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

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Abstract

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

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

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

*   ungrammatical form
-   morpheme boundary
=   clitic
1    first person
2    second person
3    third person
ADD   additive
ABL   ablative
AFF   affirmative
ALL   allative
AND   andative
AS   associative
ATTN   attenuative
BEN   benefactive
CAUS   causative
CNTF   counterfactual
COMPL   completive
CONT   continuative
DEM   demonstrative
DET   determiner
DIR   directional
DIS   discourse
DIST   distal
DM   discourse marker
DU   dual
EMPH   emphatic
EXCL   exclusive
EXCM   exclamation
FUT   future
HAB   habitual
IDF   identifier
IMM   immediate
IMP   imperative
IN   inessive
INCL   inclusive
INS   instrumental
INTS   intensifier
ITR   iterative
LOC   locative
NEG   negation
NMLZ   nominalizer
OBJ   object
OBL   oblique
PFV   perfective
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PREC</td>
<td>precedentive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>preposition</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>personal</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>proximal</td>
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<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
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<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative</td>
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<tr>
<td>REAS</td>
<td>reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIT.DEM</td>
<td>situational demonstrative adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>subset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>tense, aspect, mood marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VENT</td>
<td>ventive</td>
</tr>
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1 The cultural and sociolinguistic context of the language

1.1 The 'Are'are language

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

![Figure 1 Map of Oceania showing the position of the Solomon Islands in the Pacific](image)

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

\(^1\) See Appendix 1 for a diagram of 'Are'are language affiliation.
classifies 'Are'are as *developing*, meaning that "the language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable" (2013). See Appendix 2 for a preliminary language vitality assessment of 'Are'are.

Figure 2 Solomon Islands language map (Lewis et al., 2013)

There are several dialects of the language being used by the speakers. The exact number of dialects is not known. Whilst Tryon and Hackman (1983) list seven main dialects of 'Are'are: Are, Aiaisii, Woo, I'iaa, Tarapaina, Mareho and Marau, my consultants suggested that the number of dialects is probably higher than ten, but no final number was arrived at. Conducting a comprehensive dialectal survey was not feasible in the time frame for the current work. Whilst the data displays a certain degree of dialectal variation, the tokens are not sufficient to determine the number of existing dialects or allow for an analysis of the differences between different dialects. Appendix 4 contains examples of lexemes from different dialects of 'Are'are as given in the preface to 'Are'are 'auaapu ha'ananau 'Advice to 'Are'are maidens', by Chief Ishmael Irisitapa'a (2009) as well as an illustration of variation found in my own data.
The analysis in this thesis is based on the 'middle' dialect\(^2\) whose boundaries span the area from Ta'arutona to Rohinari. This particular dialect has been chosen because of the accessibility of its speakers to me.

1.2 Previous research

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

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

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

1.3 'Are'are people

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

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\(^2\) The area where this dialect is spoken corresponds roughly with the middle part of 'Are'are province, hence the description 'middle' given by the speakers.
Tryon and Hackman in 1983, and from the figure of over 13,000 speakers in 1993 given by John Houainamo Naitoro (1993). However, this increase seems to correspond with the overall population growth in the Solomons over that period. According to the Solomon Islands Population and household census (Solomon Islands National Statistics Office, 2011), the total population of the Solomon Islands rose from 285,176 in 1986 to 515,870 in 2009.

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

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

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

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3 Geerts lists lexical items distinguishing between ten classes of chiefs in his dictionary (1970:10), but does not include definitions or explanation of the differences between the classes.
sites. As Naitoro explains, "[t]hey provide a geography of the people's past and a constant reminder of their collective identity as descendants" (1993:12). For more on 'Are'are traditional beliefs and social structure see Naitoro (1993).

1.4 Literacy and orthography

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

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

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

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

1.5 Multilingualism

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

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

1.6 Contexts of use and language choice

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language used to:</th>
<th>Language choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>'Are're</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparents and their generation</td>
<td>'Are're</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents and their generation</td>
<td>'Are're</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends and age-mate neighbours</td>
<td>'Are're</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brothers and sisters</td>
<td>'Are're</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>'Are're</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children and their generation</td>
<td>'Are're</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchildren and their generation</td>
<td>'Are're</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government officials</td>
<td>'Are're/Pijin/English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>'Are're/Pijin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>English/Pijin/Are're</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 Language choice in various contexts

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

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

1.7 Viability

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

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

1.8 Loanwords

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

---

6 Since Solomon Pijin is an English based creole, it is sometimes difficult to establish with accuracy in which language a given loan word originated.
used where a native word exists, such as numerals (low as well as high), words for 'wait', 'must' etc. Where a loanword is used, its form conforms to the phonotactics of 'Are'are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>'Are'are</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'knife'</td>
<td>naihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cup'</td>
<td>kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'axe'</td>
<td>hakesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'copper'</td>
<td>kapaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fridge'</td>
<td>'aisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'John'</td>
<td>Tione</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Paul'</td>
<td>Pauro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**1.9 The present research**

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

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

Seven adult native speakers of 'Are'are participated in elicitation sessions and consultations. All of the speakers are fluent in the language and with the exception of the main consultant all use 'Are'are in everyday situations. All consultants are bilingual in 'Are'are and Solomon
Island Pijin and all can understand spoken English. Out of the seven speakers, four were male and three were female, with ages ranging from twenty four to forty nine. The main consultant used 'Are'are in day to day interactions for the first twenty years of his life before moving to New Zealand. According to the judgement of other speakers, his L1 has not been noticeably affected by English and he has retained a native level of fluency.

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

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

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

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

1.10 Transcription and orthography

Chapter 2 of this work uses the IPA for 'Are'are examples. Whilst most examples are transcribed phonemically (enclosed in slanted brackets //), phonetic transcription (enclosed in square brackets []) is used where there is a need for more detail. All other chapters follow the orthographic conventions laid out below. The following table shows the correspondences of phonemes to graphemes used throughout this work.
The mapping of phonemes to graphemes is rather intuitive in most cases. Throughout this work, the glottal stop is represented by the straight apostrophe. I use the apostrophe in the orthography where the glottal stop is pronounced, even though it may not be phonemic in that particular position. Long vowels are marked by double letters.
2 Segmental phonology

2.1 Phonemic inventory

'Are'are features a relatively small phoneme inventory. While its five vowel system is a common feature of Oceanic languages (Lynch et al., 2002), the number of consonantal phonemes is rather small compared to some closely related languages spoken on Malaita7 (Ashley, 2012; Featherstone-Santosuosso, 2011; Keesing, 1985; Lichtenberk, 2008; Macdonald, 2010). Table 2.1 shows the number of consonantal phonemes in those Malaitan languages for which up to date descriptions were available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of consonantal phonemes</th>
<th>Number of vowel phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toqabaqita</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara'ae</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaio</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Are'are</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa'a</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Number of consonantal phonemes in Malaitan languages

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

2.1.1 Consonants

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

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

\[\text{The orthography of this language (Lichtenberk 2008) uses the letter } \langle q \rangle \text{ to represent the glottal stop.}\]

\[\text{In Table 2.1, the order top to bottom corresponds with geographical distribution of languages, north to south of Malaita.}\]
there are no voiceless/voiced pairs in any of the place/manner classes. The symbols to the left stand for voiceless sounds, the symbols to the right represent voiced sounds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-velar</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Contrastive consonants in 'Are'are

### 2.1.1.1 Plosives

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

/p/, /t/, /k/

/para/  'be white', 'fishook'  /panipani/  'wall'
(Geerts, 1970:85)

/tara/  'road'  /tani/  'daylight'

/kara piakau/  'cassava pudding'  /kani/  'skin disease' (Geerts, 1970:47)

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

/ʔ/ and /p/ and Ø

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

/ʔ/ and /t/

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

/ʔ/ and /k/

/haʔa/  'causative particle'
/haka/  'boat'
/ʔ/ and /m/
/toʔa/  'to have sexual intercourse'
/toma/  'be limp (v)' (Geerts, 1970:127)

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

[ʔapu]  'blood'
[ʔare]  'thing'
[ʔasuhe]  'rat'
[ʔirijo]  'dolphin'
[ʔoni]  'stay, live'
[ʔuru]  'blind'
[ʔuʔu]  'finger, toe'

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

/ewa/  [ʔεβa]  'be tall, long'
/haʔa-ewa=a/  [haʔa-ʔεβa=a]  'make long'
/ateʔate/  [ʔateʔate]  'be dry'
/ikiʔiki/  [ʔikiʔiki]  'root'
/oraʔora/  [ʔoraʔora]  'ashes'

The presence of the glottal stop in these environments is completely predictable, and the logical conclusion is that the glottal stop here is not phonemic but rather the result of a phonological hyatus-filling process. However, there is some diachronic evidence that in the past the onset position was filled by other consonants that over time debuccalized by losing their [+ dorsal] feature.
As seen from the reconstructions (Greenhill, Blust, & Gray, 2008), at least some 'Are'are words that contain a preglottalised short vowel word-initially seem to have had another, often a velar or an uvular, consonant in place of the current word-initial glottal stop. I suggest it is more accurate to treat the presence of the glottal stop in this position as a phonological process. Firstly, there are no non-preglottalised short vowels occurring word-initially in 'Are'are. Secondly, there are many 'Are'are reflexes of the reconstructed POC forms (Greenhill et al., 2008) where the word-initial consonant has been not debuccalized to a glottal stop but lost completely. In 'Are'are, these words occur with a long word-initial vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reconstructed POC forms</th>
<th>'Are'are forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*kani</td>
<td>[ʔani=ʔ] 'consume'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kami</td>
<td>[ʔami] 'we (first person plural exclusive)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qenop</td>
<td>[ʔeno] 'lie down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kayu</td>
<td>[ʔøj] 'stick, tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

/m/ and /n/

/mara/ 'be ashamed' /ma/ 'and (coordinator)'
/nara/ 'cry (v)' /na/ 'the (determiner)'

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

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

/m/ and /p/

/namo/ 'lake' /ma:ma:/ 'father'
/napo/ 'grasshopper' /pa:pa:/ 'grandparent or grandchild'

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

/n/ and /t/

/nara/ 'cry (v)' /napo/ 'grasshopper'
/tara/ 'road' /tapo=a/ 'catch (vt)

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

/mera/ /wera/ 'child'
/tete-ku/ /neke-ku/ 'my mother'

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

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10 I interpret nekenao as a different spelling variant from my neke nau 'my mother', where the possession is marked as alienable as opposed to the inalienable possessive suffix -ku. For discussion on possessive marking see Chapter 4.
and Hackman (1983) from neighbouring languages are /mwela/ and /nika-na/ in Sa'a\textsuperscript{11} (south of 'Are'are) and /wela/ and /negeia/ in Dori'o (north of 'Are'are), the variant forms /wera/ and /neke-na/ are not surprising.

