SUBJECT CASE MARKERS AND WORD ORDER IN NEW CALEDONIA AND LOYALTY ISLANDS LANGUAGES

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1. INTRODUCTION

The comparative study of Oceanic languages, which began with phonological reconstruction, has widened its scope in recent years to include word order and syntactic typology. For the New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages, Haudricourt (1971:393) proposed that an original verb-initial word order developed into the diverse orders found in the modern languages. Against the background of this hypothesis we have undertaken a study of a more detailed aspect of the syntax of this group of languages, the markings of subject nominals, not only from a typological point of view but with the aim of ascertaining the origin of the markers themselves. In the present paper,[1] we present a survey of subject marking and word order in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, along with relevant information on verb classes, transitivity, and determination, all of which play a role in the morphosyntax of subject marking.

The languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands show considerable typological diversity, both in phonology (Haudricourt 1971) and in syntax. On the basis of word order, we can distinguish four major groups among the New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages (cf. map):

1. VOS unmarked word order languages, with an embedded subject person-marker in the verb phrase (languages of the North, of the Centre, and of the South as far as (and including) Ajië; one language of the Loyalty Islands: Iaai of Uvea). The embedded person-marker is retained in topicalised SVO sentences.

2. A small transitional group (South: Xârâcùù, Tîrî, Xârâgurè) where two orders are found: VOS as in the first group, or SVO without subject person-marker in the verb phrase, as in type 3. The texts available in these languages are insufficient for syntactic study.

3. SVO word order languages without embedded person-marker in the verb phrase (languages of the extreme South). Since these languages have no subject marker, they will not be discussed further here.

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4. Mixed-order languages with tense dependent case marking and no embedded person-marker in the verb phrase (the other two languages of the Loyalty Islands: Drehu and Nengone).[2]

In New Caledonia languages with a VOS word order, nominal subjects may be preceded by a case marker. In some languages, this marker is always required. In others, its presence is correlated with various factors, e.g. type of verb (transitive or intransitive) or type of nominal subject (proper or common noun, animate or inanimate). Thus, we find languages with an accusative type (e.g. Ajië), or an ergative type (e.g. Kumak), or with a split ergative (e.g. Nemi). Unlike the subject-final languages cited by Keenan (1978), none of these languages has a passive.

Besides their different uses, the subject markers are formally quite different; this makes their etymology very puzzling and leads us to consider that they have several different origins. In languages of the North, the subject markers may take the possessive suffixes for each person and seem to have a lexical origin. In languages of the Centre, as in Cèmuhî,[3] one of the markers seems to be a relic of an old personal article.

In the Loyalty Islands, the situation is clearer, at least for one marker found in all three languages: hne-, which has an attested lexical origin ('place of, result of an action') and appears mainly in past tense sentences. However, Nengone has another subject marker of uncertain origin.

We shall present separately the languages of New Caledonia and of the Loyalty Islands. Before dealing with the problem of case marking, we shall give the main grammatical features of these languages.

2. VOS WORD ORDER NEW CALEDONIA LANGUAGES

The grammatical structures of these languages show many similarities in verb phrase constituents, word order, determination (head + modifier), transitivity and treatment of the subject.

The main divergences are in the number of pronominal series distinguished in each language, and in the nominal subject case markers.

We shall present the main outlines of these different points.

2.1 Active clause structure and word order

2.1.1 The structure of an active clause is:

(1) intransitive verb : sV ((sm) S)
(2) transitive verb : sV (-tr) (O) (sm S)[4]

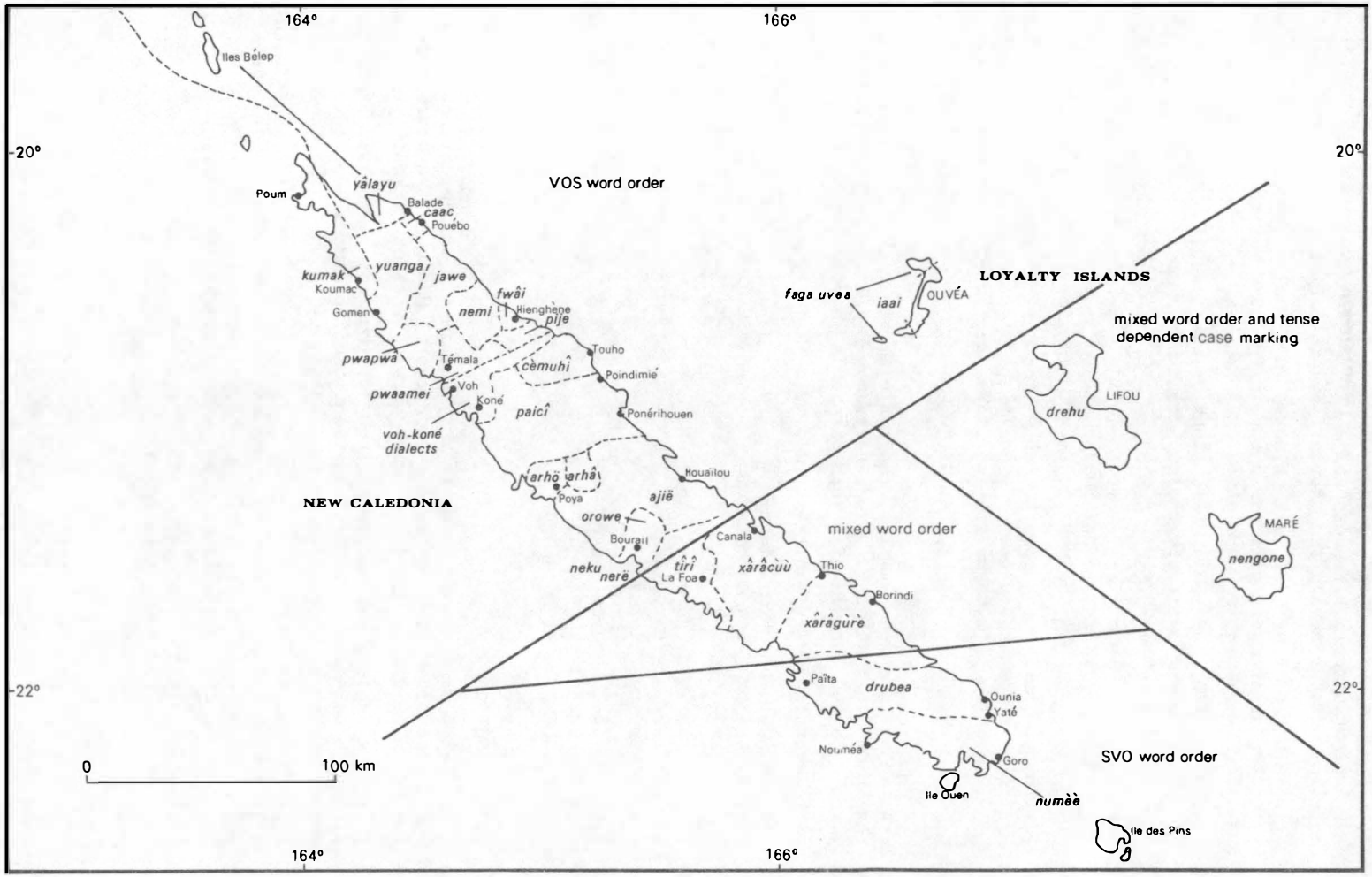
These two formulae show that:

— the verb phrase includes at least a verb base preceded by an embedded pronominal subject marker which agrees in person and generally in number with the nominal subject.

— some transitive verbs carry a transitive suffix which is deleted when the object is a pronoun or a proper noun (cf. 2.7.1.2).

— the expression of nominal subject and object is always optional. Transitive verbs, as will be seen in the presentation of verb classes, are always 'oriented', and refer to a determined object, even when the nominal object is not present (cf. 2.7).

— the nominal subject may be introduced by a case marker and when both nominal object and subject are present, the least marked word order is VOS.



MAP 1: New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages

KUM (3) i ko vine ea ciixa
*he/run after/rat/*sm*/octopus/*
The octopus runs after the rat. (Haudricourt 1963:28)

NEM (4) yelu am u fe vi hyaok ru maali hnook
they du/ass/perf/*take/the/child/*sm*/the* du*/woman/*
The two women took the child.

JAW (5) delu ra u pwia di knek (w)e deuli hnemo
they du/ass/perf/*open/the/oven/*sm*/the* du*/woman/*
The two women opened the oven.

CEM (6) lɛ̄ cɛ́ɪ́ mwo ā-li táɪ́ (w)ɔ lɛ̄pwɔ̄-jɛ
*they/pull/again/the-*def*/rope/*sm*/these/*
These men pull the rope again. (Rivierre: Textes inédits)

AJI (7) curu bɔri tɔ pwêrê mêrê dɔ ɤi-ə na deo ɤə boeua
they du*/then/stay/listen/sound/flute/of-him/*sm*/two girls/from/Boeua/*
Two girls from Boeua stay to listen to the sound of the flute.
(Leenhardt 1932:190)

2.1.2 As shown in these examples, the tense/aspect markers usually follow the preverbal pronominal subject. Other terms may be placed before or after the verb. The expanded formula of a verb phrase is in most languages:

(8) s+(asp)+(adv)+V+(adv)+(-tr)*and/or*(o)+(loc)+(*again*)+(dir)

KUM (9) na u phee-yo da-me
*I/*perf*/take-you/up-come/*
I brought you up.

NEM (10) ye am u pmwai bwari-ek
*he/*ass*/*perf*/do/well-him/*
He treated him well.

CEM (11) ɛ̄ cáa pée-ɛŋ daa-mwo-be
*he/*perf*/take-him/up-again-come/*
He brought him up again.

2.2 Topicalisation

2.2.1 The least marked word order is VOS, but in all of these languages we may find a VSO word order, for emphasis or contrast. However, the preferred position of the topic is before the verb phrase, with or without a topic marker.

Thus, the subject may be topicalised by fronting, as may any other direct or indirect object complement (already mentioned, or known), or adverbial complement (giving a temporal or spatial framework in which the action takes place).

