vb. (V,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhi</td>
<td>(mūhi) blow</td>
<td>tr.vb. (V,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhiaa</td>
<td>(uhia) wild yam</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uita</td>
<td>(ūīt) octopus</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uita=loho</td>
<td>(uītaloh) squid</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uli</td>
<td>(mūli) rub</td>
<td>tr.vb. (V,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulumatue</td>
<td>(ulumatu) old man</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wmo</td>
<td>(mūm) work</td>
<td>intr.vb. (V)</td>
<td>suff.n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wngo</td>
<td>(ungen) mouth</td>
<td>suff.n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urulu</td>
<td>(urilin) elbow, knee</td>
<td>intr.vb. (V)</td>
<td>link.n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usa</td>
<td>(mūs) rain</td>
<td>intr.vb. (V)</td>
<td>link.n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uai</td>
<td>(usīte) side</td>
<td>tr.vb. (V,4)</td>
<td>loc.n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usili</td>
<td>(mūsili) follow</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ute</td>
<td>(ut) shore</td>
<td>link.n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uti</td>
<td>(utīte) seed</td>
<td>link.n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaarese</td>
<td>(vāres) red flying fox</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>vaase+hee</td>
<td>(vāsehen) heel</td>
<td>suff.n.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>coconut shell</td>
<td>spider</td>
<td>belly</td>
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<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>suff.n.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT

The following story was told by Siti Wilson of Tahal nesa village.
(As was mentioned in the abstract, it is hoped that a collection of
Paamese texts will be published in 1980. I have not, therefore, included
a great deal of textual exemplification in this appendix.)

Lok vati navit mahiten tuunen
lo+ku vati+e nav+ite mah+iteni tuuum+ene
interior.1sg 3sg.real.want.3sg 1sg.real.say 1sg.imm.tell tell story.nom

tai. Tuunenene vå mukok. Navong
taa tuuum+ene=neke vaa muko=ke n+avongi
one tell story.nom.dist 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.thus.prox loc.time

tai molatin elu. Kail haulu amumon marilapet
taa molatine elua kaile haulue a+muomo+i nart+lapepe
tai amumon. elu. Amumon. Ama. vaas. Alahin
taa a+muomo+i+t=wee vaa alah=tei
one person two 3pl many 3pl.real.do.tr big.celebration

anien mai. Adani. Adani
ani+ene mai adaani+e adaani+e
eat.nom come 3pl.real.kill pig 3pl.real.bake.comm

mulen avul. Mul mul mul
mule=ni avuli mule mule mule
3sg.real.exist.sp hole 3sg.real.exist 3sg.real.exist 3sg.real.exist

vo mas. Auva alah leini.
vo(o) maax a+u+vaa alah+ti leini+t
until 3sg.real.cooked 3pl.real.go 3pl.real.carry.outwards.3sg

Aditi. Aditi vo evus
aditi+i+e aditi+i+e vo(o) evusi
3pl.real.distribute.3sg 3pl.real.distribute.3sg until 3sg.real.finish

molatin elu lugur alalu luva telaim.
molatine elua lu+guri aal+au lu+u+vaa telaimo
person two 3dl.real.take poss.ed.3dl 3dl.real.go home

Luva lumul lungani. Lungani
lu+u+vaa lu+gani+e lu+gani+e
3dl.real.go 3dl.real.exist 3dl.real.eat.3sg 3dl.real.eat.3sg

lungani lungani vo tai kai ngan
lu+gani+e lu+gani+e vo(o) taa kai ngani
3dl.real.eat.3sg 3dl.real.eat.3sg until one 3sg 3sg.real.eat

an. Ngan an vo ngan vasî.
ans+ne ngani ans+ne vo(o) ngani vasi+i+e
poss.ed.3sg 3sg.real.eat poss.ed.3sg until 3sg.real.eat all.3sg

Ngan vo ngan vasîn hîli+vem
ngani+e vo(o) ngani vasi+i+e hîli+i+e+ne
3sg.real.eat.3sg until 3sg.real.eat all.comm skin.link.body.const

vaas. En vongien romatittei. Vît
vaasi en vongiene romatitutei vite
pig obl night 3sg.real.neg.sleep.part 3sg.real.want
vahan kapine. Vaen romutautei.
va+haa=ni kapine=vaa=en ver=mutau+tei
3sg.imm.go.sp toilet 3sg.real.go.sp 3sg.real.defecate.part