2.1.1.3 Tap

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

/r/ and /s/

/marika/ 'fish'
/masika/ 'be small'

/r/ and /t/

/raro/ 'sky'
/rato/ 'sun'

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

/r/ and /k/

/hura/ 'moon, month'
/huka/ 'wife'

/s/ and /h/

/o.ru/ 'seasonal wind'
/o.hu/ 'sugarcane'

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

[ruə] [d\textsuperscript{w}uə] 'two'

\textsuperscript{11} Tryon and Hackman also found the Sa'a form /teite/ in Uki Ni Masi village. This suggests that variation, especially close to the language boundaries, is common.
2.1.1.4 Fricatives

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

/s/ and /h/

/rasu/ 'smoke' /soʔo-/ 'about'

/rahu/ 'be old' (Geerts) /hoʔo/ 'bark (v)

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

/h/ and /ʔ/

/tohi/ 'room' /aːraha/ 'chief'

/toʔi/ 'work (v)' /aːraʔa/ 'be steep'

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

/h/ and /k/

/a:ke/ 'anchor'

/a:he/ 'flow (v)'

2.1.1.5 Approximant

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

/w/ and /ɾ/

/raraha/ 'thigh'

/wawaha/ 'cloud, mist'

/w/ and /m/

/waʔi/ 'hurt'

/maʔimaʔi/ 'basket'

/w/ and /k/

/kakawe/ 'string'

/kakake/ 'swamp taro'

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

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

/ewa/ → [ʔeβa] 'be long'
/a:warə/ → [a:βara] 'ten'

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

[we:we:] 'baby'
[ʔɔiwanawana] 'lightning' (compound 'ai 'tree' and wana 'to glow')

2.1.2 Vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3 Vowel inventory of 'Are'are

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

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

/i/ and /i:/

/si/ 'negative future particle' /isu/ 'move' (v)
/si:/ 'precedentive particle' /i:su/ 'count, read (v)'

/e/ and /e:/

/tete/ 'pebble'
/te:te:/ 'mother'
Long vowels can appear word-initially, word-medially or word-finally. Table 2.4 below shows examples of the occurrence of long vowels in different position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word initial</th>
<th>Word medial</th>
<th>Word final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a:he</td>
<td>ha:ta:ania</td>
<td>?aita:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:pota</td>
<td>ma:ra</td>
<td>hara:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:hihu</td>
<td>ri:ko:</td>
<td>si:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:rora</td>
<td>ha?ai:wera:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:ro</td>
<td>re:sia</td>
<td>te:te:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:ta</td>
<td>we:we:</td>
<td>?ai?e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:hu</td>
<td>po:nmera</td>
<td>rawako:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:pa</td>
<td>po:rru</td>
<td>po:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:hi</td>
<td>nu:ha</td>
<td>wapusu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:ra</td>
<td>su:nia</td>
<td>ratsu:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 Distribution of long vowels in 'Are'are

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Sequence</th>
<th>Word Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - /a:/</td>
<td>ha?a-a:rokasia</td>
<td>a:kiu, hiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - /e/</td>
<td>mae, kae</td>
<td>haiara, naia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - /o/</td>
<td>haoru, maamaono</td>
<td>moa, roroa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - /i/</td>
<td>?ai, paina</td>
<td>poiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - /u/</td>
<td>mauri</td>
<td>a:rkoe, hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ - /a/</td>
<td>mahea, peata</td>
<td>tou, hinou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ - /o/</td>
<td>weo</td>
<td>kiraua, kukua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ - /i/</td>
<td>a:tei</td>
<td>kui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ - /o/</td>
<td>haiotoi, rio</td>
<td>?uu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.5 Attested vowel sequences in 'Are'are

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

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

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

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

14 Sequences of vowels occurring word-initially are preglottalised in the same way as short vowels. This suggests that although some sequences are realised as diphthongs, they are underlyingly sequences: /ai/, /[e:j] 'tree, stick'
The clapping test produced mixed results for the words below. I conclude that these vowel sequences do not form diphthongs.

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

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

/rio/  [ri.jo]  'see'
/a.kiu/  [a:.ki.ju]  'sink (v)
/re:si.a/  [re:.si.jə]  'see (vt)'

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

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

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

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

/ha.na/  'eat'
/ha.'ra:/  'wash'
If the antepenultimate syllable contains a long vowel it will be stressed:

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

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

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

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

/iː.'ta:/     'what'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta'aa ni mane</td>
<td>/taʔa:n mane/</td>
<td>[taʔa:n 'mane]</td>
<td>'the males'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roto na 'ai</td>
<td>/rotona ?ai/</td>
<td>[roton 'ai]</td>
<td>'fruit of a tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so'o-na</td>
<td>/soʔona/</td>
<td>['soʔon]</td>
<td>'after, about'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3 Syllable structure

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

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

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

2.4 Major phonological and morphophonemic processes

2.4.1 Reduplication

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

2.4.1.1 Reduplication in nouns

Some lexemes appear only in a fully reduplicated form:

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

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

/wari/       /waː-wari/   'uncle'
/kui/        /ku-ku/      'dog, doggie'

2.4.1.2 Reduplication in verbs

Similar to nouns, some intransitive verbs also appear only in their reduplicated form. The reduplication is either full or partial:
Both intransitive and transitive verbs may be reduplicated. It appears that full reduplication is common for monosyllabic and disyllabic bases; bases consisting of three syllables have only the first two syllables reduplicated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ra:/</td>
<td>/raː~raː/</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/poi/</td>
<td>/poi~poi/</td>
<td>'shout, call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oni/</td>
<td>/oni~oni/</td>
<td>'stay, live'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hura/</td>
<td>/hura~hura/</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kiru/</td>
<td>/kiru~kiru/</td>
<td>'be ill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mahea/</td>
<td>/mahe~mahea/</td>
<td>'be hungry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/niʔrae/</td>
<td>/niʔi~niʔrae/</td>
<td>'think'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/toʔoru/</td>
<td>/toʔo~toʔoru/</td>
<td>'sit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/naʔa/</td>
<td>/naʔa<del>naʔa/ or /naː</del>naʔa/</td>
<td>'talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eno/</td>
<td>/eno<del>ʔeno/ or /e</del>ʔeno/</td>
<td>'lie down'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| /raʔau/ | /ra~raʔau/ or /raʔa~raʔau/ | 'go' |

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

---

15 For discussion on the function on reduplication in verbs see Chapter 5.
2.4.2 Low central vowel raising

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

/a/ is also usually raised when it precedes the high vowel in the sequences /a/ - /i/ and /a/ - /u/.

Thus the sequences involving a high vowel and the low central vowel are commonly phonetically realised as [əi, iə, əu, uə]. This raising effect also occurs when a syllable containing the low central vowel follows a syllable containing one of the high vowels, but not when the syllable containing high vowels follow the syllable containing /a/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central vowel raised</th>
<th>Central vowel not raised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/maurī/ [maurī] 'be alive'</td>
<td>/kahu/ [kahu] 'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/akua/ [ʔakua] 'to me'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huka/ [hukə] 'wife'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/paina/ [pəina] 'be big'</td>
<td>/hau nasi/ [həu nasi] 'flintstone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/asia/ [ʔasija] 'away'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/masika/ [masikə] 'be small'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

|hana/ [hana] 'to eat'    |
|/iːrora/ [iːrora] 'canoe'|

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

(2-1a) Pita 'e tau=a 'e ra'au.  
pitō ?e tau=ə ?e raʔəu
Peter 3SG do=3OBJ 3SG go
'Peter made him go.'
2.4.3 Vowel lengthening preceding determiner na

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

/suna/ [sunə] 'fire'
/nima/ [nimə] 'house'

[sunə:na] or [sunɛ:na] 'the fire'
[nimə:na] or [nimɛ:na] 'the house'

V [-long] → V [+long] / _ # na

2.4.4 Vowel shortening preceding possessive suffix

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

/te:te:/ 'mother' [teteku] 'my mother'
/ma:ma:/ 'father' [mamaku] 'my father'
/ma:/ 'eye' [ma:ku] 'my eye(s)'

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

/pa:pa:/ 'grandparent' [papaku] or [pa:paku] 'my grandparent'
2.4.5 Object clitics

2.4.5.1 Stem-final /a/

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

/a:hura/ [a:hura] 'dig'
/a:hura/ + =a [a:hura:] 'dig=3obj'

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

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

/hara:/ [hara:] 'wash' (v)
/hara:/ + =a [hara:] 'wash=3obj'

2.4.5.2 Stem-final /e/

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

The verb /rae/ 'know' is realized as /raia/ for when the object clitic =a is present:
/rae=a/ → [raia] or [ra:ja] 'know=3obj'

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

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

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

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

(2-1b) 'O =ko raa.
    ?=ko ra:  
    2SG=TAM go  
    'You (sg) are going/walking.'

2.5 Relaxed speech rules

2.5.1 Vowel deletion

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'a'e-ni 'are</td>
<td>/a?eni ?are/</td>
<td>[a?en ?are]</td>
<td>'leg of something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hari-mu</td>
<td>/hari-mu/</td>
<td>[hari-m]</td>
<td>'your bottom (sg)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oni'oni</td>
<td>/oni?oni/</td>
<td>[?on?on]</td>
<td>'stay, live (redup)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

'/harimu/ [harim] 'your bottom (sg)'  
'/oni?oni/ [?on?on] 'live (reduplicated)'  
'/komu ?e:/ [kom?e:] 'this village'  
'/te huan ni/ [tehuan] 'some'
2.6 Variation and dialectal influences

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

/marika/ or /marike/ 'fish'
/nima/ or /nime/ 'house'
/masika/ or /masike/ 'be.small'
/i:hihu/ or /u:huhu/ 'hair'

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

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

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

For more examples see Appendix 4. I believe that the differences show cross-dialectal influence, although without a detailed survey it is not possible to say how many dialects may be involved.
In some cases the variation can be better explained by the speaker's contact with another language, since the phoneme /l/ is actually not a phoneme of 'Are'are:

/lapsia/ or /rapsia/ 'hit'

2.7 Non-native sounds

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

'Melissa' [merisa]
'Helen' [heren]

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

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

3.1 Morphosyntactic patterns

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

16 In some instances the clitic is =i, see section 5.2.1.2.2 in Chapter 5.
17 The form nau occurs only in object position. All the other pronouns have the same form in subject and object positions. See section 4.2.1 in Chapter 4.
'Are'are has serial verb constructions (SVCs) that fall into two categories: symmetrical and asymmetrical. The asymmetrical SVCs are headed, the first verb being the head and the second verb the modifier. SVCs may consist of more than two verbs; in that case the third verb acts as a modifier of the preceding two-verb SVC. Object indexing clitics appear on the second verb in the SVC only.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

subject - predicate - X (adjunct)

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

(3-10) *Pita 'e [to'i=a nima na].*

Peter 3SG build=3OBJ house DET

'Peter built the house.'

(3-11) *Nima 'ee [nima nau].*

house DEM.PROX house 1SG.POSS

'This is my house.'

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

(3-12) *Hi mera kira hura no'o.*

PL child 3PL arrive PFV

'The children have arrived.'

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

(3-13) *Kira hura hau kekere aa-na aasi.*

3PL arrive PREP shore OBL-PRS sea

'They arrived at the sea shore.'

Topicalisation, where elements occupy a dislocated TOPIC position on the left periphery, is common:
(3-14) **Mane 'ewau, rae-na**¹⁹ *ka rao mano.*
man DEM.DIST being-POSS FUT be.happy
'That man will be happy.' (Lit. That man, his being will be happy.)

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

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

### 3.2 Tense, aspect and mood

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

#### 3.2.1 Tense

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

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

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

---

¹⁹ The word *rae-na* literally means 'his/her liver'. In 'Are'are, the liver is thought of as the essence of being and the seat of emotions, much like the English 'heart'.
(3-16a) Na ma’asu.
  1SG sleep
  'I slept.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The distinction between future and non-future is also discernible in negation. Whilst non-future is negated with the preverbal particle ma (3-20), for future negation the particle si is used:
(3-20a) Na=ma ma'asu.
   1SG=NEG sleep
   'I didn't sleep.'

(3-20b) Na ka=ma ma'asu.
   1SG TAM=NEG sleep
   'I don't sleep (right now, I am not asleep).'</n
(3-20c) Na=si ma'asu.
   1SG=NEG.FUT sleep
   'I will not sleep.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3-23b) 'O=si ma'asu!
   2SG=NEG.FUT sleep
   'Don't sleep! (Don't fall asleep!).'
The time reference in clauses is also often given by a time adverb such as karahini 'soon', naapon 'yesterday', warita 'long ago' and so on. In narratives, the speaker sets the temporal reference at the beginning of the narrative, such as by te horo'o'a 'one day', which could also be translated as 'once upon a time'.

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

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

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

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

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

Compare:

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

The particle ka is commonly used not only with active verbs but also with verbs expressing states. However, its use with these verbs differs, depending on the subtype of the verb. Stative verbs in 'Are'are may express either an individual-level or a stage-level property. Whilst the stage-level verbs commonly occur with ka to express that the state holds at the time of speaking (3-25b), the individual-level verbs occur with ka only when the reading of a change of state is implied (3-26b):
(3-25a) *Na mahea naaponi.*
1SG be.hungry yesterday
'I was hungry yesterday.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*kura=ka 'oni nima20 ke na.*
1DU.INCL=TAM stay house EMPH SIT.DEM
'If it rains tomorrow, we (will) stay at home.'