JAW (12) phwâvo khôôk xe ra hma-ra-mwa khoe keli di paik
*as for/heron/he/*ass*/arrive-up-again/once more/spear/the/stone*
As for the heron, he climbs again to spear the stone.

(13) phwâvo le gaahwaak delu ra hen
as for/in/morning/they du*/*ass*/go/*
In the morning, they go.

NEM (14a) pmwavo (ru) vi hnook kaavo o ye tena veli thon hago
as for/(sm)*/the/woman/Kaavo/and/she/hear/the/sound/flute/*
As for the woman Kaavo, she hears the sound of the flute.

(14b) maali hnook // yelu am ta-me
the du*/woman//they* du*/ass/go up-come/*
The two women, they come climbing up.

(15) pmwavo kavuagoa // wo u kaa-ek
*as for/Kavuagoa//I/*perf*/kill-him/*
Kavuagoa, I killed him.

(16) vi ɲaaɲa ne do // ye u thebii bwa-n ru kavuagoa
*the/mother/of/you//he/*perf*/break/head-hers/*sm*/Kavuagoa/*
Your mother, Kavuagoa broke her head.

CEM (17) ɔ̄ lēpwɔ̄ ājīēnū-ŋ kā lé ábɛ́
topic*/the* masc pl*/brother-my/and/they/come/*
My brothers, they come. (Rivierre:208)

AJI (18) pani-ɲa, wɛ, na vi-rru
mother-my/'pause'*/she/sew/*
My mother, she sews. (Fontinelle:193)

2.2.2 All these topicalised complements, except the adverbial ones (13), leave behind them a pronominal copy: pronominal subject marker (12) (14) (17) (18), pronominal object (15), possessive suffix (16).

In Cèmuhî (17), the subject case marker (w)ɔ is also the topic marker and the topic is always followed by a co-ordinate clause introduced by ka.

In the other languages, the subject marker does not function as a topic marker. It never appears at the beginning of the sentence, before a subject (or other element) topicalised by fronting. In Nemi, the subject marker ru may appear (although it is usually dropped) with a topicalised subject after the optional topic marker pmwavo (14a). Perhaps this is because the topic marker has a verbal origin (pmwa *do*, vo *with the result that*).

2.3 Determination and possessive constructions

In harmony with the VOS word order, the order of determination is Head + Modifier.

In possessive constructions, we can generally distinguish between an inalienable possession (head + possessive suffix or noun phrase) and an alienable possession (head + preposition + possessor).[5] Eatable (or drinkable) possession appears in most languages as an appositional phrase, where the thing eaten (or drunk) is a specifier of the generic noun which precedes it. These classifiers belong themselves to the inalienable noun class (cf. 2.3.4).

2.3.1 Inalienable possession

KUM (19) shii-n shii ciixa
hand-his/ *hand/octopus/*
his hand *the octopus' tentacle*

NEM	(20)	bwa-n *head-his/* *his head*	bwa vi hnook *head/the/woman/* *the woman's head*
CEM	(21)	pūnī-n *head-his/* *his head*	pūnī ɛ̄ tóomwó *head/the/woman/* *the woman's head*
AJI	(22)	pani-ɲa *mother-my/* *my mother*	pani manu *mother/Manu/* *Manu's mother*

2.3.2 Alienable possession (or other nominal determinant marked by a preposition)

KUM	(23)	kuvic *yam*	kuviy i e *yam/of/him* *his yam*	
NEM	(24)	kuuk *yam*	kuuk ne ek *yam/of/him/* *his yam*	
CEM	(25)	ámó *pole*	ámó tɛ-n *pole/to-his/* *his pole*	ámó hê-n *pole/in-its/* *its pole (of a house)*
		cínú *illness*	cínú kó-ŋ *illness/on-my/* *my illness*	
AJI	(26)	baikɛ *bag*	baikɛ ɤi-ɲa *bag/of-me/* *my bag*	baikɛ i marɛkɔ *bag/of/Mareko/* *Mark's bag*

2.3.3 Juxtaposed determination

KUM	(27)	âlô ak *child/male/* *boy*	mwa hwooc *house/trap/* *trap-cage*
NEM	(28)	da ceek *spear/wood/* *wooden spear*	bwek hnook *flying/fox/woman/* *female flying fox*
CEM	(29)	èlè mágát *basket/shrimp/* *shrimp basket; basket of shrimp*	bwɛ̄lɛ̄ bà-àcùut *war club/piece-wood/* *wooden war club*
AJI	(30)	baikɛ kwijɛi *bag/banana/* *bag full of bananas*	ɔyaari wi? *child/male/* *boy*

2.3.4 Appositional determination

As mentioned above, appositional phrases are used in several languages to designate the food (and sometimes the drink) possessed: classifier (inalienable) + specifier.[6]

KUM (31) caa-n kuvic khoo-n nok
starchy food-his/yam/ meat-his/fish/
his yam (to eat) his fish (to eat)

NEM (32) caa-ŋ kuuk knudoo-n we
starchy food-my/yam/ drink-his/water/
my yam (to eat) his water (to drink)

CEM (33) ni ɛ̄-ɲu cáámwó
the neut pl/*starchy food-our* du incl/*banana/*
our bananas (to eat)

ā ūu-m nōonī
the neut/*salad-your/spinach/*
your spinach (to eat) (Rivierre:167)

2.4 Prepositions of lexical origin

These languages have very few true prepositions. It is mostly inalienable nouns which are used instead.

Thus, in Kumak, shii-n *his hand* is used to indicate the goal:

KUM (34) ôda-me shii-n
climb up-come/hand-his
climb up towards him

(35) khaabwe shii-n
say/hand-his/
say to him

In Nemi, hi-n *his hand* is used to indicate the beneficiary (36), dai-n *his back* gives tai-n *behind him* (37):

NEM (36) na hi-n
give/hand-his/
give to him

(37) hen tai-n
go/behind-his/
go behind him

In Cèmuhî, the preposition tɛ-n, which introduces the possessor (cf. 25), also indicates the addressee or the beneficiary, and clearly comes from an inalienable noun dɛ̄-n *his property, his goods*:

CEM (38) ā mwà tɛ-n
the/house/to-his/
his house

(39) pī i tɛ-n
say/to-his/
say to him

(40) né tɛ-n
give/to-his/
give to him

These data showing the lexical origin of some prepositions are to be kept in mind, for we will see that in several languages of the North, the subject markers which introduce the lexical subject may also take the possessive suffixes as pronominal substitutes for the subject.

2.5 Possessed verbs

Finally, in several of these languages, we find a small group of subjective or psychological verbs which take the same possessive suffixes as inalienable nouns. Their nominal origin is clear, but they differ from nouns in that they may function by themselves as complete statements:

KUM (41) aua-n *he wants, his will*

NEM (42) ŋame-n *he wants, his heart*
neu-n *he dreams, his dream* < nep *dream*
made-n *he is hungry* < manet *starvation*

CEM (43) nímé-n *he wants, his will*
nīū-n *he dreams, his dream*
méné-n *he is hungry* < ménét *starvation*

2.6 Transitivisation

Active verbs are transitive or intransitive. Some intransitive verbs may be transitivised by adjunction of a suffix (or by flexion of the final vowel). Semantically, as often in Oceanic languages, the object may be the patient, the source, the place or the accessory. The transitive suffixes are:

(44) KUM : -i, -e, -(i)li, or flexion a > e
NEM : -i, or flexion a > e
CEM : -i, -hî
AJI : -i, -ri (occasionally -ru)

Transitivisation is very productive. Some pairs are given below as examples:

	Intransitive		Transitive	
KUM (45)	ap	*laugh*	avw-ili	*laugh at*
	phaxat	*defecate*	phaar-i	*defecate on*
	jak	*measure*	jax-e	*measure sth*
	cap	*run away*	cav-e	*run away with sth*
	ŋaxaxa	*be afraid*	haxexe	*fear* (Haudricourt 1963:9)
NEM (46)	cora	*climb*	cora-i	*climb on*
	tnoon	*run*	tnoon-i	*run after*
	ŋaan	*laugh*	ŋaad-i	*laugh at*
	cila	*ask questions*	cile	*ask somebody, ask for sth*
	ŋuna	*steal*	gune	*steal sth*

CEM	(47)	páat	*stick*	páat-i	*stick sth*
		ī̀gā	*bite*	ī̀gɛ̄-i	*cut sth with teeth*
		āp	*laugh*	āū-hî	*laugh at*
		pɛ̄lā	*climb*	pɛ̄lā-hî	*climb on*
		ùmìɛ̀	*wake up*	ùmìɛ̀-hî	*be awakened by sth*
					(Rivierre:252-257)
AJI	(48)	tuu	*grab*	tuu-ri	*grab sth*
		vâ	*pile up*	vâ-i	*pile up sth*
		cuu	*slip*	cuu-i	*slip into*
				cuu-ri	*to put on (clothes)*
		gɔɔ	*vomit*	gɔɔ-ru	*vomit sth* (Fontinelle:284-286)

2.7 The transitive verb and its different types of object

Transitive verbs are always 'oriented', that is, the action they express is always aimed at a determined object.

When no object is present, it means that the object is inanimate and known from the context; this is a form of pronominalisation.

The nominal object, when determined, is not included in the verb phrase, is never introduced by a case marker, and is not recalled in the verb phrase by a co-referent pronominal marker (cf. 2.7.1).

Finally, when the object is not determined, it may be incorporated in the verb phrase (2.7.2).

2.7.1 Marked or unmarked transitive verbs

We can distinguish two types of transitive verbs: those which always keep the same form whatever the category of the object (49), and those which show a flexional derivation before proper nouns or pronominal objects (final vowel flexion in Kumak; loss of the transitive suffix in Nemi and Cèmuhî). When the object is a determined common noun, however, inflected verbs keep their transitive suffix (50).