Mutau mitea veele Hiliven
mutau mitaav verale hili+i+ene
3sg.real.defecate 3sg.real.come down 3sg.real.blocked skin.link.body.3sg

vuas dō kolen uruvoten. Mul vā
vūasi dō kolen+N uruwote+ne mule vaa
pig 3sg.real.stay cover.comm anus.3sg 3sg.real.exist 3sg.real.go

vā vō aut lan. Visokon vāreis
vaa vo(o) aut+e lani visokono vaarei=se
3sg.real.go until place 3sg.real.daylight morning precisely.neg.exp

vatte tās. Vā metael vīta
vatt=ee taa=se vaa mete+e alo vītāa
type.indef one.neg.exp 3sg.real.go eye.daylight 3sg.real.go down

mesal vahe kovanges. Vā les
mesale va+he kovāngese vaa lesi
open space 3sg.imm.cop late afternoon 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.see

tauler onen. Vā viteni mini
taulet onene vaa viteni+e mini
cross-cousin poss.man.3sg 3sg.real.go 3sg.real.say.3sg pun.dat

uani onen vit "Vau, lok
uani onene vīte uani lo+ku
cross-cousin poss.man.3sg 3sg.real.say cross-cousin interior.lsg

vati navit kovalesinau." Vau onen
vatt+ee nav+vite kovaf+esi+anaa uani onene
3sg.real.want 1sg.real.say 2sg.real.see.lsg 3sg.real.say 3sg.real.want 3sg.real.say

vit "Malesik en asa?" "Ei, lehehās
vite ma+lesi+ko eni asaa et lehe+hāa=se
3sg.real.say 1sg.real.see.2sg caus what exclamation 1dl.incl.dis.go.neg.exp
telaim kilesies. Kiles taunehēn."
telaimo ki+lesi+se=ee ki+lesi taunehē=ene
home 2sg.dis.see.3sg.neg.exp 2sg.dis.see thing.sp

"Tahos, hāt lovaha." Lūvā
tāhosi ha+tu lo+vaha lāu+vaa
3sg.real.good 2sg.imp.go.dest 1dl.incl.imm.go 3dl.real.go
telaim gulāt tirausis. Vit "Kilesi
telaimo gulaati tirausise vite ki+lesi+e
home 3sg.real.remove shorts 3sg.real.say 2sg.dis.see.3sg

en votok." Kai suasu.
eni votok+ku kate swa+sua lesi
sp buttocks.lsg 3sg 3sg.real.bend over 3sg.real.see

hilīven vuas dō kolen uruvoten.
hili+i+ene vuāsi dō kolen+N uruwote+ne
skin.link.body.const pig 3sg.real.stay cover.comm anus.3sg

Vit "uan, kongan . vuas nenganeh,
vite uani ko+ngani vuāsi nenganehe
3sg.real.say cross-cousin 2sg.real.eat pig yesterday

Kai dō kolen uruvotomok. Tahos, nīha
kate dō kolen+N uruwoto+mo=ke tāhosi nī+i+aa
3sg 3sg.real.stay cover.comm anus.2sg.prox 3sg.real.go 1sg.dis.go

nikur vōtel ēhaim niteh vāsi eni.
mi+nur vōtele hē+mai nitehe vāsai+e eni+e
1sg.dis.take glass 3sg.dis.come 1sg.dis.slice split.3sg obl.3sg
I want to tell a story. The story goes like this. Once, there were two people. Many people had a big celebration. They killed a pig, and brought food. They baked it in a hole. It stayed there until it was cooked. They went and removed it, and shared it out. They shared it all out, and the two people took theirs home. They went and they were eating it. They ate it, until eventually one had eaten his. He ate his until it was finished. He ate it until he had eaten all the skin of the pig. During the night, he couldn't sleep. He wanted to go to the toilet. He went there but couldn't defecate. He strained in defecation, but it was blocked. The pig skin was blocking his anus. He stayed there until sunrise. Very early in the morning, it was just the same. It went on and the sun went low in the sky and late afternoon was near. He went to see
his cross-cousin. He went and said to his cross-cousin: "Cross-cousin, I want you to look at me." His cross-cousin said: "What do I have to look at you for?" "Oh, let's just go home and you can just see it. You will see something there." "OK, go there, let's go." They went home, and he took off his shorts. He said "Look at my backside." He bent over. He saw the pig skin blocking up his anus. He said "Cross-cousin, yesterday you ate some pig. Now it's blocking up your anus. So I will go and bring some glass and I will cut through it with it." He went and brought some glass. When he was going to cut it, he bent over. He put his head right at his cross-cousin's backside. He cut the pig skin. He cut it and cut it until he had cut through it, and excrement came down and completely covered his face. His head was nothing but excrement. He ran right down to the sea. He washed it off. He came back. His cross-cousin killed another pig for that business. He settled it until it was forgotten. That's all.
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