*Ka* also commonly occurs in narratives, where it allows the narrator to express events as if they were taking place at the time of speaking (similar to the historical present in English). Although the occurrence of *ka* often correlates with events taking place in the present time, I believe it is better to treat it as an aspect marker rather than as a marker of present tense. Firstly, its occurrence seems to be restricted to verbal predicates:

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

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

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

---

20It is possible to express 'in the house', 'at home' without any preposition.
3.2.2.2 No'o

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

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

(3-33) Tete-na mera na 'e hanari=a mera na
       mother-POSS child DET 3SG feed=3OBJ child DET
       ma mera na 'e pote no'o.
       and child DET 3SG be.full PFV
       'The child's mother fed the child and the child is full now.'

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

3.2.2.3 Reduplication

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

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

       Rikimana horo'a neke-na ka raa hi aano
       every time mother-POSS TAM go to garden
       ma 'e=ka toi~to'i 'are aa-na Ninikowau he'eta.
       and 3SG=TAM HAB~do thing BEN-PRS N. always
       'Always mum goes to the garden and does things for N.'
3.2.3 Modality

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

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

3.2.3.1 Epistemic modality

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

(3-36) 'Aikarua na 'e hi'a, 'e ka rao
canoe DET 3SG be.heavy 3SG FUT
toto nena.
sink SIT.DEM
'The canoe is heavy, it will (surely) sink.'
(3-37) *Pita mane 'e 'ewa nena.*
Peter man 3SG be.tall SIT.DEM
'Peter is a tall man.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ka rao toto nena.
FUT sink SIT.DEM
'The canoe is heavy, it looks like it will sink.'
3.2.3.2 Deontic modality and dynamic modality

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For more discussion of uses of *ha-na* see section 6.2.9.3 in Chapter 6.
It is likely that further studies will reveal that the expression of modality in 'Are'are is a more complex matter than the above data would indicate. However, a more comprehensive analysis is beyond the scope of this work.

3.3 Parts of speech categories

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

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

**Closed lexical classes:**
Adverbs
Numerals: The language uses a decimal system.

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

3.3.1 Issues with assigning grammatical categories

3.3.1.1 Heterosemy
The language displays a considerable amount of heterosemy (Lichtenberk, 2008), meaning that the same word form can function as a member of different lexical categories with different distributional properties. For example, whilst the form rika'a functions most
commonly as an adverb 'very' (3-46), it can also appear as a noun modifier (3-47a) or as the predicate (3-47b):

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

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

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

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

Rika'a can equally express a strong negative quality:

(3-47b) Mane 'e rika'a, mane ha-na ko'u-ha no'o.
man 3SG ? man PURP-PRS drink-NMLZ INTS

'(That) man is bad/crazy, he drinks a lot.'

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

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

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

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

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

21 Note that wau is a dialectal variant of the plural marker hi.
(3-51) *Kira=ka raa wau tare=a...*

3PL=TAM go AND ALL=3OBJ

'They are going towards it…' (away from their current location)

(3-52) *Mane wau'ee 'e 'ewa.*

man DEM.DIST 3SG be.tall

'The man over there is tall.'

(3-53) *Mane 'ewau 'e rae-are.*

man DEM.DIST 3SG know-thing

'The man over there is knowledgeable.'

(3-54) *Wau mane wau'ee kira 'ewa.*

PL mane DEM.DIST 3PL be.tall

'The men over there are tall.'

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

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

(3-55) *'Uria Pita tisa nena?*

be.so Peter teacher SIT.DEM

'Is Peter a teacher?' (Lit. Is it so that Peter is a teacher?)

(3-56) *'Oki~'okira-ha kui na 'e 'uri-ha-na laione.*

RDP~be.strong-NMLZ dog DET 3SG like-OBL-PRS lion

'The dog is strong as a lion.'

(3-57) *Pita 'e 'uriwau.*

Peter 3SG DEM.DIST

'Peter is over there.'

(3-58) *Ka wa'era'ani=a maa-na 'ure'ee ma...*

TAM swing=3OBJ eye-POSS like.this and

'(He) swings his eyes like this and…'

The morpheme *hai* occurs in locative compounds, but it does not occur by itself. Its meaning seems to be related to *place*.
(3-59) tai-hai 'where (location)'
hii-hai 'where (direction)'
maani-hai 'where from'

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

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

### 3.3.1.2 Diachronic change

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

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

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

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

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

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

The verb-like prepositions reference their complements by means of the pronominal clitics that are used to index the object on the verb:
(3-64) Pita 'e sisihora tari=nau.
Peter 3SG story.tell to=1SG
'Peter told me a story.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3-68) Na=ka mai.
1SG=TAM come
'I am coming (to the interlocutor or to a specified destination)'
But it cannot function as the modifying verb in a SVC. The object clitic attaches to the first verb in (3-69):

(3-69) \textit{\textls[135]{Tau=}a \ mai \ kuki \ 'e \ mapota \ nena!}
\textit{\textls[135]{give=3OBJ \ VENT \ pot \ 3SG \ be.broken \ DEM}}

'Give me that broken pot!'

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

(3-70) \textit{O \ rio \ mai!}
\textit{\textls[135]{2SG \ look \ VENT}}

'Look here!'

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

### 3.3.2 Stative verbs versus adjectives

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

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

(3-71) \textit{Wa'a-ku \ 'e \ manata.}
\textit{\textls[135]{brother-1SG.POSS \ 3SG \ be.clever}}

'My brother is clever.'

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{22} This is unlike in Toqabaqita, where verbs may modify nouns directly (Lichtenberk, 2005).
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Reduced relative clauses in 'Are'are do not require any relativiser, see Chapter 8.
\end{itemize}
Often, the subject marker in the reduced relative clause can be omitted, especially in third
person singular:

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

’My clever brother went to school.’

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

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

’Peter is a teacher.’

(3-74b) Pita ’e=si rau ha-na haha'ausurina.
Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT become PURP-PRS teacher

’Peter will not become a teacher.’

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

(3-75a) Hanara iiwera ’e rao-na ma’i.
food be.much 3SG IN-PRS basket

’There is a lot of food in the basket.’

(3-75b) Te hanara ’e=si ’oni rao-na ma’i ra’ahore’e.
IDF food 3SG=NEG.FUT stay IN-PRS basket tomorrow

’There will not be any food in the basket tomorrow.’

24 See also Chapter 4.
Predicates headed by intransitive verbs expressing properties and attributes, on the other hand, do not require any additional verb in future tense. I suggest this is because they are themselves verbs, and thus their presence satisfies the requirement for a verbal predicate in future tense:

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

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

Compare:

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

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

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

4.1 Nouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-3) kui  
'dog'
In the example below, the noun *rae'areha* means 'learned knowledge'. The noun is derived from a verb *rae'-are* 'to be knowledgeable' by means of the nominalizing suffix *-ha*. The components *rae* and *'are* can function as independent lexemes with the meaning 'to know' and 'thing' respectively.

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

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

### 4.1.1 Derivational processes

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

#### 4.1.1.1 Compounding

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

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

Table 4.1 Compounding in *'Are*are nouns

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25 *Rae'-are* is a case of object incorporation, see section 5.1.1.4 in Chapter 5 for discussion.
This lexical item is from 'Are'are dictionary (Geerts, 1970:49).

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

### 4.1.1.2 Suffixation

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Suffix allomorph</th>
<th>Suffixed noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hana</em></td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td><em>-ha</em></td>
<td><em>hanaha</em></td>
<td>eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eeno</em></td>
<td>to lie down</td>
<td><em>-ha</em></td>
<td><em>eenoha</em></td>
<td>lying down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nuu</em></td>
<td>to sing</td>
<td><em>-ha</em></td>
<td><em>nuuha</em></td>
<td>singing, song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ha'ananaau</em></td>
<td>to give advice</td>
<td><em>-ha</em></td>
<td><em>ha'ananaauha</em></td>
<td>advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>haiara</em></td>
<td>to fight</td>
<td><em>-ha</em></td>
<td><em>haiaraha</em></td>
<td>fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uuhi</em></td>
<td>to blow</td>
<td><em>-ha</em></td>
<td><em>uuhiha</em></td>
<td>blowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mahea</em></td>
<td>to hunger</td>
<td><em>-ha</em></td>
<td><em>maheaha</em></td>
<td>hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>roha</em></td>
<td>to dance</td>
<td><em>-na</em></td>
<td><em>rohana</em></td>
<td>dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tohu</em></td>
<td>to cut</td>
<td><em>-na</em></td>
<td><em>tohuna</em></td>
<td>cutting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hua</em></td>
<td>to bring</td>
<td><em>-na</em></td>
<td><em>huaana</em></td>
<td>bringing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tau</em></td>
<td>to do, to make</td>
<td><em>-na</em></td>
<td><em>tauana</em></td>
<td>making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>to'i</em></td>
<td>to make, to hold</td>
<td><em>-na</em></td>
<td><em>to'iana</em></td>
<td>making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oooho</em></td>
<td>to fight</td>
<td><em>-ta</em></td>
<td><em>oohotoa</em></td>
<td>fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hahi</em></td>
<td>to cook in earth oven</td>
<td><em>-ta</em></td>
<td><em>hahita</em>(^{26})</td>
<td>earth oven plus its content</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Nominalizing suffixes in 'Are'are

---

\(^{26}\) Keesing (1985, pp. 79-80) notes that in Kwaio, the nominalizing suffix *–ta* is used to derive a noun referring to an instrument that is used to create a particular state.
There are exceptions in my data where the suffix –na is used in the absence of /h/ in the stem, such as in to‘iana and tauana, both meaning 'making'. This data has been given by two different speakers, one of them also provided tohuha 'cutting', which according to the allomorph rule should be incorrect. Other two speakers provided the forms uuhiha 'blowing' and maheaha 'hunger', which is also against the allomorph rule.

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

4.1.1.3 Reduplication

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

27 Nouns referring to body parts, both human and animal, normally occur with a possessive suffix. See discussion below in section 4.1.5. in this chapter.
In (4-9b) the whole item is reduplicated whilst in (4-10b) it is only the first syllable. The reason for this is unknown as there does not seem to be any difference in meaning (apart from the material).

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

(4-12a) hikuma
   'friend'
(4-12b) hihihikuma
   '(dear) friend'

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

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

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

(4-15) teetee
   'mother'

(4-16) maamaa
   'father'

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

4.1.2 Proper and common nouns

'Are nouns can be divided into common and proper. The proper nouns subgroup contains personal names and place names (villages, countries). There is a category of common nouns: absolute locative nouns which includes nouns referring to locations (garden), buildings or parts of buildings (house, school, bedroom) or geographical features (sea). Whilst these nouns are common nouns, they share one property with the proper nouns designating places, and that is the ability to appear with the preposition hi 'to'.
Proper names are not formally distinguished from common nouns; all nouns are treated in the same way. They can take the plural marker *hi* or other numeral quantifier, although the use would be rather restricted compared to common nouns (4-18), (4-19), (4-20), (4-21).

(4-18) *Na reesi=a kui.*
\[
1SG \text{ see=3 OBJ dog} \\
\text{'I saw a dog.'}
\]

(4-19) *Na reesi=a Pita.*
\[
1SG \text{ see=3 OBJ Peter} \\
\text{'I saw Peter.'}
\]

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-23) kahu
 'water, river'

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

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

(4-25) hanara
 'food'

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

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

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

The matter of quantification is discussed in greater detail in section 4.3.1 below.
4.1.4 Directly and indirectly possessed nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directly possessed nouns</th>
<th>Indirectly possessed nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All body parts, name</td>
<td>Some human relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pau-ku</td>
<td>teetee-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my head'</td>
<td>'my mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roroa-ku</td>
<td>wa'a-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my ear'</td>
<td>'my brother'²⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ai'ai-ku</td>
<td>wari-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my hand'</td>
<td>'my uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a'e-ku</td>
<td>hoe-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my leg, foot'</td>
<td>'my friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rata-ku</td>
<td>huno-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my name'</td>
<td>'my spouse's parents'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa-na kura</td>
<td>teetee-na kura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'our eyes'</td>
<td>'our mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2du.excl)</td>
<td>(2du.excl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

²⁸ *Wa'a* can be used by a female to refer to her brother or sister or by a male to refer to his brother but not by a male to refer to his sister. This term is also used in the same way among cousins.
There is a difference in pronunciation between (4-28a) and (4-28b), as the possessive suffix shortens the preceding vowels in the stem whilst the free-standing possessive pronoun does not. (See Chapter 2) It is not possible to determine on basis of the present data whether there is also a difference in meaning or whether each of the possessive forms would be used in a different context.