2.7.1.1 Unmarked transitive verbs

(49)	KUM	phee	*take sth, take it*	phee-na	*take me*
	NEM	fe	*take sth, take it*	fe-ek	*take him*
	CEM	né	*put sth, put it*	né-ɛŋ	*put him*
	AJI	rhû	*see sth, see it*	rhû-e	*see him*

2.7.1.2 Marked transitive verbs

(50)	KUM	axe	*see sth, see it*	axe âlô	*see the child*
				axi-e	*see him*
	NEM	kaai	*hit sth, hit it*	kaai vi hyaok	*hit the child*
				kaa-ek	*hit him*
				kaa hixe	*hit Hixe* (proper noun)
	CEM	ālī̀hî	*see sth, see it*	ālī̀hî ā ɛ́wá	*see the child*
				ālī̀-ɛŋ	*see him*
				ālī̀ íké	*see Ike* (proper noun)

We may mention that in Cèmuhî there is a complex system of articles. A distinction is made between a series of 'personifying' articles (feminine and masculine) and a series of 'neuter' articles.[7]

The noun phrase: 'personifying article' + noun always functions as a proper noun or pronoun, and when serving as an object, it undergoes the same process of 'proper noun incorporation' involving the loss of the verb suffix (51).

CEM (51) ɛ̄ ālī lū tóomwó
he/see/the du fem/*woman/*
He sees the two women.

The distinction made in Cèmuhî between personifying and neuter articles is essential for it conditions the choice of the subject case marker (cf. 78).

2.7.2 Nominal object incorporation

In New Caledonian languages, as in many Oceanic languages, the nominal object may be incorporated in the verb phrase. No insertion is then possible between the verb and its incorporated object; they form together an intransitive verb phrase.

In Cèmuhî, object incorporation involves the loss of the article (52).
In Paicî, the verb is reduced to its first syllable (54).
In Nemi, either the verb is reduced (53a), or the article is lost (53b).
In Ajië, it seems that there is only loss of the transitive suffix (55).

CEM (52)	wɔ́lí ā īkūā	wɔ́lí-īkūā
	spear/the/fish/	*spear-fish*
	to spear the fish	*to spearfish*
NEM (53a)	kaai vi nuk	ka-nuk
	hit/the/fish/	*hit-fish*
	to hit the fish	*to fish*
(53b)	kneli vi nuk	kneli-nuk
	spear/the/fish/	*spear-fish*
	to spear the fish	*to spearfish*
PAI (54)	táa ī ǻrǻwēē	tā-ǻrǻwēē
	spear/the/fish	*spear-fish*
	to spear the fish	*to spearfish*
AJI (55)	tuu-ri kamɔ?	tuu kamɔ?
	grab-tr/man/	*grab/man/*
	to grab the man	*to seize people* (Fontinelle:285)

We have tried to show above the main common features of these languages. Now we come to two points on which they diverge: the number of distinct series of pronouns, and the subject markers.

2.8 Pronominal series

All New Caledonia languages distinguish between singular, dual and plural forms of pronouns,[8] and, with first person dual and plural, between inclusive and exclusive forms. But they differ in the number of distinct series used for the different functions.

Kumak, for example, distinguishes four series of pronouns:

KUM (56)

	embedded subject	object	possessive	free form
1s	-na	-na	-ɲ	na
2s	-co/-yo	-yo	-m	co
3s	-i	-e	-n	ye

(Haudricourt 1963:8)

Nemi and Cèmuhî distinguish two more series: one series of stative pronouns suffixed to stative verbs, which excludes the presence of embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase, and one series of locative pronouns:

CEM (57)

	embedded subject	object	possessive	stative	locative	free/focal
1s	ɛ̄	-o	-ŋ	-jo	ēō	wāēō
2s	gō	-ko	-m	-go	gō	wɔ̄gō
3s	ɛ̄	-ɛŋ	-n	-naŋ	ɛ̄	wɛ̄ɛŋ

(Rivierre:61)

Paicî and Ajië have only three series of pronouns; object and possessive pronouns are identical:

AJI (58)

	embedded subject	object/possessive	free/focal
1s	gɔ	-ɲa	gɛɲa
2s	gɛ	-i	gɛi
3s	na	-e/-ɛ/-ə	cə

(Fontinelle:154-156)

2.9 Noun phrase subject case markers

We have already mentioned that with active verbs, the nominal subject is recalled in the verb phrase by a co-referent pronominal subject. The nominal subject itself may be introduced by a case marker whose form and use differ from one language to another.

In this section, we shall present some examples of the diversity of subject case marking.

2.9.1 Ergative case marking: Kumak (Far North)

2.9.1.1 In Kumak, the case marker ea appears only before the subjects of transitive verbs (e.g. 59). Subjects of intransitive verbs are unmarked (60):

KUM (59) trans. i axe on ea vine
he/see/sand/SM/rat/
The rat sees the sand. (Haudricourt 1963:28)

(60) intr. i cap vine
he/flee/rat/
The rat flees. (idem)

Thus, as in many Polynesian languages, we find case marking of an ergative type on the noun phrase.

However, if we consider the embedded pronouns in the verb phrase, we find an agreement of an accusative type. Thus, we can identify the nominal which agrees in person and number with the embedded pronominal marker of the verb phrase as the syntactic subject, for both transitive and intransitive verbs (61a, 61b).

KUM (61a) trans. la u ogi-na ea la-bai
they/perf/leave-me/sm/they-there/
They abandoned me. (Haudricourt 1963:14)

(61b) intr. me la tu mââlic roven
and/they/go down/bird/all/
And all the birds go down. (Haudricourt 1963:13)

2.9.1.2 Comments on the case marker ea: this marker is realised either ea or a. Leenhardt (1946:30) stated that it could be followed by possessive suffixes, whatever the person involved: ea-ŋ *I*, ea-m *you*, ea-n *he*. Twenty years later, Haudricourt (1963:8) found the same marker, but only before nouns or demonstrative pronouns.

We have not found any other language with ergative case marking, that is among languages already described or on which we have unpublished documents.

2.9.2 Accusative case marking: e.g. Ajië (South)

2.9.2.1 In Ajië, the subject case marker is na. This marker is obligatory before every kind of subject, with both transitive and intransitive verbs (62), (63):

(62) trans. na kâi falawa na kamɔʔ
he/eat/bread/sm/man/
The man eats the bread.

(63a) intr. cere kɔyɔ na (para) ɔyaari
they/play/sm/(pl)/child/
The children play. (Fontinelle:313)

(63b) na dɔ kani na mʌʔu
it/really/grow/sm/yam/
The yam grows well. (Fontinelle:193)

2.9.2.2 In this language, case markers and agreement are of nominative/accusative type. Here are the languages which present the same case marking type:

	language	subject case marker
(64) Koné dialects:	Hmwaveke	ka
	Hmwaeke	ka
	Haeke	na
Languages of the south:	Ajië	na
	Arhö	na
	Arhâ	na
	Orowe	na
	Neku	na
	Nerë	na / ne

Between these two types (Ajië on one side, Kumak on the other), we find a variety of intermediate states, of which we shall only give a few examples.

2.9.3 Split ergative: e.g. Nemi (North)

2.9.3.1 In Nemi, the case marker ru comes before the subject, animate or inanimate, of a transitive verb and the animate subject (only) of an intransitive (65a), (65b), (65c). The inanimate subject of an intransitive verb is not marked (66).

NEM (65a) trans. (animate subject):
yelu fe vi hyaok ru maali hnook
they du/*take/the/child/*sm/*the* du/*woman/*
The two women take the child.

(65b) trans. (inanimate subject):
ye teve-ek ru vi davec
*it/carry-her/*sm/*the/flood/*
The flood carries her away.

(65c) intr. (animate subject):
ye ta-me ru vi hnook
*she/climb-come/*sm/*the/woman/*
The woman comes climbing up.

(66) intr. (inanimate subject):
ye ta-me vi davec
it/mount-come/the/flood/
The flood mounts.

2.9.3.2 Most languages of the North present this type of case marking. But note, first, that the case markers are not the same in each language, and second, that some markers may take the possessive suffixes, whereas others may only introduce the free/focal pronouns.

However, all the case markers are generally embedded in the interrogative pronoun *who?*

(67)

language	subject case marker	*who?*
Yâlayu (Balade)	wa +	ti
Caac	we +	we-ri
Jawe	(w)e +	we-de
Pwaamei	thu / thuu +	thuu / thuu-de
Pwapwâ	du	duu-te
Pije	lu	thuu / thuu-de
Nemi (Temala)	ru	thuu / thuu-de
Nemi (East coast)	ru	rhuu / rhuu-de
Fwâi	ru	rhuu / rhuu-de

The + sign means that the case marker may take the possessive suffixes.

2.9.3.3 Discussion:

In several languages, the pronominal substitute of the nominal subject is the free/focal pronoun:

NEM (68) ye ta-me ru vi hnook
*she/climb-come/*sm/*the/woman/*
The woman comes climbing up

(69) ye ta-me ru yek
*she/climb-come/*sm*/she* (free pronoun)/
She comes climbing up.

But in several neighbouring languages, these pronominal substitutes are the possessive suffixes, for all persons.

Thus, in Jawe, the subject case marker (w)e, which has the same distribution as the Nemi ru, presents the flexions of inalienable possessed nouns before the possessive suffixes: o-ŋ *I*, (w)e-m *you*, (w)e-n *he*.[9]

JAW (70) xe ta-me (w)e di hnemo
*she/climb-come/*sm*/the/woman/*
The woman comes climbing up.

(71) xe ta-me (w)e-n
*she/climb-come/*sm*-her* (possessive form)/
She comes climbing up.

(72) jo juu he-mwa-me (w)e-m
*you/really/go-again-come/*sm*-your/*
You are coming back.

(73) mo gaa pwei o-ŋ nei khêk
*I/*prog*/open/*sm*-my/this/oven/*
I am going to open this oven.

The situation is the same in Pwaamei where the subject marker thu, original form of the subject markers du, lu and ru (67), takes either the possessive suffix or the free/focal pronouns; the choice appears to be completely free: thuu-ŋ or thuu doŋ *I*, thuu-m or thuu jo *you*, thuu-n or thuu dak *he*.

PWA (74) a ta-me thu ve daahma
*he/climb-come/*sm*/the chief/*
The chief comes climbing up.