4.2 Pronouns

4.2.1 Personal pronouns

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

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

Personal pronouns in 'Are'are can appear either in a weak form, used in most constructions, or in a strong form. The strong pronouns are used in particular environments, especially when emphasis is needed (see below). The strong forms are identified by the clitic/prefix ii / 'i, attaching to the weak forms. The exact form (pronunciation) differs between speakers. All pronouns follow this pattern with the exception of the third person singular which has iinaia as the strong form but appears as 'e in its weak form. I suggest that there is a third form of the 3sg pronoun, and that is the object referencing clitic =a. See discussion below.
The *ii/*i* seems to be a reflex of a Proto-Malayo-Polynesian personal article *i* (Lynch et al., 2002:68). In modern 'Are'are, its reflex occurs as a prefix in the strong pronominal forms and it also appears in lexical items such as:

noni / iinoni 'person'
iitaa 'what'

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive</td>
<td>iinau</td>
<td>na/nau</td>
<td>ii'oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive</td>
<td>na/nau</td>
<td>ii'erua</td>
<td>'erua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iikiraurua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4 Strong and weak pronouns in 'Are'are

4.2.2 Distribution of strong and weak forms of personal pronouns

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

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

(4-31) *iinau, iinau!*

'Me, me!'

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

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

(4-32) *Aatei ne 'e kumuri=a mane na?*

Who REL 3SG punch=3OBJ man DET

'Who (was it that) punched the man?'

(4-33a) *iinau ne na kumuri=a mane na.*

1SG REL 1SG punch=3OBJ man DET

'It was me who punched the man.'

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

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

(4-33b) *iinau na kumuri=a mane na.*

1SG 1SG punch=3OBJ man DET

'I punched the man.'

(4-33c) *Na kumuri=a mane na.*

1SG punch=3OBJ man DET

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

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

4.2.2.2 Personal pronouns in subject and object positions

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

4.2.2.2.1 Subject position

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-37a) *Mane 'e'ewa na iinaia 'oni rao-na nima waiwau na.*  
'The tall man lives in that house.'

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

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

(4-38a) *Kira 'oni rao-na nima waiwau.*  
'They live in that house.'

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

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

4.2.2.2.2  Object position

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

(4-39a) *Na reesi kira.*  
'I saw them.'

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

The pronouns have the same form regardless of whether they appear in the subject or the object position, with the exception of 1sg and 3sg. Compare the above examples (4-39) with (4-40):
Similarly to the 1sg pronouns, the weak pronoun 'e cannot appear in object position but the strong pronoun *iinaia* can (4-41). The sentence in (4-41a) could be used when pointing to someone Peter knows:

(4-41a) *Pita 'e rae=a iinaia.*

Peter 3SG know=3OBJ 3SG
'Peter knows him/her.'

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

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

4.2.2.2.3 Note on the pronominal clitic =a and strong pronouns

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

(4-42a) *'O reesi=nau.*

2SG see=1SG
'You saw me.'

(4-42b) *'O reesi=a.*

2SG see=3OBJ
'You saw him/her.'

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

29 See section 5.2.1.2.1 in Chapter 5.
presence of the prefix *ii*- causes the strong pronouns to have noun-like properties. See the discussion on distribution of the strong and weak pronouns below, especially section 4.2.2.4.

### 4.2.2.3 Personal pronouns in copular constructions

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

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

'Peter is a teacher.'

(4-43b) *Pita 'e tisa.*
Peter 3SG teacher

'Peter is a teacher.' or 'Peter is teaching now.' (Peter is in the process of instructing students.)

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

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

(4-43c) *Pita iinaia 'e tisa.*

'Peter is a teacher.' (Lit. Peter, he is a teacher.)

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

(4-44a) *Hi mane nena wou iikira tisa.*
PL man DEM.DIST 3PL teacher

'The men over there are teachers.'

(4-44b) *Hi mane nena wou kira tisa.*
PL man DEM.DIST 3PL teacher

'The men over there are teachers.' or 'The men over there are teaching now.'

### 4.2.2.4 Personal pronouns in relative clauses

Normally relative clauses in 'Are'are are introduced by the relative pronoun *ne*, which applies to all persons. This relative pronoun is then optionally followed by the appropriate personal pronoun agreeing in person and number with the subject (the resumptive pronoun). It appears
that both strong and weak forms are allowed to occupy this position, with the exception of 3sg 'e (4-45).

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

(4-45b) Mane 'ai'ehu'a ne iīnaia na reesī naapanī na.
       'This is the man whom I saw yesterday.'

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

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

(4-46a) Na reesī=a hi mane ne kīra wate-hanara
       1SG see=3OBJ PL man REL 3PL give-food
       'a-ku
       REC-1SG.PRS-3OBJ DET
       'I saw the men who gave me food.'

(4-46b) Na reesī na mane ne iikīra wate hanara 'akua na.
       'I saw the men who gave me food.'

4.2.2.4 Coordination

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

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

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

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

30 This is a benefactive construction consisting of the etymon 'a- and the relevant personal suffix. The suffixes have the same form as the possessive suffixes but are glossed as personal in this environment. See section 6.2 in Chapter 6
normally only strong forms are allowed in coordination; however, if a weak pronoun is modified by an appositive NP, the weak form of pronoun is grammatical. This echos the rules governing the object referencing suffix on verbs, see chapter 5.

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

Directly possessed nouns take the respective possessive suffixes –ku, –mu and –na in singular and the suffix –na plus followed by the relevant independent pronoun in plural. For singular possessors, the direct possession is marked by the presence of the pronoun in plural. For singular possessors, the direct possession is marked by the presence of the pronoun in plural. The indirect possession is marked only by the presence of the possessive pronouns that share their form with the normal personal pronouns. Table 4.5 illustrates how the possession is marked on nouns belonging to the two different categories.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 incl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-na kura</td>
<td>kura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-na koru</td>
<td>koru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 excl</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>nau</td>
<td>-na 'erua</td>
<td>'erua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-na 'ami</td>
<td>'ami</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>'o</td>
<td>-na 'aurua</td>
<td>'aurua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-na 'au</td>
<td>'au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>naia</td>
<td>-na kiraurua</td>
<td>kiraurua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-na kira</td>
<td>kira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5 Possessive pronouns in 'Are'are

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 incl</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>nima nau</td>
<td>teetee-na 'erua</td>
<td>nima 'erua</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>nima kura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 excl</td>
<td>teetee-ku</td>
<td>nima 'o</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>nima 'aurua</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>nima 'ami</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>teetee-mu</td>
<td>nima naia</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>nima kiraurua</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>nima 'au</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>nima naia</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>kira</td>
<td>teetee-na</td>
<td>nima kira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6 Direct and indirect possession marking

### 4.2.4 Relative pronouns

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

(4-51) *Mera 'ai'ehu'a ne 'e nara naaponi na.*

child DEM.PROX REL 3SG cry yesterday DET

'This child cried yesterday.'

(4-52) *Na reesi=a mera ne 'e nara naaponi na.*

1sg see=3OBj child REL 3SG cry yesterday DET

'I saw the child who cried yesterday.'

As the form *ne* is used for all persons, it is possible that it is simply a relative marker setting off the relative clause rather than a relative pronoun. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.
4.3 Noun phrase
The noun phrase in 'Are'are is minimally formed by a common noun (4-53), a proper noun (4-54) or a pronoun (4-55).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.1.1 Plural marker hi

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

(4-58) *hi mane waiwau*

\[\text{PL man DEM.DIST} \]

'those men over there'

(4-59) *Hi kui 'ai'ehu'a kira ka ho'o-si=a hi mane waiwau.*

\[\text{PL dog DEM.PROX 3PL TAM bark-TR=3OBJ PL man DEM.DIST} \]

'These dogs are barking at those men.'

(4-60) *Hi nima nena wau kira paina rika'a.*

\[\text{PL house DEM.DIST 3PL be.big very} \]

'Those houses over there are big (lit. those houses over there, they are big).'

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

(4-61a) *keni*

'woman'

(4-61b) *hi keni*

'women'

(4-61c) *wau keni*

'women'

(4-62a) *nima*

'house'

(4-62b) *hi nima*

'houses'

(4-62c) *wau nima*

'houses'

(4-63a) *mera*

'child'

(4-63b) *hi mera Pita*

'Peter's children'

(4-63c) *wau mera Pita*

'Peter's children'

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

(4-64) *Pita 'e haata'ani=a hi nima na ha-na31 Tione.*

\[\text{Peter 3SG show=3OBJ PL house DET REC-PRS John} \]

'Peter showed the houses to John.'

(4-65) *Pita 'e raa hi nima.*

\[\text{Peter 3SG go to house} \]

'Peter went to a house.'

---

31 Recipient / benefactive construction, personal suffix identical with possessive suffix. See Chapter 6.
It is not possible to use *hi* functioning as the plural marker and as the preposition juxtaposed in one clause:

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

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

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

(4-68) *Pita 'e raa hi rao-na hi nima na.*
    Peter 3SG go to IN-PRS32 PL house DET
    'Peter went into the houses (he entered them one by one).'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

32 Noun-like prepositions take personal suffixes identical to possessive suffixes. See Chapter 6.
It is not uncommon for the speakers to omit the plural marker on nouns altogether when it is obvious from the context or common knowledge that the referent is plural.

4.3.1.2 Numerals

4.3.1.2.1 Cardinal numerals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

75
Table 4.7 'Are'are cardinal numerals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-81) *tanarau-ni ta’aa*

'(a group of) hundred people'

For more discussion on associative phrases see section 4.3.2.2 below.

### 4.3.1.2.2 Ordinal numerals

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Are'are</th>
<th>Ordinal Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>eeta-na</em></td>
<td>'first'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rua-na</em></td>
<td>'second'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ooru-na</em></td>
<td>'third'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hai-na</em></td>
<td>'fourth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 'Are'are ordinal numerals

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

(4-82) *eeta-na mera*

'first child'

(4-83) *rua-na mera*

'two child'

(4-84) *Eeta-na nima-na ni nima ‘e to’i=a.*

'first five houses he built.'

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

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

(4-85) Te nima aa-na hi nima wau'ee
       IDF house OBL-PRS PL house DEM

\[ 'e nima nau. \]
3SG house 1SG.POSS

'That house out of the houses over there is mine'

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

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

\[ te kahu 'e raa hi Waisisi. \]
IDF river 3SG go to Waisisi

'This river goes to Wairokai; this river goes to Waisisi.'

Te is also used in negative sentences:

(4-87) Te mane 'e=ma raa.
       IDF man 3SG=NEG go

'Nobody went.'

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

'There is no food.'

(4-89) Te noni 'e=ma 'oni rao-na nima na
       IDF person 3SG=NEG stay IN-PRS house DET

'Nobody lives in that house.'

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

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

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

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

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

(4-92) Pita 'e wate=a haru manamanataha
Peter 3SG give=3OBJ QUANT.PL advice/idea
ha-ku.
REC-1SG.PRS
'Peter gave me (plenty of) advice/ideas.'

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

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

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

4.3.1.5 Subset quantifier te waru/te haru

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

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³⁴ The etymon -ha here expresses a recipient. It takes personal suffixes identical to possessive suffixes, glossed as personal.
(4-96) Pita 'e tau=a ha-ku te haru 'aru'aru
Peter 3SG give=3OBJ REC-1SG.PRS QUANT.SUB necklace

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

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

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

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

kira rae 'eri\textsuperscript{35} kakake.
3PL go dig swamp.taro
'Some men went to the garden; some men went to dig swamp taro.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{35} This is a serial verb; the second verb modifies the first one.
"Out of the men who live over there, some are very tall.'

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

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

### 4.3.1.6 Quantifier *rikimana* 'all'

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

(4-102) *Rikimana* mane kira raa.

'all man 3PL go'

'All men / everybody went.'

*Rikimana* can be also used in a negative sentence:

(4-103) *Rikimana* mane kira=ma raa.

'all man 3PL=NEG go'

'None of the men went (everybody stayed).'

(4-104) *rikimana* kahu

'all water'

'All the water (e.g. all the water from the barrel is gone)'

(4-105) *rikimana* hanara

'all food'

'All the food'

*Rikimana* can also carry the meaning of 'each':

(4-06) *Rikimana* mane kira rau-marika.

'all man 3PL catch-fish'

'Each of the men caught a fish.'

(4-107) *Rikimana* mane kira to'i=a nima maraa-na kira.

'all man 3PL build=OBJ house by.self-PRS 3PL'

'Each man built a house himself (or for himself).'
4.3.1.7 Interrogative quantifier hita 'how many'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The only exception I have encountered in my data is water. A question *Hita kahu? 'How much water?' would be understood as being an enquiry about the number of containers of water if it is obvious that what is being discussed is amount of water and not a number of rivers. Such strong is the association with the bamboo containers in which water used to be transported and stored that it is not necessary to specify it. Whilst the question *Hita 'au-ni kahu? 'How many bamboo (containers) of water?' would be perfectly grammatical and is used, it is not necessary to mention containers here.
4.3.2  Post-head modifiers inside NP
Modifiers of the head noun that appear after the head of the NP include possessives (4.3.2.1), associative particles (4.3.2.2), demonstratives (4.3.2.3), interrogative lexemes (4.3.2.4) and clausal modifiers (4.3.2.5).

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-115a) hahone-na  Pita
sister-POSS  Peter
'Peter's sister'

(4-115b) teetee-na  mera  na
mother-POSS  child  DET
'the child's mother'

Plural possessors are marked in the same way:

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

83
4.3.2.1.2 Indirect (alienable) possession

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

(4-116a) nima nau
house 1SG.POSS
'my house'

(4-116b) nima o
house 2SG
'your house'

(4-116c) nima naia
house 3SG.POSS
'his/her house'

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.2.2 Associative phrases

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

36 Although possessives may be generally used to express relations that are not strictly possessive too.
There are two associative suffixes -ni and -na, both of which are best translated into English as 'of'. It is possible that the difference in the form of the particles is due to their origin in two different dialects rather than due to a difference in function. In the sentences below, the -na and -ni suffixes are completely interchangeable with no difference to the meaning. The associative suffix can express a part of a whole in general as well as in specific terms:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

37 The suffix -na also appears in constructions such as mane-na Pita 'the man Peter' or mane-na marika 'the man fish'. The exact meaning and function are not clear; it appears that these constructions may be similar to English 'Bob the hamster'.
for human referents. By itself it means a group of people of either gender, or combined with the expressions for male or female, it can refer to males or females in general.

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

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

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

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

Compare

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

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

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

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

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

(4-132) kato-ni hanara
    basket-AS food
    'basket (full) of food'
The associative phrase may also express a kind of purpose or function:

\[(4-133) \text{ ma'ima'i-}ni/na \quad \text{mera} \]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{basket-AS} & \text{child} \\
\end{array}
\]

'womb'

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

\[(4-134) \text{ kato} \quad \text{ha-na} \quad \text{hanara} \]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{basket} & \text{PURP-PRS} & \text{food} \\
\end{array}
\]

'basket for food, food basket'

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

\[(4-135a) \text{ maihoe-}na \quad \text{Niu Siilen} \]

'friend of NZ' (correct but sounds funny, one can only be friends of people from NZ)

\[(4-135b) \text{ maihoe-}ni \quad \text{Niu Siilen} \]

'friend from NZ'

4.3.2.3 Demonstratives

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

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Diessel (1999) also distinguishes a syntactic criterion, based on the grammatical category. Given the issues surrounding assigning categories to some forms and the time constraints of the present work, this criterion is not discussed in depth here.
point towards entities and locate them in space, and the the term endophoric for forms that enable the hearer to orient themselves in the discourse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative determiners</th>
<th>Locative demonstratives</th>
<th>Situational demonstrative adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>na</em></td>
<td>'ai’ee / 'ene / 'ee</td>
<td><em>nena</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td>waimai</td>
<td><em>na</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nena</em></td>
<td>te'emai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waiwau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te'ewau / tae'ewau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taita'au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>haihau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ta'aaru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hauhu'a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ai'ehu'a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.9 Demonstrative forms in 'Are'are

4.3.2.3.1 Determiner demonstratives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>na</em></th>
<th>definite / specific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td>specific?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nena</em></td>
<td>proximal 'this', distance neutral, also functions endophorically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'ai’ee</em></td>
<td>proximal 'this here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'ene</em></td>
<td>proximal 'this here'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.10 The determiner demonstratives

4.3.2.3.1.1 The exophoric function of the determiner demonstratives

4.3.2.3.1.1.1 Na

It is not clear whether *na* marks definitness or specificity. As Lyons (1999) notes, the definition of definitness and specificity is not a straightforward matter. Inclusiveness and identifiability have been identified as the main criteria of definitness. Specific expressions are
considered indefinite but denoting a particular entity, a specific referent, even though this referent may not be identifiable to the hearer (Lyons, 1999).

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

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

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

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

(4-138) *“Te horo'a 'o=ko raa ha'an Hai'ai'a'e ma nari puru so'o-na rooti na 'o=ko ha'e ani=a nena.”*  
IDF time 2SG=TAM go with H. and  
canarium nut PREP-PRES road DET 2SG=TAM CONT  
'eat=3OBJ SIT.DEM  
'When you go with Hai'ai'a'e, (if there is) a canarium nut (growing) on the road, you eat it.'

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

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

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

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

---

39 The co-occurrence of *na* with the possessives seems to be restricted to indirect possession.
4.3.2.3.1.1.2 Ne

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-144) *Noni ne 'e peri me'etani.*
\[\text{person DET 3SG thieve night}\]
'A person thieved at night.'

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

4.3.2.3.1.1.3 Nena

The exact function of *nena* is somewhat challenging to determine. When functioning as a deictic demonstrative, *nena* appears directly after the head noun. It is frequently used for persons, objects and concepts that can be seen, are being pointed to or have been already spoken about and may be accompanied by a pointing gesture. Whilst *na* and *nena* seem to overlap in certain contexts and they cannot co-occur, their function is not exactly the same.
The following scenario illustrates the difference between *na* and *nena*. In this situation two people meet, one of them carrying a bag. The other person assumes that the bag contains betel nut, since the person carrying it is known for chewing betelnut. The person can say:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-149) *'Aikarua 'ee 'e ta'aa riutaro=a aikarua nena wou.*
    canoe DEM.PROX 3SG be.bad compared.to=3OBJ canoe DEM.DIST
    'This canoe is worse than that canoe over there.'

### 4.3.2.3.1.2 The endophoric use of the demonstrative determiners

Endophoric use of the demonstrative determiners in my data is anaphoric. Anaphoric demonstratives are co-referential with a prior NP and aid to keep track of the referent (Diessel, 1999). The form *nena* can be used anaphorically to refer to an entity mentioned earlier in the speech situation. The following sentences was uttered in a narrative; sentence in
(4-150) introduces the child into the discourse, and the sentence in (4-151) contains the next mention of the character, refers back to it.

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

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

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

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

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

(4-153) 'E na'a uuna ha-na pore keni
3SG speak thus REC-PRS girl
'e huta sii na.
3SG be.born PREC DET 'She spoke thus to the first-born girl.'

Nena ma pore keni sii na 'e oohi=a
and then girl PREC DET 3SG cradle=3OBJ
wera naia ma ka iiri=a:
child 3SG.POSS and TAM say=3OBJ

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

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

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

Table 4.11 Locative demonstratives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Close to the speaker</th>
<th>Closer to the addressee than the speaker</th>
<th>Between the speaker and the addressee</th>
<th>Far from the speaker and the addressee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'ai'ee / 'ee</td>
<td>waiwau</td>
<td>nena wau</td>
<td>tai'ewau / te'ewau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ai'ehu'a</td>
<td>nena wau</td>
<td>nena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>nena</td>
<td>waiwau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ai'e'mai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waimai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nena mai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

(4-154) taita'au    'in front'
    haihau       'behind'
    ta'auru      'above, up'
    hauhu'a      'below, down'
The locative demonstratives can function as modifiers of the head in a noun phrase (4-155) – (4-159):

(4-155) \[Rua nima waiwau na]NP kira paina.\]
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{two} & \text{house} & \text{DEM.DIST} & \text{DET} & \text{3PL} & \text{be.big}
\end{array}
\]
'Those two houses are big.' (Lit. 'Two houses over there, they are big.')

(4-156) \[Noni nena wau]NP 'e mae.\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{person} & \text{DEM.DIST} & \text{3SG} & \text{be.dead}
\end{array}
\]
'That person died.' or 'That person is dead.'

(4-157) \[Mera 'ai'ea]NP mera nau.\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{child} & \text{DEM.PROX} & \text{child} & \text{1SG.POSS}
\end{array}
\]
'This child is mine.'

(4-158) \[Hua=a mai [kapu ta'auru na]NP!\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{bring}=3OBJ & \text{VENT} & \text{cup} & \text{above} & \text{DET}
\end{array}
\]
'Bring the cup (that is) up/above (the hearer or other person).'</n
(4-159) \[Na reesi=a mane ne 'e 'oni rao-na [nima wau'e na]NP.\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{1SG} & \text{see}=3OBJ & \text{man} & \text{REL} & \text{3SG} & \text{stay}
\end{array}
\]
'I saw the man who lives in the house over there.'

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

(4-160) \[Mera nau na]NP 'ai'ea.\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{child} & \text{1SG.POSS} & \text{DET} & \text{DEM.PROX}
\end{array}
\]
'This is my child.'

(4-161) \[Pita]NP waiwau.\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Peter} & \text{DEM.DIST}
\end{array}
\]
'Peter is (over) there.'

(4-162) \[Nima ne Pita 'e to'i=a na]NP 'ene.\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{house} & \text{REL} & \text{Peter} & \text{3SG} & \text{build}=3OBJ & \text{DET} & \text{DEM.PROX}
\end{array}
\]
'This is Peter's house.' or 'Peter's house is over here.'
4.3.2.3.3 Situational demonstrative adverbs

The situational demonstrative adverbs are demonstrative elements that function at the clausal level, they always appear in the clause-final position. Their function is to assert or affirm that the state of affairs is as stated. They may appear together with other intensifiers. Most commonly, *nena* is used in this function:

(4-163) *Hanara 'e mae nena.*
food 3SG be.dead SIT.DEM
'The food *is* dead' (it doesn't have any nutritional value).

(4-164) *Ii'o tisa warita nena?*
2SG teacher be.old SIT.DEM
'(Oh) you used to be a teacher?'

(4-165) *likiraurua ka raa, ha'e raa no'o nena.*
3DU TAM go CONT go INTS SIT.DEM
'The two of them go, they keep going.'

Occasionally, speakers used the form *na* for emphasis or to assert the statement. This use however is not frequent in my data.

(4-166) "*Ninikowau, noni ka raa mai poi~poi*
N. person TAM go VENT INTS~call

*ma iinaia 'o=si ta~taha tara-na na*
and 3SG 2SG=NEG.FUT RDP~open ?-PRS SIT.DEM
'Ninikowau, (if) someone comes calling, **do not** open the door for them.'

4.3.2.4 Interrogative 'utaa ', taihai 'which' and aatei 'whose'

The interrogative 'utaa' is used in various ways. When it modifies a noun, it is best translated into English as 'which'. The utterance in (4-168) comes as a response to the command in (4-167):

(4-167) *Hua=a mai kapu nena!*
bring=3OBJ ALL cup DEM
'Bring (me) that cup!'