(75) a ta-me
he/climb-come/
{ thuu-n
sm-*his* (possessive)/
thuu dak
sm-*he* (free form)/
He comes climbing up.

However, in all of these languages, the pronominal topic coming at the beginning of the sentence is always the free form pronoun:

NEM (76) yek // ye ta-me
he//he/climb-come/
As for him, he comes climbing up.

JAW (77) dek // xe ta-me
he//he/climb-come/
As for him, he comes climbing up.

In conclusion, it seems to us that the use of the possessive suffix after the subject marker is archaic in languages of the North. We have already said that Leenhardt noted flexions for the Kumak ea subject marker: ea-ŋ *I*, ea-m *you*, ea-n *he*. Nowadays, the subject markers we (Caac, Jawe) and thu (Pwaamei) still take the possessive suffixes, and we may suppose that, as for many prepositions of these languages, the subject markers have a lexical origin, which we cannot trace at present.

2.9.4 Languages of the Centre: Cèmuhî and Paicî

2.9.4.1 In Cèmuhî, the situation is still more complex. We find two subject markers: (w)ɔ and ne / na.[10]

The (w)ɔ marker appears before proper nouns, and before common nouns preceded by 'personifying articles' (cf. note 7). This marker is obligatory whether the verb is transitive or intransitive (78a), (78b).

CEM (78a) trans. ɛ̄ pée-ɛŋ ɔ ǐké
*she/take-him/*sm*/Ike/*
Ike takes him.

(78b) intr. lū mú ɔ lūpwɔ̄ āpūlīp
they du*/stay/*sm*/the* du masc*/man/*
The two men stay.

The ne / na marker appears before common nouns preceded by the neuter article. It is not obligatory, and, when it appears, it indicates clearly an emphasis on the active nature of the subject. More frequent with transitive verbs, the ne / na marker is still never obligatory (cf. 79a, 79b). J.-C. Rivierre (1980:186) insists on its role as focus marker:

CEM (79a) trans. ɛ̄ kō ūnē-hî ā āmú na ā tɛ́àt
*it/*pres*/burn-*tr*/the* neut*/country/*sm*/the* neut*/sun/*
The sun burns the country.

(79b) ɛ̄ páaí ā āmú ā cínú
it/invade/the neut*/country/the* neut*/disease/*
The disease invades the country.

(80) intr. ɛ̄ kō é (na) ā ɛ́wá
*he/*pres*/cry/*(sm)*/the* neut*/child/*
The child cries.

(81) intr. ɛ̄ tīpwɔ̄ ā ácɛ́hî-n
it/fall/the neut*/fruit-its/*
Its fruit falls. (Rivierre:187)

In Paicî, we only find one subject marker, wʌ, before proper nouns, and before common nouns preceded by 'personifying articles' whether the verb is transitive or intransitive (82a) and (82b):

PAI (82a) trans. rū cɔ́ô ī gɔ̄ɔ wʌ̀ tūpēdū ɛ́pó
they du*/see/the/crab/*sm*/the* du masc*/child/*
The two boys see the crab.

(82b) intr. ē cɔ́ɔbé wʌ̄ dūī
*he/go out/*sm*/Dui/*
Dui goes out.

There is no subject marker before common noun preceded by neuter articles (83a) and (83b).

PAI (83a) trans. ē pá ī nʌ̄kébwɔ̄ ī ɛ́pó
he/take/the/basket/the/child/
The child takes the basket.

(83b) intr. ē ǐ ī ɛ́pó
he/cry/the/child/
The child cries.

2.9.4.2 The subject markers (w)ɔ and wʌ

The (w)ɔ marker has many functions in Cèmuhî:

(w)ɔ[1]: subject marker before proper nouns and nouns preceded by personifying articles, cf. (78).

(w)ɔ[2]: marker incorporated in free/focal pronouns (cf. 57), and in the interrogative pronoun wɔ̄ɔ *who?*

(w)ɔ[3]: proper noun predicate marker:

CEM (84) ɔ̄ íké *This is Ike.*

(w)ɔ[4]: proper noun (or noun preceded by personifying articles) topic marker:
- subject topic: cf. (17);
- object topic:

CEM (85) ɔ̄ pā càa tɛ-n kā ɛ̄ cɛ̄tɛ̄e-ɛŋ ɔ pā ɛ́wá
topic/*the* masc/*father*/prep-*his/and/he/catch up*/sm/*the* masc/*child*/
As for his father, the child catches him up. (Rivierre:208)

- possessor topic:

CEM (86) ɔ̄ pā nàì-n kā cíbú ā nà-n
topic/*the* masc/*child-his/and/swell/the* neut/*belly-his*/
As for his son, he has a swollen belly. (Rivierre:209)

(w)ɔ[5]: marks appositional proper nouns:

CEM (87) ɛ̄ tōo lūpwɔ̄ pwénájɪ̄ɛn ɔ āpwɔ̄mwɪ̄dɛ́ me āpwɔ́pɪ̄cé
he/find/the du masc/*brothers*/pred m/*Apwömwiidè/with/Apwöpice*/
He finds the two brothers Apwömwiidè and Apwöpice. (Rivierre:185)

Should we interpret these as several accidentally homophonous particles?

This is not impossible, but we may also suppose that some of the above functions are derivative: (w)ɔ[2] and (w)ɔ[3] are predicate markers, and the appositive use of (w)ɔ[5] probably comes under the same function.

On the other hand, topics are always followed by a co-ordinate clause introduced by ka (cf. 17, 85, 86), and the topic marker (w)ɔ[4] could also derive from the predicate marker: *This is X and ...*

This construction is quite different from the emphatic one which is marked by relativisation (with a deictic):

CEM (88) ɔ̄ íké ɛ̄nāa ɛ̄ ábé
pred m/*Ike*/deictic/*she/come*/
It is Ike who is coming.

In conclusion, the (w)ɔ marker in Cèmuhî seems to have two essential functions: subject marker and pronominal or proper noun predicate marker.

The Paicî wʌ marker (J.-C. Rivierre, personal communication) has the same functions that the Cèmuhî (w)ɔ has. But it can also, optionally, precede proper noun (or personified NP) complements. The use of wʌ before the object (89) or before other complements (90) is associated with semantic emphasis.

PAI (89) ɛ̄ cóô (wʌ̄) bwʌɛ̄ wʌ̀ dūɪ
he/see/(emph)/*Bwae*/sm/*Dui*/
Dui sees Bwae.

(90) cāa kʌ̄ (wʌ̄) dūī
father/of/(emph)*/Dui/*
Dui's father.

We may note that:

— wʌ is obligatory before every proper noun subject, whereas it is optional as an emphatic marker.

— As an emphasis marker, wʌ has always a mid tone; as a subject marker, however, it does not have a specific tone but always a lower tone than the one of the preceding syllable: compare (91a), (91b) and (91c).

PAI (91a) ē mé wʌ̄ dūī
*he/come/*sm*/Dui/*
Dui comes.

(91b) ē cɔ̄pwɔ̄ wʌ̀ dūī
*he/go away/*sm*/Dui/*
Dui goes away.

(91c) gō ī̄mwū (wʌ̄) dūī
I/catch/(emph)*/Dui/*
I catch Dui.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the two markers (w)ɔ (Cèmuhî) and wʌ (Paicî) have the same origin, i.e. an ancient personal article.

We may compare the function of these markers with the function of the personal article of other Oceanic languages. Pawley (1972:100) notes several languages of the south-east Solomons where the a marker occurs before 'personal names and kinship terms denoting a specific person in *focal* and *subject* positions'. Closer to New Caledonia, J. Lynch (personal communication) points out that in Aneityum, the only VOS language of Vanuatu, the subject marker a is also incorporated in free/focal pronouns.

2.9.4.3 The subject marker ne

If the marker (w)ɔ comes from an ancient personal article, we might be tempted to interpret the subject marker ne (found also as na in languages of the South (cf. 64) as a reflex of the Oceanic common noun article *na.

We have seen that in Paicî, however, there is no subject marker before common nouns; and in Cèmuhî the function of the marker ne is not parallel to that of (w)ɔ:

— it is only a facultative emphasis marker before subjects with neutral articles (79)-(81);

— it never introduces common noun predicates: articles are used instead:

CEM (92) ā mwà
the/house/
This is a house.

Finally the ne / na marker has many homonyms in all these languages (deictic, locative ...) and it seems difficult now to decide definitely on its origin.

2.10 Conclusion

This presentation shows the complexity of reconstruction of the subject markers in New Caledonia languages. These languages diverged a long time ago, as their wide phonological diversity proves. The grammatical morphemes have changed (and diverged) at a faster rate than the lexical stock. Presently, we are not able to propose a satisfying explanation which can account for the variety in form and use of these subject markers. However, we may consider two possible origins for some of these markers:

— an ancient personal article in Cèmuhî and Paicî, where the (w)ɔ and wʌ markers function as an 'identity presentative';

— a lexical origin in languages of the North, where the subject marker behaves like an inalienable noun.

We know that other Oceanic languages resemble the languages of northern Caledonia in having verbal structures with a postposed subject marked by possessive suffixes (e.g. Santa Cruz, north-western Solomons [M. Ross, personal communication at the TICAL Conference]).

Should we interpret these facts as parallel innovations from nominalised verbal structures, or as the trace of more ancient common phenomena? A systematic study of subject case markers in all the Oceanic languages would perhaps help to answer this question.

3. LOYALTY ISLANDS LANGUAGES

3.1 Main common features

The languages of the Loyalty Islands are classified by Grace (1955) on the basis of lexicostatistics as a subgroup of Oceanic separate from that of the New Caledonia languages.

Grammatically, however, Iaai of Uvea shows similarities with the northern languages of New Caledonia (VOS word order, embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase, distinct series of pronouns).

In this section, we will examine the three Loyalty Islands languages together, emphasising their similarities with respect to categories, verb classes, transitivity and the presence of a subject marker hne-.

3.1.1 First, we may note that the verb/noun opposition is more restricted in these three languages than in languages of New Caledonia. Many words may be either verbs or nouns depending on their syntactic context: with nominal particles, they function as nouns, with verbal ones, they function as verbs. Thus, the role of the particles is predominant, since for a large part of the lexicon they determine the function of the words. However, the verb/noun opposition does exist, as some words are always verbs, and cannot become nouns without derivation.