(4-168) *Kapu 'utaa / taihai?*
cup INTER
'Which cup?'
Note that *taihai* also means where, as in *Pita taihai?* 'Where is Peter?' However, it is possible to use it with the meaning 'which', as the cup in question was clearly visible to the speaker asking the question. Similarly, the lexeme *aatei* means 'who' but can be translated as 'whose' when functioning as a noun modifier:

(4-169) *Nima aatei nena wau?*  
house who DEM.DIST  
'Whose house is it over there?'

(4-170) *Kui aatei nena?*  
dog who DEM  
'Whose dog is this?'

(4-171) *Kui Tione nena.*  
dog John DEM  
'This is John's dog.'

### 4.3.2.5 Clausal modifiers

'Are'are does not have an adjectival category. Properties and attributes that are in other languages expressed by adjectives are expressed by reduced relative clauses modifying the verb. The reduced relative clauses are usually headed by intransitive verbs, but can also be headed by a preposition. It is also possible for a full relative clause to modify the head noun.

#### 4.3.2.5.1 Reduced relative clauses headed by verbs

Both stative and active verbs can function as the heads of the reduced relative clause. The reduced relative clause commonly contains only the verb (stative verbs), or the particle *ka* plus the verb (active verbs). The subject marker may be present, but most commonly it is omitted.

(4-172a) *[Mera 'e manata nau na] 'e raa hi sasani.*  
child 3SG be.clever 1SG.POSS DET 3SG go to school  
'My clever child went to school.'

---

40 See Chapter 5 for discussion on active and stative verbs.
"My clever child went to school."

'The tired man sleeps/the man that is tired sleeps.'

When the modified noun phrase acts as the direct object of a verb, it can also be modified by the reduced relative clause:

'I saw the clever child.'

'I saw the clever child.'

Most commonly the reduced relative clauses lack the subject marker:

'Give me the two small baskets!'

'I saw the two big houses.'

'The small dog ran away.'

For more discussion on relative clauses see Chapter 8. For discussion on the lack of adjectives see Chapter 3.
4.3.2.5.2 Reduced relative clauses headed by prepositions

Reduced relative clauses that function as noun modifiers can be also nonverbal, headed by prepositions. Most commonly the subject marker is absent, but its presence is also grammatical:

(4-185a) Hanara Ø rua-na teweri na 'e rio rete
food on.top-PRS table DET 3SG look be.good
'(The) food on the table looks nice.' (Lit. The food, it is on top of the table, it looks nice.)

(4-186b) Hanara 'e rua-na teweri na 'e rio rete.

(4-187a) Na=ka ko'u maani=a kapu Ø 'api-ku na.
1SG=TAM drink ABL=3OBJ cup beside-1SG.PRS DET
'I am drinking from the cup next to me.'

(4-187b) Na ka ko'u maania kapu 'e 'apiku na.

(4-188a) Hi mane Ø rao-na nima na kira=ma iiwera.
PL man IN-PRS house DET 3PL=NEG be.many
'There are not many men in the house.'

(4-188b) Hi mane kira raona nima na kira ma iiwera.

4.3.2.5.3 Full relative clauses

Full relative clauses introduced by the relative pronoun ne can also act as modifiers of the head noun. The noun phrase can then act as the subject of an intransitive sentence or as the direct object of a transitive verb:

(4-189) [Mane ne 'e manata na] 'e ra'au no'o.
man REL 3SG be.clever DET 3SG go PFV
'The clever man left.' (Lit. The man who is clever left.)

Full relative clauses are discussed in Chapter 8.
5  Verbs and verb phrase

This chapter describes the properties of 'Are'are verbs and the structure of the verb phrase. Whilst a verb phrase may be formed solely by a verb (5-1), commonly there are preverbal and/or postverbal particles present as well (5-2), (5-3). Verb serialisation is also common (5-3).

(5-1) *Kira*  *hu'u.*
   3PL  cough
   'They coughed.'

(5-2) *Pita*  *'e=ka rao  hura  ra'ahore'e.*
   Peter  3SG=FUT  arrive  tomorrow
   'Peter will arrive tomorrow.'

(5-3) *Aai,  'o   kuki  rete   ra'o!*
   EXCM  2SG  cook  be.good  AFF
   'Ah, you do cook well (indeed)!

The structure of the present chapter is as follows. Section 5.1. lays out the properties of verbs and the various verb-forming processes. Classification of verbs and the valency changing devices are discussed in section 5.2. Section 5.3 deals with the verb phrase.

5.1  Verbs

Verbs in 'Are'are do not carry any inflectional morphology. The verbs do not show any agreement with the subject, and tense is expressed through preverbal particles rather than through verbal inflections. Nominal and pronominal subjects are expressed by a noun phrase and independent pronouns respectively, optionally followed by the relevant subject marker. In the following examples, the subject noun phrases are in bold:

(5-4) *Kui*  *na  'e  tahi  'asia.*
   dog  DET  3SG  leave  away
   'The dog ran away.'

(5-5) *likira*  *kira  to'i=a  rua  nima  na.*
   3PL  3PL  build=3OBJ  two  house  DET
   'They built two houses.'
It is also possible for the subject to be expressed solely by the subject marker, normally when the object is pronominal and the strong pronoun is not needed\(^{41}\).

(5-6) *Kira* hu'u.  
3PL cough  
'They coughed.'

(5-7) *E* raa hi aano.  
3SG go to garden  
'He/she went to (the) garden.'

The subject markers are independent forms and not verbal prefixes. Evidence can be drawn from the fact that other elements can intervene between the subject marker and the verb (subject markers are shown in bold):

(5-8) 'Au=ka kiru.  
2PL=TAM be.sick  
'You are sick.'

(5-9) Pita 'e=ma rae=a Tione.  
Peter 3SG=NEG know=3OBJ John  
'Peter does not know John.'

As illustrated in the above example in (5-9), objects are referenced on the verb by an object marking clitic. This clitic is obligatorily present for lexical objects, both singular and plural (but see section 5.2.1.2.2 below) and optionally present for pronominal objects expressed by strong pronouns. Object clitics are discussed in section 5.2.1.2.

Many 'Are'are verbs are not morphologically distinguished from other lexical categories and it is not uncommon for the same form to be able to function as a head of a verbal predicate (5-10) as well as, for example, a noun phrase (5-11).\(^ {42}\)

(5-10) *Kahu* na=ka aahe.  
river DET=TAM flood  
'The river is flooding (e.g. after rain).'

\(^{41}\) When the strong pronoun and the weak form functioning as the subject marker are used together, they usually mark an emphasis or contrast. See section 4.2 in Chapter 4.  
\(^{42}\) For more discussion about the same lexeme belonging to several different lexical categories see Chapter 3.
The intransitive verbs in 'Are'are are for the most part mono-morphemic; they do not carry any inflectional morphology. The verb does not show any agreement with the subject and is not inflected for tense (5-12), (5-13).

(5-12) Na / 'o / 'e / kura / 'au / kira hura no'o.  
1SG 2SG 3SG 1DU.INCL 2PL 3PL arrive PFV  
'I / you (sg) / he / we / you (pl) / they have arrived.'

(5-13) Na / 'o / 'e / kura / 'au / kira=ka rao hura ra'ahore'e  
1SG 2SG 3SG 1DU.INCL 2PL 3PL=FUT arrive tomorrow  
'I / you (sg) / he / we / you (pl) / they will arrive tomorrow.'

The verb stem is directly followed by an object clitic when the object of a bare transitive verb is expressed by a 3rd person nominal (5-14) or strong pronoun (5-15).

(5-14) Pita 'e aa'o=a marika na.  
Peter 3SG fish=3OBJ fish DET  
'Peter caught the fish.'

(5-15) Pita 'e rae=a iinaia.  
Peter 3SG know=3OBJ 3SG  
'Peter knows him/her.'

In short and long transitive verbs, the object clitic is preceded by a short (5-16) or a long transitive suffix (5-17). The stem may be preceded by the causative prefix ha'a- (5-18).

(5-16) Kira siri-hi=a ma'asu nena wau.  
3PL go.through-TR=3OBJ bush DEM.DIST  
'They have crept into that bush.'

(5-17) Pita 'e teke-ra'ani=a niu na.  
Peter 3SG fall-TR=3OBJ coconut DET  
'Peter dropped the coconut.'

(5-18) Mane 'e ha'a-tahi-si=a wau kui.  
man 3SG CAUS-leave-TR=3OBJ PL dog  
'A man chased away the dogs.'
5.1.1 Verb-forming processes

5.1.1.1 Suffixation with -‘a

A particular class of intransitive verbs denoting properties contains verbs derived from nouns and verbs by means of the suffix –‘a. Following Lichtenberk, I call these verbs proprieteive verbs (2008).

These verbs may have a range of meanings relating in some way to the meaning of the base. When the suffix attaches to a noun, the resulting verb may have several different meanings, depending on the nature of the noun.

a) The suffixed verb indicates 'having the property of N', 'be like N':

(5-19)

a) aasi  'sea'  aasi’a  'be salty'
b) rato  'sun'  rato'a  'be sunny (of weather)'
c) sisiho  'wind'  sisiho'a  'be windy (of weather)'
d) iira  'mountain'  iira'a  'be mountainous'

b) The suffixed verb indicates 'having a large number or amount of N', 'the property of N is more pronounced than is usual':

(5-20)

a) susuri  'bone'  susuri'a  'be bony (e.g. very bony fish)'
b) noni  'person'  noni'a  'be full of people, crowded (place)'
c) hau  'stone'  hau'a  'be stony, full of stones'

d) makae  'mud'  make'a  'be muddy (more than usual)'
e) iihihu  'hair'  iihihu'a  'be (very) hairy'
f) kahu  'water'  kahu'a  'contain plenty of water'

It appears that some of the suffixed verbs express a quality that is not normally associated with the referent, for example makae’a 'be muddy' can be used to describe the condition of clothes which are not normally stained with mud or a path in the forest that is exceedingly muddy after rain.
When the nominal base is a count noun, the suffixed verb expresses an increase in number whilst when the base is a mass noun, the derived verb denotes an increase in intensity. When the verb is derived from a noun referring to items that normally occur in a particular number only, the suffix indicates an abnormally high number, and the verb can only be used in specific contexts:

(5-21)
roroa 'ear' roroa'a 'having more than two ears'

In some verbs the base and the derived form seem to have the same meaning; in other cases the suffix signals increase in intensity:

(5-22)
a) nama 'be full (of liquid)' nama'a 'be full to the brim (of liquid)'
b) marohi 'be willing' marohi'a 'be very willing'

The base to which the -a suffix attaches can also be a verb, either stative or non-stative:

(5-23)
a) 'ate'ate 'be dry' 'ate'a 'be very dry'
b) 'e'ewa 'be tall' 'ewa'a 'be very tall'
c) rokoroko 'be dark' rokoroko'a 'be completely dark'
d) hane 'climb' hane'a 'be steep, requiring climbing (of hill)'

In other instances, the suffix –’a attaches to a noun derived from a verb:

(5-24)
a) kiru 'be sick'
b) kiru-ha 'sickness'
c) kiru-ha-’a 'be sick (long term)''
For some verbs the grammatical category of the base is difficult to determine as they seldom or never occur independently. In the example (5-25) below, only the suffixed verb pisu'a 'be wet' seems to occur independently:

(5-25) Kareko na 'e pisu'a / *pisu.
clothes DET 3SG be.wet
'The clothes are wet.'

Conclusions about the possible lexical category of the base can be made based on the morphological and distributional evidence. Pisu occurs with causative prefix and transitive suffix, which are typically found with verbs:

(5-26)
a) ha'a-pisu-hi=a 'make wet'
b) ha'a-pisu-'a=a 'make wet'
c) ha'a-pisu-'a-i=a 'make wet'

There was only one instance of the base pisu without any affixation occurring in my data. In (5-27), it seems to function as the modifying verb in a serial verb construction:

(5-27) Tanu pisu mai!
bail^33 VENT
'Splash the water at me!'

Given that the ventive mai does not normally occur after objects, the sequence tanu pisu is more likely to be a serial verb than a sequence of a verb and its object.

Geerts (1970:123) lists a similar construction^44:

(5-28) tarupisu-a
'to water with the hands'

Based on the above data, I conclude that pisu belongs to the lexical category of verbs.