We have said that the particles have an important role: in Nengone, for example, the anteposition of a definite particle is sufficient to nominalise a verb phrase, without really affecting its internal structure:

NEN (93) ci hmi ke bon
pres/*pray*/sm/*he*/
VP S
He prays.

(94) roi kore ci hmi bon
good/sm + *the*/pres/*pray*/*he*/
VP S
His prayer (going on) is good.

(95) roi kore hmi ni bua
good/sm + *the*/*prayer*/*of*/*you*/
VP S
Your prayer is good.

Sentence (93) is nominalised in (94) and becomes the subject by the simple anteposition of the definite subject marker kore (replacing the subject marker ke). In sentence (95), hmi functions as a noun: it has no aspect marker and is determined by a possessor NP.

3.1.2 Verb classes and transitivity

3.1.2.1 Verbs are either stative or active. Stative verbs in Iaai take a separate series of pronouns. However, in all three languages, they admit a causative transitivisation:

(96)	IAA	gaan	*tall*	oo-gaan-ɔ	*to honour*
	DRE	ʈu	*tall*	a-ʈu-n	*to honour*
	NEN	hma	*tall*	a-hma-ni	*to honour*

Active verbs are either transitive or intransitive:

— Intransitive verbs may be invariably intransitive, or transitivisable. Many nouns may function as transitive verbs with the same formal marks of transitivisation. Examples of invariably intransitive verbs:

(97)	IAA	cihŋə	*to sneeze*
	DRE	θoʈesi	*to yawn*
	NEN	ice	*to climb up*

Transitivisable verbs or nouns:

(98)	IAA	ci	*to lean*	cəə	*to support sth*
		walak	*to play*	walak-ɔ	*to play with sth*
		ieʈa	*to be repentant*	ieʈaa	*to regret sth*
		mokuʈ	*to lie, to sleep*	mokul-ec	*to lie on, to brood (egg)*
		əɲiŋ	*a straw*	əɲiŋ-ɔ	*to cover sth with straw*
	DRE	hɲiðu	*to spit*	hɲiðu-ɛɛn	*to spit sth, to spit on sth*
		huða	*to lean*	huðaa-n	*to support, to maintain sth*
		kalaim	*to wash one's hands*	kalaim-ɛɛn	*to wash one's hands with sth*
		maɖ	*to be glad*	maɖ-iin	*to be glad of sth*
		faiʈ	*fist*	faiʈ-ɛɛn	*to hit s.o. with the fist*
		alaamek	*eye*	alaamek-ɛɛn	*to look at*
	NEN	cum	*to be on the watch*	cum-oon	*to watch sth*
		hue	*to go*	hu-oon	*to go along sth, to go on*
		niia	*bad, the evil*	niaa-n	*to harm s.o.*
		hele	*knife*	hel-oon	*to cut sth with a knife*

Transitivity markers present various and often complex forms.[11] As in New Caledonia languages, transitivity covers a large semantic field: the object is the patient, the place, the source or the accessory.

— Transitive verbs

Some verbs are always transitive, that is, their meaning includes the possibility of having an object, even if it is not necessarily present.

(99)

IAA	kot	*to hit*	wɔ	*to see*	hom	*to take*
DRE	fe	*to open*	xen	*to eat*	ðekøθ	*to pick up*
NEN	ridi	*to hit*	cue	*to bring*	cin	*to gather with the hands*

3.1.2.2 Possessed verbs

Loyalty Islands languages also provide a small series of subjective, psychological or locative verbs which must take a possessive suffix or a possessive determination:

(100)

IAA	e wee-k *I want*	e wee-m *you want*	e wee-ɲ *he wants*
	haiŋe-n *he says*	bili-ɲ *he is the last*	hne-n *he stays*
DRE	hwa-ŋ *I must, my duty*	øni-ŋ *I say*	hwaa-ŋ *I come from*
	aða-ŋ *I want, my will*		

aða ne la iʈe føe kuci-xen
*duty/of/*def/pl/*woman/prepare-food/*
Women must prepare the food.

NEN	ala-iego	pa-go
	I want	*I must*

3.1.2.3 Verbal flexions depending on the object

The object is never introduced by a case marker. However, it may change the form of the verb, depending on whether it is a pronoun or a proper noun, a determined common noun, or incorporated in the verb phrase.

Transitive or transitivised verbs generally present three forms:

— a determined form, if the object is a determined common noun (or when no object is expressed), that is, if the object may take articles. A determined nominal object is always optional, and does not necessarily immediately follow the verb:

V det + ((article) + O)

IAA (101) ame kot jee wanakat
*he+*pres/*hit* det/*the* pl/*child/*
He hits the children.

DRE (102) aŋeic a humuθ la puaka
*he/*pres/*kill* det/*the/pig/*
He kills the pig.

NEN (103) inu ci huoon ore lene
*I/*pres/*go on* det/*the/road/*
I take this road.

— an undetermined form which requires the presence of a nominal object, without particles, and immediately following the verb. The nominal object is incorporated in the verb phrase:

V undet + O[12]

IAA (104) ame xuc - bü
he+pres/*hit* undet-*flying fox*/
He hunts flying fox.

DRE (105) aŋeic a humu - puaka
he/pres/*kill* undet-*pig*/
He kills pigs, he is a pig killer.

NEN (106) inu ci huo - leḏan
I/pres/*go on* undet-*main road*/
I take main roads.

The phrase V undet + O may function as an intransitive verb phrase, and may itself be transitivised again.[13]

— a personal form if the object is a pronoun or a proper noun, necessarily present after the verb:

V pers + pronoun/proper noun

IAA (107) ame kuc - u
he+pres/*hit* pers-*you*/
He hits you.

DRE (108) aŋeic a humuθi - wamo
he/pres/*kill* pers-*Wamo*/
He kills Wamo.

NEN (109) ci kemenoo - bua
pres/*fear* pers-*you*/
Someone fears you, you are feared.

These are the main features concerning verbal classes and transitivity. The grammaticalised opposition between pronouns and proper nouns on the one hand and common nouns on the other which affects the form of transitive verbs, recurs elsewhere in the language; it affects determination, and the flexions undergone by prepositions, subject markers included.

We now present separately active clause structures, determination, and the specific derivation involving the subject marker hne- for each of the three Loyalty Islands languages.

Finally we will try to give an overall picture of the uses of subject markers in these languages.

3.2 Iaai

3.2.1 Three features differentiate Iaai from the other two languages, and group it with languages of northern New Caledonia:

— there is a pronominal subject embedded in the verb phrase;

— the pronominal subject is itself embedded in the tense/aspect marker.

(110) ame ɔɲɔ
he+pres/do/
He does sth, he does it.

aa ɔɲɔ
he+past/do/
He did sth, he did it.

amaa ɔɲɔ
he+fut/do/
He will do sth, he will do it.

— There are four series of pronouns:

(111)

	subject		object	possessive	free/focal
	plain form	embedded			
1s	iɲ	oge-/iɲ-	ɲa	-k	iɲa
2s	u	u-	u	-m	au
3s	e	a-	-	-n/-ɲ	e

3.2.2 Word order and subject marker

VOS is the unmarked word order. The object is never preceded by any mark. Nor is the nominal subject, except occasionally in past tense transitive sentences.

(112) intr. ame walak wanakat
he+pres/play/child/
The child plays.

(113) trans. ame kot wanakat θaan
he+pres/hit/child/chief/
The chief hits the child.

(114) trans. past tense
aa kuu-ɲa (hne-n) kame-n
he+past/hit-me/(sm-*his*)*/father-his/*
His father hit me.

However, if the object is a nominal and the subject is introduced by hne-n, then the object must be topicalised by fronting:

(115) wanakat // aa kot hne-n θaan
child//he+past/hit/sm-his/chief/
The chief hit the child.

The subject marker hne-n is an optional mark of emphasis on the agent in past tense sentences. It only appears with common noun (hence 3rd person) subjects; thus there is no choice of pronominal flexion.

3.2.3 Determination

The order of determination is the same in all New Caledonian and Loyalty Islands languages. However, Iaai has developed a complex system of determination when the head is an alienable noun and the modifier human; this system recalls the eatable or drinkable possession seen in New Caledonia. But in Iaai it is very productive. Surprisingly, this system is not found in Drehu and Nengone.

Juxtaposed determination:

(116) uma ẅeto — taŋ oẅic
house/stone/ — *basket/banana/*
house made of stone — *basket full of bananas*

When the head is an inalienable noun, it keeps its inherent possessive suffix if the modifier is a common noun (117), but loses it if the modifier is a proper noun (118):

(117) caa-n θaan — caa-k
foot-his/chief/ — *foot-my*
the chief's foot — *my foot*

(118) caa-poou
foot-Poou
Poou's foot

When the head is an alienable noun, and the modifier non-human, two prepositions may be used: en (destination) and iɲ (origin):

(119) taŋ en oẅic — at en hɲei
*basket/*prep*/banana/* — *man/*prep*/country/*
basket for bananas — *inhabitant of a country*

fao iɲ menɔ — təə iɲ hu
*horn/*prep*/cattle/* — *rope/*prep*/boat/*
cattle horn — *boat rope*

If the head is an alienable noun, and the modifier human, then an appositional phrase is necessary, consisting of a classifier which shows the kind of possession or the category of the thing possessed followed by possessive suffixes. The classifier used for this appositional determination may be an inalienable noun (120), an alienable noun (121), a verb (122) or even a preposition (see 3.2.4, (124)).

(120) aɲi-n *his thing* is used for general possession:
aɲi-k koko *my yam*
aɲi-m θaan *your chief*
aɲi-n meic *his fire*

a-n *his food* is used for eatable possession:
ə-k koko *my yam (to eat)*
a-n jeeü *his provisions*

bele-n *his drink* is used for drinkable possession:
bele-n kəiə *his water (to drink)*

(121) uma *house* used for dwelling possession:
umwə-k uma *my house*
umwə-k ito *my round hut*

hu *boat* used for embarcation possession:
huu-k hu *my boat*
huu-k galu *my canoe*

(122) hlək *to warm oneself by the fire*
hlogu-k meic *my fire (to heat myself)*

3.2.4 Derivation

We only present one type of derivation here, which involves the use of the subject marker hne-.

Some verbs may be nominalised by the prefix hna- *place of, result of an action*:

(123)	mokuʈ	*to sleep, to lie*	hna-mokuʈ	*bed*
	üɲküme	*to think*	hna-üɲküme	*the thought*
	op	*to build*	hna-op	*building, construction*

The modifier of a noun with the prefix hna- is always preceded by the preposition hne- (which we found as a subject marker in some past tense transitive clauses):

(124)	hnə-k hna-üɲküme	*my thought*
	hnɔ-m hna-üɲküme	*your thought*
	hne-n hna-üɲküme	*his thought*
	hna-üɲküme hne-n θaan	*the chief's thought*

3.2.5 Conclusion

The preposition hne- in Iaai is only occasionally a subject marker. However, it is used in the determination of nouns prefixed by hna-.

Its lexical origin is clear: *his place, he stays*. Most of the prepositions have lexical origins, and the majority of these take the possessive suffixes:

(125)	uɲi-n	*near him, at his place*	<	*his body*
	hɲimɛka-n	*in front of him*	<	*his face*
	ho-n	*above him, on him*	<	*his top*

3.3 Drehu and Nengone

Drehu and Nengone differ from Iaai in the following points:

— They have no embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase. As the presence of a nominal subject or object is optional, as in Iaai (except in Drehu in the present and future tenses), the lack of an embedded subject pronoun leads to basically impersonal verb phrases.

DRE	(126)	kola xen	meci hɛ
		prog/*eat*/	*die*/perf/
		s.o. is eating sth	*s.o. is dead*
NEN	(127)	ci ule	ci mane wenore hna begil
		pres/*see*/	pres/*cry*/*because*/past/*punish*/
		s.o. sees sth	*s.o. cries because (he) was punished*

— The number of series of pronouns is reduced. We may note that this functional reduction of pronouns is counterbalanced by an extraordinary profusion of honorific and speaker-specific pronouns. The free form may be used everywhere, except for the object where a short form is found in the first and second person singular, and except for possessives of the first person (singular, dual and plural), where archaic possessive suffixes *may* replace the free form pronouns:

DRE (128)	free form	object	possessive
1s	eni	-ni	ŋ
2s	eø	-ø	-
3s	aŋeic	-	-

NEN (129)	free form	object	possessive
1s	inu	-nu	-go/-gu
2s	nubo/bo	-bo	-
3s	nubon/bon	-bon	-

— We find no appositional determination (possessive classifier + specifier).

3.4 Drehu

3.4.1 The word order and the presence or absence of the subject marker depend on the tense.

Three types of structure are found in Drehu.

3.4.1.1 SVO word order in the present-aoristic and future tenses, with transitive or intransitive verbs (130):

(130) intr. la nekønaţ a elɛ
*the/child/*pres*/go up/*
The child goes up.

trans. la nekønaţ a lep la kuli
*the/child/*pres*/hit/the/dog/*
The child hits the dog.

This structure necessarily includes a nominal or pronominal subject, which comes before the verb phrase.

3.4.1.2 VOS word order in the progressive and perfect tenses. With an intransitive verb, the optional subject follows the verb and is generally unmarked (131).

(131a) kola elɛ la nekønaţ
prog*/go up/the/child/*
The child is going up.

(131b) tahwa ha la ðoxu
*arrive/*perf*/the/chief/*
The chief has arrived.

With a transitive verb, the direct object follows the verb; the subject is preceded by the subject marker and comes last (132). Both are optional:

(132) kola lep la kuli hne-ne la nekønaţ
prog*/hit/the/dog/*sm-*of/the/child/*
The child is hitting the dog.

The subject marker remains when the direct object is not present:

(133) kola lep hne-ne la nekønaʈ
prog/*hit*/sm-*of*/*the*/*child*/
The child is hitting sth.

Thus we have an ergative construction:

V intr. + S
V trans. + O + sm + S

3.4.1.3 VOS unmarked word order with past tense. An SVO word order, with topicalised subject, is quite frequent, especially with pronominal subjects.

The subject marker is compulsory whether the verb is transitive or intransitive and whether the subject is animate or inanimate (134).

(134a) hna elɛ hne-ne la nekønaʈ
past/*go up*/sm-*of*/*the*/*child*.
The child went up.

(134b) hna xep hne-ne la he
past/*go ashore*/sm-*of*/*the*/*boat*/
The boat went ashore.

(134c) hna lep la kuli hne-ne la nekønaʈ
past/*hit*/*the*/*dog*/sm-*of*/*the*/*child*/
The child hit the dog.

3.4.1.4 We do not interpret this construction as a passive, as was done by Tryon (1968):

— the actants cannot be expressed in any other way with past tense;

— there is no possible inversion of the syntactic roles, and no possible verbal flexion. Verbs are transitive or intransitive. The transitives, in particular, are always transitive in sense, whether the subject and object appear or not. Thus, for example (135):

(135) hna ɖeuθ la uma
past/*burn*/*the*/*house*/

does not mean *the house burnt* but *someone (or something) burnt the house.* The agent can always be added (136):

(136) hna ɖeuθ la uma hne-ne la aʈ
past/*burn*/*the*/*house*/sm-*of*/*the*/*man*/
The man burnt the house.

3.4.1.5 In Drehu, the subject marker is also the instrumental marker. When both subject and instrument appear in a past sentence, the subject automatically precedes the instrument:

(137) hna lep la kuli hne-ne la nekønaʈ hne-ne la sine-sinøe
past/*hit*/*the*/*dog*/sm-*of*/*the*/*child*/im-*of*/*the*/*piece of-wood*/
The child hit the dog with a stick.

3.4.1.6 The subject marker takes the archaic first person possessive suffixes:

(138) hna lep la kuli hne-ŋ
past/*hit*/*the*/*dog*/sm-*my*/
I hit the dog

Thus, the subject marker has three flexions:

(139) hne- + possessive suffixes of first person
hne-i + 2nd and 3rd person pronouns, and proper nouns
hne-ne + common nouns

Its lexical origin is clear, and the same as in Iaai: *place of*. In Drehu also, other prepositions of lexical origin take the first person possessive suffixes:

(140)

hu-ŋ	*on me, above me*	<	hun	*to be above, the top of*
hu-i aŋeic	*on him, above him*			
hu-ne la aʈ	*on the man, above the man*			
hwɛmek-eŋ	*in front of me*	<	hwɛmek	*face*
ezi-ŋ	*near me*	<	ezin	*the side of*
huʈøø-ŋ	*behind me*	<	huʈøøn	*the back*

3.4.2 Determination: always head + modifier

Juxtaposed determination:

(141)

uma etɛ	gutu ʈahmaɲ
house/stone/	*poultry/male/*
house made of stones	*cock*

Inalienable possession:

The head is an inalienable noun (ex. peŋø-n *custom*), it keeps its inherent determiner when the modifier is a common noun (142a), drops it when the modifier is a first person pronoun (142b) and replaces it with an -i suffix when the modifier is a 2nd or 3rd person pronoun or a proper noun (142c).

(142a) peŋø-n la nøð
custom-of/*the*/*country*/
the custom of the country

(142b) peŋø-hun
custom-our pl excl
our custom

(142c) peŋø-i aŋeic
custom-of/*him*/
his custom

Alienable possession:

The head is an alienable noun (e.g. huliwa *work*), the modifier is either suffixed to it (first person pronouns only (143a), or introduced by the preposition i (2nd or 3rd person pronoun, or proper noun, 143b), or by the preposition ne (common noun, 143c).

(143a) huliwa-ŋ
work-my
my work

(143b) huliwa i aŋeic
work/of/him/
his work

(143c) huliwa ne la aʈ
work/of/the/man/
the man's work

We may note that in Drehu this same preposition ne is used for modifiers indicating the origin or the destination (144), whereas in Iaai there are two different prepositions (119).

(144) hao ne etɛ — *dust from stone* (origin)
dust/of/stone

he ne isi — *war ship* (destination)
boat/of/war/

3.4.3 Derivation

As in Iaai, the prefix hna- is a nominalising prefix with the same meaning: *place of, result of an action.* But note that in Drehu, hna is also the past tense marker.

(145)

lapa	*to rest*	hna-lapa	*staying-place*
lø	*to enter*	hna-lø	*entrance*
mekun	*to think*	hna-mekun	*thought, idea*

Nouns prefixed by hna- may have an agentive complement introduced by the subject marker hne-:

(146) la hna-lø hne-ne la iʈe aʈ
*the/entrance/*sm-*of/the/*pl*/man/*
the entrance of the men

la hna-mekun hne-ne la ðoxu
*the/idea/*sm-*of/the/chief/*
the chief's idea

3.4.4 Conclusion

The main originality of Drehu is its active structure whose constituents are marked differently depending on the tense: obligatory subject with no marker in present and future tenses, subject of transitive verbs marked in progressive and perfect tenses, all subjects marked in the past tense. The Drehu subject marker hne- is the same as in Iaai, but its utilisation is wider, and it can introduce pronominal or proper noun subjects also.

3.5 Nengone

Structures with active verbs:

The object generally follows the verb and is unmarked, even when it is topicalised:

(147) ci ule ore retok — *Someone sees the chief, the chief is seen.*
pres/*see/the/chief/*

ore lene // inu ci hu-oon — *I am taking the road.*
*the/road//I/*pres/*go on*-tr/

3.5.1 The subject may appear in three different ways:

A. the subject comes before the verb phrase, without a preposition:

(148) ore du ci ruu lu
*the/sun/*pres*/set/down/*
The sun is setting.

(149) ore retok co ule ore tʰotʰo
*the/chief/*fut*/see/the/field/*
The chief will see the field.

(150) ore eat hna a-ireku-ni ore icuhma
*the/army/*past/caus-*run away*-tr*/the/enemy/*
The army made the enemy run away.