There are also some proprietive verbs where it is not possible to separate the original base and the suffix today, possibly because the meaning of the noun has been lost.

---

^33 Geerts (1970) lists the lexeme tanu as a verb meaning 'to draw or bail water'. I suggest that it is a variant of another listing found in this dictionary taru 'draw, dip water'.

^44 The example was left in its original form as it appears in the dictionary.
A verb suffixed with -'a can itself form a base for further derivation:

(5-30)

a) rokoroko  'be dark'

b) rokoroko'a  'be (completely?) dark'

c) rokoroko-'a-ha  'darkness'

5.1.1.2 Suffixation with -hi'a

The morpheme hi'a can also be a component in derived verbs, the resulting verb being a stative proprietive verb. The morpheme hi'a is present in some stative verbs, especially in those denoting colours:

(5-31)

a) 'e'ewahi'a  'be tall'

b) nonorohi'a  'be red'

c) pupuruhi'a  'be black, also purupuruhi'a, purupuru'a (Geerts, 1970:93)

d) paparahi'a  'be white, also parapara'a (Geerts, 1970:85), paraparahia (Geerts, 1970:85)

Some of the morphemes forming a base for the suffix -hi'a can stand by themselves (5-32), (5-33), (5-34):

(5-32)

a) 'e'ewa  'be tall'

b) purupuru  'star (noun)'

c) parapara  'be white (Geerts)'

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"Bring me that white stone!"

"(The) red eye (conjunctivitis) is affecting you.'

Whilst many colour terms contain the morpheme hi'a, there are exceptions:

a) mamarawa'a  'be green'
b) koko'ara  'be yellow'  also ko'ako'ara

5.1.1.3 Compounding

Although the examples are not numerous in my data, there is evidence that verbs can be formed by compounding. The compounds may involve a verb plus a noun (5-36) or a verb plus a bound morpheme (5-37).

(5-36)

hau  'stone'
toto  'to sink'
hau-toto  'to bury at sea, by weighing down the body with stones (for animals)'

(5-37)

hai  'component in locatives and directionals, such as tai-hai 'where', hii-hai 'where to', maani-hai 'where from'  
'ero-a  'order, command (Geerts, 1970:17)'  
hai-'ero  'to send (a child to carry out a task)'

Both examples illustrate endocentric compounding; I am unable to provide evidence for exocentric verbal compounds in 'Are'are at this time, but this possibility cannot be excluded.

45 It is also possible that maanoro is a nominal compound.
5.1.1.4 Object incorporation

A special case of compounding common in Oceanic languages is object incorporation, where the verb and its direct object are juxtaposed and form a tight bond (Mithun, 1984). As Mithun states, incorporated objects are non-referential and object incorporation constructions generally describe "activities or events whose patients are neither specific nor countable-e.g. habitual, ongoing…” (1984:850). Object incorporation is thus characterized by a generic object being incorporated into the verb phrase, where the noun does not have a syntactic status as an argument and the verb is intransitive and appears without the pronominal object marker (Lynch et al., 2002; Mithun, 1984).

Examples below illustrate object incorporation in a syntactically intransitive predicate (5-38a), (5-39a). Examples (5-38b) and (5-39b) show transitive predicates where the verb appears with the pronominal object marker. Note that whilst the object NPs in the (b) examples are specific, the nouns incorporated in the (a) examples are generic and non-specific.

(5-38a) Pita ʻe tapo-marike.
   Peter 3SG catch-fish
   'Peter caught fish.'

(5-38b) Pita ʻe tapo=a marike na.
   Peter 3SG catch=3OBJ fish DET
   'Peter caught the fish.'

(5-39a) Hanari-poo!
   feed-pig
   'Feed pigs!'

(5-39b) Hanari=a poo na!
   feed=3OBJ pig DET
   'Feed the pig!'

After the object has been incorporated, it is possible to apply a further derivational process (suffixation) to the resulting form:
rae - 'to know'
'are - 'thing'
rae-are - 'to be knowledgeable'
rae-are-'a - 'to be knowledgeable' (more intense?)

5.1.1.5 Reduplication

Some stative verbs appear in the reduplicated form when simple stative and in non-reduplicated form when they carry the proprietive suffix -'a (5-41 a, b).

\[(5-41)\]
\[
a) 'ate'a - 'be dry' \quad \textit{ate}ate - 'be dry' \quad \text{*ate}ate'a \\
b) 'ewa'a - 'be tall' \quad \textit{e}ewa - 'be tall' \quad \text{*e}ewa'a
\]

It is not clear why the forms marked by an asterisk in (5-42) are ungrammatical as reduplication is found in other verbs suffixed with -'a:

\[(5-42)\]
\[
a) sisiho - 'be windy' \quad \textit{sisiho}a - 'be windy' \\
b) rokoroko - 'be dark' \quad \textit{rokoroko}a - 'be (completely) dark'
\]

It is also possible to attach the suffix -hi'a to the reduplicated verb:

\[(5-43)\]
\[
'e'ewahi'a - 'to be tall'
\]

Reduplication seems to have different function when applied to verbs expressing states and events. In verbs denoting actions or events it indicates aspect: habitual, durative, iterative, continuative.

\[(5-44)\]
\[
a) ho'o - 'to bark' \quad ho'oho'o - 'to bark for a length of time or often' \\
b) hura - 'to arrive' \quad hurahura - 'to arrive periodically' \\
c) pe'a - 'to dance' \quad pe'ape'a - 'to dance for a length of time or often'
\]
(5-45) Kui 'e=ka ho'o~ho'o te haru horo'a ke.
dog 3SG=TAM CONT~bark QUANT time EMPH

'(The) dog is barking often, the dog is barking all the time.'

(5-46) Pita 'e=ka hura~hura aa-na rikimana kirisimas.
Peter 3SG=TAM ITR~arrive OBL-PRS every Christmas

'Peter comes every Christmas.'

(5-47) Keni nena wau 'e=ka pe'a~pe'a.
woman DEM.DIST 3SG=TAM CONT~dance

'The woman over there is dancing.'

Reduplication can also be used for emphasis. In a situation when an adult wishes a child to go on an errand, and the child lingers, the adult will say to the child:

(5-48) Raa~raa!
INTS~go

'Go!' or 'Go on now!'

In verbs expressing states and properties, reduplication possibly signals intensity, duration of the state or change of state (combined with the particle ka):

(5-49)

a) 'eno 'be in a state of
   'eno'eno 'be in a state of lying down' (for a time)
   lying down

b) mae 'be dead'
   maemae 'to be dying' (with ka)

c) mahea 'be hungry'
   mahemahea 'to be very hungry' (with modifier)

d) paina 'be big'
   paipaina 'to grow' (with ka)

e) 'oni 'to be, to stay'
   'oni'oni 'to live (somewhere)'

Often the base forms may be used in the same context as the reduplicated forms without an apparent change to the meaning:

(5-50) Kui na 'e 'eno / 'eno~'eno.
dog DET 3SG lie / CONT~lie

'The dog is lying down.' (state)

---

46 When occurring without the particle ka, 'eno means 'be in a state of lying down' rather than 'get into a lying position'. This is also the case with similar verbs such as uuro 'stand', pooruru 'kneel', to'ori 'sit'.

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However, on closer examination it appears that at least for some verbs the distribution of the base and reduplicated forms differs:

(5-52a) Na=ka mahea.
1SG=TAM be.hungry
'I'm hungry.'

(5-52b) *Na ka mahe~mahea.
'I am hungry.'

The reduplicated form mahe~mahea is not grammatical in the example above, but it is permissible when it is modified by rika'a 'be very':

(5-53a) Na=ka mahe~mahea rika'a.
1SG=TAM INTS~be.hungry very
'I am very hungry.'

Note that the base form of the verb is also grammatical with the modifier:

(5-53b) Na=ka mahea rika'a.
1SG=TAM be.hungry very
'I am very hungry.'

Both forms are grammatical when the particle no'o follows:

(5-53c) Na=ka mahea / mahe~mahea no'o.
1SG=TAM be.hungry INTS~be.hungry now
'I am hungry now.'

In (4-53c), the lexeme no'o 'now' indicates that the state of affairs obtains in the present moment, but it also seems to function as a discourse marker emphasising that the speaker is indeed hungry now. The presence of no'o makes the use of the reduplicated form mahe~mahea acceptable, as opposed to the example in (5-52b).

The reduplicated forms of verbs expressing states are normally grammatical only when used together with the particle ka. In this context they indicate a change of state, usually still in progress:
(5-54a) Poo nena 'e paina.
    pig DEM 3SG be.big
'That pig is big.'

(5-54b) *Poo nena 'e pai~paina.
'That pig is big.'

The following would be said about a particular breed of pig, known for its fast rate of growth:

(5-55) Poo=ka pai~paina rawahia nena!
    pig=TAM CONT~be.big be.fast SIT.DEM
'That (kind of) pig grows fast!'

5.2 Overview of Are'are verb types and valency-changing operations

This section is structured as follows. Section 5.2.1. provides an overall overview of 'Are'are verb types, and section 5.2.2. discusses the various valency-changing operations applicable to 'Are'are verbs.

5.2.1 'Are'are verb types

'Are'are verbs can be classified according to several criteria. The most obvious distinction is based on transitivity:

- strictly intransitive
- strictly transitive
- ambitransitive

It is very common for verbs in Oceanic languages to be unmarked when used intransitively and have their transitive forms marked by an object marker and/or valency-increasing device (Evans, 2003). In 'Are'are, these verbs form the majority. There are also verbs that are strictly intransitive as well as verbs that are strictly transitive. The small class of strictly intransitive verbs contains verbs that cannot be directly transitivized by any of the valency-increasing devices. The strictly transitive verbs are verbs that only ever appear as transitive\(^{47}\). Further distinctions may be made within the intransitive and transitive categories.

\(^{47}\) Even a strictly transitive verb may appear without the transitive suffix and object clitic in a SVC. See section 8.3.2.1 in Chapter 8.
Intransitive verbs in 'Are'are may be divided into two subcategories based on the nature of their subject:

- A-type verbs
- U-type verbs

The A-type verbs have Actor subjects and correspond to unergative verbs. They typically express processes and actions instigated by the subject. The U-type verbs have Undergoer subjects and correspond to unaccusative verbs. Typically these verbs express states and changes of states that the subject undergoes. The nature of the intransitive subject is relevant in regard to the valency-increasing devices available to the verb.

The intransitive verbs can be further subcategorised into:

- stative
- active

Whilst all A-type verbs fall into the active category, U-type verbs can be active or stative. Among the U-type stative verbs, another distinction can be made between individual-level and stage-level verbs. Individual-level stative verbs are verbs that express a permanent property or an attribute whilst stage-level stative verbs express a temporary state or a change of state.

The ambitransitive verbs can be further divided into subgroups according to how they are marked for increased valency:

- verbs taking the object marker (enclitic) directly
- verbs taking the short transitive suffix -(C)i, followed by the object marker
- verbs taking the long transitive suffix -Ca'ani-Ca'ini, followed by the object marker
- verbs taking the causative prefix ha'a-

A significant proportion of verbs can employ more than one strategy to increase their valency, which often results in different semantics of the derived verbs.
5.2.1.1 Intransitive verbs

Verbs used intransitively do not carry any inflectional morphology:

(5-52) Na *hura* no’o.
1SG arrive PFV
'I have (already) arrived.'

(5-53) Hi *mera na kira ka haitatapa*.
PL child DET 3PL TAM play
'The children are playing.'

Often an oblique object can be introduced by a preposition:

(5-54) *Pita 'e haiotoi ha'ani=a Tione*.
Peter 3SG meet with=3OBJ John
'Peter met John.'

Only a small number of verbs in 'Are'are are strictly intransitive. Many verbs used intransitively can be transitivised by one or more of the valency-increasing devices; see sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 for discussion.

5.2.1.1.1 -'i verbs

In my data, there is a relatively small group of intransitive verbs distinguished from other intransitive by the ending -'i.