B. the subject comes after the verb phrase (present, perfect or future) introduced by the subject marker:

ke if the subject is a pronoun
kei if the subject is a proper noun or a personalised noun
kore if the subject is a noun (the subject marker integrates the definite article ore).

(151) ci ruu lu kore du
pres*/set/down/*sm+*the/sun/*
The sun is setting.

(152) co ule kore retok ore tʰotʰo
fut*/see/*sm+*the/chief/the/field/*
The chief will see the field.

(153) ha ed kore wata-go
perf*/break up/*sm+*the/leg-my/*
My leg is broken.

(154) pʰina lu kei ɖua
*arrive/down/*sm*/grasshopper/*
The grasshopper comes down.

C. In the past tense, the subject (whether before or after the verb phrase) is introduced by the agent marker hne-, which takes either the first person possessive suffixes, or -i + 2nd or 3rd person pronoun or proper noun, or -nore + common noun.

(155) hna lani hne-i neŋo
past*/change the subject/*am*-of/Nengo/*
Nengo changed his subject of conversation.

(156) hne-gu hna rue
am*-my/past/do/*
I have done it.

(157) hna kaan hne-nore ta ɖua
past*/eat/*am*-of the/some/grasshopper/*
Some grasshoppers have eaten sth.

3.5.2 We will try to explain the different uses of these three different ways of expressing the subject.

We do not know the semantic difference between A and B. However in the neighbouring languages, anteposition of the subject is generally a topicalisation, and we may suppose that this is the case in Nengone. We do not know if these two structures have always coexisted, or if one is more archaic.

In the texts of Père Dubois (1975), on which the present sketch is mainly based, structure B appears to be more frequent. In any case, it is more grammaticalised, in the sense that it is obligatory in certain grammatical contexts.

3.5.2.1 Hence, the subject marker ke/kei/kore appears necessarily:

— when the subject follows the verb phrase.

Compare (a) and (b) in (158), (159) and (160):

(158a) ore du ci ruu lu
*the/sun/*pres*/set/down/*
The sun sets.

(158b) ci ruu lu kore du
pres*/set/down/*sm*+the/sun/*
The sun sets.

(159a) bon ha ci sere
*he/*perf*/*pres*/suffocate/*
He suffocates.

(159b) ha ci sere ke bon
perf*/*pres*/suffocate/*sm*/he/*
He suffocates.

(160a) kicine ha taŋo
*Kicine/*perf*/die/*
Kicine is dead.

(160b) ha taŋo kei kicine
perf*/die/*sm*/Kicine/*
Kicine is dead.

— after the presentatives (which probably have a verbal origin):

(161) ome kore retok
*here is/*sm*+the/chief/*
Here is the chief.

(162) ome ke bon
*here is/*sm*/he/*
Here he is.

(163) numu nene kore hna-eloon hne-i retok
*there is/power/*sm*+the/curse/*am*-of/chief.*
The curse of the chief is powerful. (Dubois:229)

— after interrogative pronouns when they are placed at the beginning of the clause.

Compare (a) and (b) in (164), (165), (166) and (167):

(164a) nubo la
you/who?/
Who are you?

(164b) la ke nubo
*who?/*sm*/you/*
Who are you?

(165a) caca o
daddy/where?/
Where is daddy?

(165b) o kei caca
*where?/*sm*/daddy/*
Where is daddy?

(166a) ore wine baneŋe
the/seedlings/what for?/
What are the seedlings for?

(166b) baneŋe kore wine
*what for?/*sm*+the/seedlings/*
What are the seedlings for?

(167a) ore ruace ri tʰotʰo ci whane hoḍaele
*the/work/in/field/*pres*/begin/when?/*
When does the work in the fields begin?

(167b) hoḍaele kore ci whane ore ruace ri tʰotʰo
*when/*sm*+the/*pres*/begin/the/work/in/field/*
When does the work in the fields begin?

— after the numerals, whatever are their function in the clause:

(168) ka bon hna hnapoo-n rewe kore rue aicahman rue karetin
*and/she/*past*/give birth-*tr*/two/*sm*+the/*du*/boy/*du*/twin/*
And she gave birth to two boys, twins. (Dubois:66)

(169) sa kore kacen
*one/*sm*+the/hour/*
one hour

— it is present when the verb is omitted in the introduction of direct discourse:

(170) plain form ci cedi ke bon ko
pres*/answer/*sm*/he/that/*
He answers:

(171) elliptic form ke bon ko
sm*/he/that/*
He (says):

This elliptic form is the only case where we found the subject marker at the beginning of a sentence.

3.5.2.2 Let us look now at structure C: the marker hne- emphasises the agentivity of the subject.

Nowadays, it is also the instrumental marker (the ancient specifically instrumental marker o noted by Dubois is no longer used). It appears as a subject marker mainly (only?) in past tense sentences, (172)-(175), and in subordinate clauses, (176)-(178).

(172) hna kuru lo hne-i du
past/*rise/up/*am-*of/sun/*
The sun has risen. (Dubois:163)

(173) ha as hna kakaa-n hne-i guacecegow
past/*finish*/past/*eat*-tr/am-*of/Guacecegow/*
Guacecegow has finished eating sth. (Dubois:247)

(174) hne-i buic hna se i cerethi
am-*of/they/*past/*bathe/at/Cerethi/*
They have bathed at Cerethi. (Dubois:64)

(175) hne-gu hna ruabaa-n
am-*my*/past/*clean*-tr/
I have cleaned sth.

(176) buic ci a-ehŋe-ni ore ruace hne-i buic hna rue
they/pres/caus-*be visible*/tr/*the/work/*am-*of/them/*past/*do/*
They show the work they have done. (Dubois:124)

(177) ...wenore hna a-taŋo-ni bon hne-nore ci-ikuða
...*because*/past/caus-*die*-tr/*him*/am-*of the/jealousy/*
...*because jealousy has killed him.* (Dubois:185)

(178) nidi seseko kore ciboretan hna iye hne-i buic
*very/true/*sm+*the/news/*past/*bring/*am-*of/they/*
The news that they brought is true.

The agent marker may also appear when the object is topicalised:

(179) ka ore rawa ni bo // deko co uraa-n hne-i buic
and/the/land/of/you//neg/fut/*admire*-tr/am-*of/they/*
And they will not admire your land. (Dubois:30)

We have seen above that the marker hne- may function as a subject marker. However, in intransitive clauses where a subject is already present, the noun phrase introduced by hne- has an instrumental function:

(180) bon ha taŋo hne-nore du
he/perf/*die*/im-*of the/sun/*
He died because of the sun.

And compare (a) and (b) in (181):

(181a) intr. ha dee kore nod hne-i ðoʈuane
perf/*to be destroyed/*sm+*the/country*/im-*of/Jotruane/*
The country is destroyed because of Jotruane.

(181b) trans. hna a-dee-ni ore nod hne-i ðoʈuane
past/caus-*be destroyed*-tr/*the/country*/am-*of/Jotruane/*
Jotruane has destroyed the country.

The hne- agent marker may occur before interrogative pronouns, giving the clause a past tense meaning:

(182) hne-i la
am-*of/who?/*
Who did that?

(183) hna hnapo hne-i la
past/*give birth*/am-*of/who?/*
Who has given birth?

The origin of this marker is lexical. In Nengone, hne still functions as a verb with the meaning of *to stay, to be in a place*:

(184) ka nene ci hne ri hna-meneŋ
and/mummy/pres/*stay/in/staying-place/*
and mother stays in the house

and hnen as an inalienable noun:

(185) ri hnen me sa
in/place of/stative marker/*one/*
in one place

It takes the archaic possessive first person suffixes, as do some other prepositions of lexical origin:

(186) se-n *at someone's place* se-gu *at my place*
se-i bon *at his place*
se-nore retok *at the chief's place*
coo-n *the back of* coo-go *behind me*

3.5.3 Determination

Determination in Nengone is about the same as in Drehu: first person possessives are suffixed to the head:

(187) yele-go *my name*
rawa-hne *our* du excl *land*

The preposition (n)i comes before 2nd and 3rd person pronoun or proper noun:

(188) yelen i bon *his name* (yelen *name* inalienable noun)
mma ni bo *your house* (mma *house* alienable noun)

and the preposition nore before a common noun:

(189) mma nore ŋom
house/of the/man/
house of the man

3.5.4 Derivation

As in Iaai and Drehu, there is a nominalising prefix hna- (which is, as in Drehu, also the past tense marker); it is very productive:

(190)

menen	*to live in*	hna-menen	*staying-place*
kol	*to defecate*	hna-kol	*excrement*
icie	*to disobey*	hna-icie	*disobedience*
θalo	*to disembark*	hna-θalo	*arrival, disembarkation*
cara	*to fall*	hna-cara	*fall*

Nouns prefixed by hna- may take a modifier which must be introduced by the marker hne-:

(191) ri guhnen ore hna-cara hne-nore caac
*in/place of/the/fall/*am*-of the/spear/*
At the place where the spear fell. (Dubois:83)

ore hna-θamahae hne-i kazeniri
*the/urine/*am*-of/Kazeniri/*
Kazeniri's urine

ka hna caθuben ore hna-icie hne-i remama ni bon
*and/*past*/punish/the/disobedience/*am*-of/older brothers/of/him/*
The disobedience of his older brothers was punished. (Dubois:307)

4. CONCLUSION

We have presented the different syntactic contexts in which the subject case markers may appear in New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages.

We will conclude with some hypotheses concerning word order and the origin of these case markers.

4.1 It seems reasonable to suppose that VOS, the unmarked word order, found in the majority of New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages, was the original order of the common proto-language. In the languages of the transitional southern group, where the two orders are found, the VOS word order is apparently residual, and the SVO word order is becoming dominant.

If the unmarked word order of POC were SVO, as proposed by Pawley (Pawley and Reid 1979), then it would be necessary to interpret the structural similarity between Fijian and Polynesian on the one hand (Central Pacific group, cf. Pawley 1972), and the languages of New Caledonia on the other, as resulting from parallel development. Such an hypothesis could not be sustained unless we could uncover some internal reason explaining the shift of the subject after the verb phrase in these two groups. Is it not more likely that these languages have retained the verb-initial order of Austronesian and that the transition to SVO word order found in many Oceanic languages corresponds to a later development resulting from automatic topicalisation of the subject? Similar evolutions are found in known verb-initial groups: many Polynesian outliers have changed to an SVO word order. Clark (1976:39) cites examples from Ellice dialects (Nanumea, Vaitupu) where SVO word order appears occasionally.

4.2 Subject markers in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands have at least three different origins.

The Loyalty Islands languages themselves present two subject markers:

— one, hne-, has a lexical origin and emphasises the agentivity of the subject; its use is correlated with the past tense, and with the presence of the

nominalising prefix hna- *place of, result of an action* from which it is probably derived. This nominalising prefix hna- is formally identical to the past tense marker in Nengone and Drehu.

— the other, ke-, is only found in Nengone, and only appears when the subject is postposed to the verb phrase.

What is the relation between the Loyalty Islands subject markers and those of New Caledonia?

First we may compare ths subject markers of some northern New Caledonia languages with the Loyalty hne- marker: all take the possessive pronouns as substitutes for the nominal subject. We know that in the 'Philippine type' languages, the oblique case forms of pronouns which represent the agent in non-agent focus sentences are the same as the possessive forms. We may suppose that these languages of New Caledonia have preserved an archaic use of the possessive suffixes along with the forms themselves which are the reflexes of the Austronesian suffixes *-ku/*-mu*-ña as they have preserved the verb-initial order.

Secondly, we may compare the distribution of the Nengone ke- with that of the subject marker of the southern (excluding the extreme southern) languages. We have seen that in Ajië, for example, the subject marker na is always present when the subject comes after the verb phrase, but never when it is topicalised by fronting. In the transitional southern group, we find the same phenomenon.[14] These subject case markers do not take the possessive suffixes; in origin they were perhaps deictics or prepositions.

A third possible origin for the subject marker is the personal article, as exemplified by the Cèmuhî (w)ɔ ∿ Paicî wʌ marker. Paicî shows how a personal article may become the subject marker for proper nouns, its presence being optional and emphatic before non-subject proper noun NPs, while it has become obligatory before a subject proper noun NP. Cèmuhî can be taken to show the next stage in the process, with the (w)ɔ marker appearing only before proper noun or personified noun phrase subjects.

NOTES

1. We would like to thank Boyd Michailovsky for his help in improving our first translation of this paper.

2. Data given in this paper comes from two sources:
   — from the authors' personal documents, published or not; in this case no source is given.
   — from other authors: when published, the sources are given in parentheses.
   For Cèmuhî and Paicî, unpublished manuscripts of J.-C. Rivierre have been used. For Nengone, most of our data come from unpublished manuscripts of Père Dubois, except for some personal data collected with an informant who stayed in Paris in 1980.
   In both cases, for published documents, see the references.

3. Paicî and Cèmuhî are tonal languages. Most of the grammatical particles do not have a specific tone but take the tone of the preceding syllable. In this paper, only regular tones are noted.

4. Abbreviations used in this paper are:

adv	adverb	loc	locative marker: upwards, downwards, transversely
am	agent marker	masc	masculine
asp	aspect	neut	neuter
ass	assertive aspect	o	pronominal object
caus	causative	O	nominal object
def	definite	perf	perfect
dir	directional: towards the speaker, away from the speaker	pl	plural
		prep	preposition
du	dual	pres	present
emph	emphasis marker	prog	progressive aspect
excl	exclusive	s	embedded pronominal subject
fem	feminine	S	nominal subject
fut	future	sm	subject case marker
im	instrumental marker	tr	transitive marker
incl	inclusive	V	verb

5. The alienable vs inalienable opposition is somewhat arbitrary and quite grammaticalised. Parts of the body, parts of a whole, kinship terms and some generic nouns (food, drink) are usually inalienable nouns. But for some words, the semantic distinction is not clear and is not transposable from one language to the other. In Ajië, for instance *father* is alienable but *mother* is inalienable whereas in Nemi both are inalienable nouns.

6. Food or drink classifiers used for possession come from specific verbs depending on the kind of food or drink.

NEM	cani	*to eat starches*	ca-n	*his portion of starchy food*
	hwai	*to eat bark*	hwaa-n	*his portion of bark*
	huli	*to eat sugar cane*	hule-n	*his portion of sugar cane*
	hwii	*to eat meat*	hwie-n	*his portion of meat*
	knuduk	*to drink (cold)*	knudoo-n	*his cold drink*
	felo	*to drink (hot)*	feloo-n	*his hot drink*

Few other classifiers are found. In Nemi, for example, nai-n *his child* is used to indicate possession of domestic animals: nai-n hyalek *his hen.* But we will see that in Iaai (Loyalty), classifiers are numerous (120)-(122).

7. Cemuhî has developed a peculiar system of articles, some of which indicate gender. Most nouns may take the neuter articles (general meaning); human, animate (or animated) nouns may take personifying articles, which are feminine or masculine:

	singular	dual	plural
neuter	a̅		ni
feminine	ɛ̅	lu̅	le̅
masculine	pa̅	lu̅pwɔ	le̅pwɔ̅

Examples:

a̅ ɛ́wá *the child* ɛ̅ ɛ́wá *the girl* pa̅ ɛ́wá *the boy*

a̅ àcùɔ̀ *the tree* ɛ̅ àcùɔ̀ *the (woman) tree (mythical person)*

(Rivierre:144)

8. Haudricourt (1971:365) notes a trial in the Yuanga language of Gomen (Far North).

9. When the first or second person subject pronouns are introduced by the subject marker, they are always emphatic or contrastive, and generally placed after the verb phrase before the object.

10. The ne/na alternation is phonetically conditioned: na appears before the vowel a, ne elsewhere.

11. Here are the most frequent transitivity markers:

IAA suffix -ɔ (most frequent)

belak	*to cultivate*	belak-ɔ	*to cultivate sth*
walak	*to play*	walak-ɔ	*to play with sth*

lengthening or flexion of the final vowel:

laba	*to stay, to sit*	labaa	*to stay on sth*
musi	*to be in command*	musəə	*to order s.o.*

other suffixes:

mokuʈ	*to lie, to sleep*	mokul-ec	*to lie on sth*
ic	*to drink*	ij-em	*to drink sth*
hije	*to be carried on someone's back*	hijee-n	*to carry sth on the back*
geju	*to be trusting*	gejoo-n	*to trust*

DRE suffix -n/-θ with or without lengthening of the final vowel:

tulu	*to make measurements*	tulu-θ	*to measure sth*
pehna	*to shoot with a bow, a bow*	pehnaa-n	*to shoot s.o. with a bow*
menu	*mistake*	menuu-n	*make a mistake about*
kano	*to make a round*	kanoo-θ	*to surround*

suffixes -iin/-ɛɛn/-een:

hweð	*to whistle*	hweð-iin	*to whistle at*
menu	*harvest, to harvest*	menu-ɛɛn	*to harvest sth*
øl	*to cook, cooking pot*	øl-een	*to cook sth*

NEN lengthening of the final vowel + suffix -n:

hnapo	*to give birth*	hnapoo-n	*to give birth to*
ruaba	*to clean*	ruabaa-n	*to clean sth*
kua	*to drink*	kuaa-n	*to drink sth*

suffix -oon:

xapʰeŋ	*to dig*	xapʰeŋ-oon	*to dig sth*
hue	*to go*	hu-oon	*to go on, to go along (road)*
du	*to cultivate*	du-oon	*to cultivate sth*

12. Main verbal flexions due to nominal object incorporation:

IAA vowel flexion:

lee → leü *to burn*
taa → te *to plant(tree)*

vowel flexion + final consonant flexion:

oc → uuk *to pull out*

vowel flexion + pre-aspiration or fricativisation of the initial (trace of reduplication):

kap → xəp	*to receive*	kot → xuc	*to hit*
la → hle	*to search*	tɔɔʈ → θəəʈ	*to lift*
an → han	*to eat*	üca → hüce	*to choose*

undetermined form = intransitive form:
ət *to cook, cooking pot* ɔl-ɔ *to cook sth*
ət koko *to cook yams*

undetermined form = personal form:
det form: degec undet/pers form: digic *to throw away, to neglect*
det form: sə undet/pers form: sii *to cut*

DRE flexion of the final vowel:
amɛ → ami *to put down*
θɛ → θi *to break*
kuca → kuci *to build*

internal vowel alternation:
hwaða → hweðe *to say* kapa → kepe *to receive*

ŋ/i alternation:
ɖeŋ → ɖei *to hear*
ðeŋ → ðei *to hit with the fist*
waŋ → wai *to observe*

undetermined form = intransitive form:
tulu *to make measurements* tulu-θ *to measure, to weigh*
tulu ono *to weigh coconuts*

undetermined form = personal form
det form: xom undet/pers form: xomi *to take*
det form: hmiţaan undet/pers form: hmiţaa miiţ *to vomit meat*
hmiţaa aŋeic *to vomit on him*

In Nengone, incorporation occurs but has not been described.

13. Here are examples of transitivisation of verb phrases with a nominal incorporated object:

IAA ame xəüxəü-hɲaam
he+pres/*drum* undet-*palm*/
he applauds

ame xəüxəü-hɲaam-ɔ ke xumwəŋ
he+pres/*drum* undet-*palm*-tr/*a*/*song*/
he applauds a song

DRE eni a fi la ieŋen
I/pres/*sprinkle*/*the*/*flower*/
I sprinkle the flower.

eni a fi-tim
I/pres/*sprinkle-water*/
I sprinkle water.

eni a fi-tim-in la ieŋen
I/pres/*sprinkle-water*-tr/*the*/*flower*/
I sprinkle water on the flower.

14. For example, in Xârâgurè:

ɲi wâ toa ŋɛ a kamuru nâ
he/perf/*arrive*/sm/*the*/*man*/*there*/
The man has arrived.

a kamuru nâ wâ toa
the/*man*/*there*/perf/*arrive*/
The man has arrived.

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