*haata'i* 'reveal (oneself)'
*hatara'i* 'float'
*mouta'i* 'differ'
*po'ota'i* 'turn (oneself)'
*ta'era'i* 'stand up'
*wa'i* 'hurt'

At least some of the above verbs are also used transitively:

*haata'ani=a* 'show'
*hatara'ini=a, hatara'a-ni=a* 'float (e.g. canoe)'
*po'ota'ani=a* 'turn around'
It is not clear where the morpheme boundaries are. One possible analysis is that the -'i is a derivational suffix creating intransitive verbs as all the -'i verbs are intransitive. The transitive forms would seem to be derived by a transitive suffix -Ci following the derivational suffix -'i. The alternation in vowel could possibly be explained by dialectal variation.

Another possibility is that the morpheme boundaries are at haata-, hatara-, po'o-. This seems plausible as at least some of these have an identifiable meaning: po'o means 'side' (of body). The forms -ta'ani / ta'ini and -ra'ani / -ra'ini could be plausibly analysed as the long transitive suffixes (see section 5.2.2.2. in this chapter). The problematic question here is why all verbs that seem to contain the long transitive suffix do not have intransitive -'i forms:

- hote-ra'ani=a 'paddle (a canoe) hote 'paddle'
- teke-ra'ani=a 'drop (something)' teke 'fall'

This issue remains unresolved at this point. There are not enough tokens in my data to prove either hypothesis. Whilst Geerts (1970) lists a number of forms that seem to be related to the forms found in my data, there are numerous differences in meaning between the dictionary listings and my data. I am thus hesitant to draw any conclusions based on Geerts's data until there is an opportunity to verify the meaning and clarify the differences, which may be dialectal.

5.2.1.2 Transitive verbs: object markers
Verbs used transitively reference their object with an object marker. This marker has the form of weak pronouns, with the exception of the third person singular. The pronominal object markers tend to appear as enclitics on the verb, especially the monosyllabic ones.

<table>
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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
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<td>=kura</td>
<td>koru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Exclusive</td>
<td>=nau</td>
<td>'erua</td>
<td>'ami</td>
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<td>'aurua</td>
<td>='au</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>kiraurua/</td>
<td>kira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>='i</td>
<td>kirarua</td>
<td>='i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 Object referencing clitics
(5-55) *Kui na 'e ke'e=nau.*

dog DET 3SG bite=1SG

'The dog bit me.'

(5-56) *Pita 'e rae kirarua.*

Peter 3SG know 3DU

'Peter knows (the two of) them.'

(5-57) *Pita=ka hara=a kumara na.*

Peter=TAM wash=3OBJ kumara DET

'Peter is washing the kumara.'

5.2.1.2.1 The object marker =a

The object marker =a is used in several contexts. It references third person lexical objects, expressed by common or proper nouns:

(5-58) *Na reesi=a kui na / Pita*

1SG see=3OBJ dog DET Peter

'I saw the dog / Peter.'

It is possible to omit the lexical object if it is known from the context as the clitic =a is sufficient to reference the object:

(5-59a) *'O reesi=a Pita?*

2SG see=3OBJ Peter

'Did you see Peter?'

(5-59b) *Aa'a, na reesi=a.*

yes 1SG see=3OBJ

'Yes, I did.' (Lit. 'Yes, I saw him.')</n
It is also possible to use the clitic =a to mark plural objects:

(5-60) *Na reesi=a hi niu na.*

1SG see=3OBJ PL coconut DET

'I saw the coconuts.'

Whilst the object marking clitic =a is not used with the weak pronouns, it may optionally be used when the direct object is expressed by a strong pronoun. Both forms are grammatical:

---

48 I have opted to treat =a as a clitic in this work although I realize that I have not provided any compelling evidence that it is not a suffix. It is an issue that requires further investigation. I wish to thank Frank Lichtenberk (personal communication) for drawing my attention to this.
(5-61) Na reesi=\textit{a} iikira/ *kira.
\begin{tabular}{lll}
1SG & see=3OBJ & 3PL 3PL \\
\end{tabular}
'I saw them.'

(5-62) Na reesi iikira/ kira.
\begin{tabular}{lll}
1SG & see 3PL 3PL \\
\end{tabular}
'I saw them.'

The object marking clitic is also used when the object is a coordinated noun phrase:

(5-63) Na \textit{reesi=}a Tione ma \textit{ii'o}.\textsuperscript{50}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
1SG & see=3OBJ & John and 2SG \\
\end{tabular}
'I saw John and you.'

In cases where the object is expressed by a pronoun modified by an appositive NP, the object marker is optional:

(5-64a) Na reesi / reesi=\textit{a} kira Tione ma Mery.
\begin{tabular}{lll}
1SG & see / see=3OBJ & 3PL John and Mary \\
\end{tabular}
'I saw John and Mary.'

(5-64b) Na reesi / reesi=\textit{a} iikira Tione ma Mery.
\begin{tabular}{lll}
1SG & see / see=3OBJ & 3PL John and Mary \\
\end{tabular}
'I saw John and Mary.'

5.2.1.2.2 The object marker =‘i

It appears that whilst the object marker =\textit{a} is grammatical for both singular and plural objects, in some cases it is possible to use the marker =‘i as well:

(5-65a) Pita ‘e to’i=\textit{a} hi nima na.
\begin{tabular}{lll}
Peter 3SG build=3OBJ PL house DET \\
\end{tabular}
'Peter built the houses.'

(5-65b) Pita ‘e to’i=‘i hi nima na.
\begin{tabular}{lll}
Peter 3SG build=3OBJ PL house DET \\
\end{tabular}
'Peter built the houses.'

\textsuperscript{49} I suggest that a possible explanation may lie in the nature of the strong pronouns. The morpheme \textit{ii-} seems to be a reflex of a Proto-Oceanic personal article. Thus the strong pronouns have some noun-like qualities and can be referenced in the same way as nouns. It has been observed that independent (disjunctive) pronouns function like proper nouns in many Oceanic languages (Malcolm Ross, 2004).

\textsuperscript{50} Only the strong forms of pronouns are grammatical in a coordinated noun phrase. See section 4.2.2 in Chapter 4.
The same options are available when the object is dislocated:

\[(5-66a)\] *Hi nima na, Pita 'e to'i=a.*  
\[
\text{PL house DET Peter 3SG build=3OBJ}
\]
'Those houses, Peter built them.'

\[(5-66b)\] *Hi nima na, Pita 'e to'i='i.*  
\[
\text{PL house DET Peter 3SG build=3OBJ}
\]
'Those houses, Peter built them.'

It is also possible to leave the lexical object out, providing it is known from the context, such as when pointing to the referent or when the referent was spoken about before:

\[(5-67a)\] *Pita 'e to'i=a.*  
\[
\text{Peter 3SG build=3OBJ}
\]
'Peter built it/ them.'

\[(5-67b)\] *Pita 'e to'i='i.*  
\[
\text{Peter 3SG build=3OBJ}
\]
'Peter built them.'

It appears that the marker '='is optionally used for plural objects. It is possible that in the past '='was the regular plural object marker that is being progressively replaced by the marker '='a. However, this is merely a hypothesis which is yet to be tested.

### 5.2.1.3 Transitive and intransitive counterparts

A large proportion of 'Are'are verbs can be used either intransitively or transitively. The various valency-increasing devices available to different types of verbs are discussed in the following section.

Whilst it is common that the same verb is used intransitively as well as transitively, I have come across one instance of suppletion, where the intransitive and transitive forms are different lexemes:

\[(5-68)\] *'E 'ani=a hanara 'e ta'aa.*  
\[
\text{3SG eat=3OBJ food 3SG be.bad}
\]
'He ate bad food.'

Compare with the suppletive intransitive form:

51 There is a pronominal anaphoric element –'i (or –i) that can appear with the noun-like prepositions and is used for both singular and plural referents. See section 6.2.10 in Chapter 6.
5.2.2 Overview of valency-increasing devices

Changing of valency of 'Are'are verbs involves for the most part an increase in valency. This process adds one argument to the verb. The valency-increasing devices are the short and long transitive suffixes and the causative prefix ha'a-.

5.2.2.1 Short transitive suffixes

These seem to be reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic transitive suffix reconstructed as *-i (Evans, 2003; Lynch et al., 2002). In modern 'Are'are they have the form -(C)i where C stands for a variable thematic consonant. The short transitive suffixes increase the valency of the verb by one. The derived suffixed verb normally also takes the object enclitic (5-70a, b):

(5-70a) Weewee=ka susu.
    baby=TAM nurse
    'Baby is nursing.'

(5-70b) Teetee=ka susu-hi=a weewee.
    mother=TAM nurse-TR=3OBJ baby
    'Mother is nursing / breastfeeding baby.'

There are six thematic consonants in modern 'Are'are that form part of the short transitive suffix: /m, n, r, s, h, ʔ/.

(5-71) iisu 'count'
    iisu-mi=a 'count someone/something'

    ma'u 'be afraid'
    ma'u-ni=a 'fear someone/something'

    hana 'eat'
    hana-ri=a 'feed someone'

    tahi 'run away'
    tahi-si=a 'run away from someone/sth.'

    susu 'breastfeed'
    susu-hi=a 'breastfeed someone'

    hane 'climb'
    hane-ɾi=a 'climb something'

52 There seems to be a reflex of a valency-decreasing prefix ma- or na- in the language:
   pota-ɾi=a 'to break' (transitive)
   na-pota 'be broken'

The same pattern is noted by Keesing (1985) in Kwaio, where the prefix ma- is still productive. However, as this prefix is no longer productive in the language and due to insufficient number of tokens it will not be discussed here.

53 In the literature these are also called close and remote, respectively (Lynch et al., 2002)
A diachronic analysis may explain the occurrence of variable consonants in the transitive suffix. The POC transitive suffix *-i occurred in verbs with consonant-final and *-a-final stems, but not with other vowel-final stems (Evans, 2003; Lynch et al., 2002). Reconstructions of Proto-Oceanic suggest that originally the thematic consonants were part of the verbal stem. At some post-Proto Oceanic stage the stem-final consonants were eroded and surfaced only in the transitive forms where they were followed by the suffix *-i. This analysis is also supported by data from modern 'Are'are.

The proprietive verbs are derived by the suffix -'a, which follows the root of the verb. The derived verbs can be transitivised by means of the short transitive suffix:

(5-72) haoru'a  'be new, young'  haoru'a-i=a  'renew something'
    morimori'a  'be round'  ha'a-morimori'a-i=a  'make something round'
    papare'a  'be clean'  ha'a-papare'a-i=a  'make something clean'

In the above verbs, the transitive suffix has the form -i and not the expected –Ci and is attached to the derivational suffix and not to the stem. I suggest this is because the derivational suffix –'a intervenes between the verbal stem and the transitive suffix, effectively preventing the historical stem-final consonant to surface.

In many modern Oceanic languages the whole sequence -Ci has been reanalysed as the transitive suffix morpheme (Pawley, 1973). This seems to be the case of 'Are'are. I believe that a synchronic analysis may reveal that some consonants functioning as the onset of the short transitive suffixes are innovations and do not reflect the original stem-final consonants. Furthermore, I suggest that some of the transitive suffixes and possibly the thematic consonants themselves may contribute to the semantics of the derived verb.

It appears that at least some of the thematic consonants may have come to have a particular semantics associated with them. This is most salient with the short transitive suffix –hi, with the derived transitives having an applicative reading for both A-type and U-type verbs:
Many verbs taking the short transitive suffix with the thematic consonant /h/ express action directed at or towards someone or something, in other words they seem to express path or a goal and in the case of pe'ahi=a a location where the action takes place. This is by no means a rule extending to all transitive verbs derived with the suffix –hi, merely a strong tendency. It appears to be a curious coincidence at the least that this suffix is homonymous with the preposition hi meaning 'to'.

Research suggests a possible link between the thematic consonants and the meaning of the transitive verb in other Oceanic languages. See for example Lichtenberk (1978) and (2008) for discussion of this matter in Manam and Toqabaqita, respectively, and Ashley (2012) for an in-depth study of thematic consonants in Sa'a.

### 5.2.2.2 Long transitive suffixes

The long transitive suffixes in 'Are'are occur in my data with significantly lower frequency than the short ones. They are reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic suffix reconstructed as *-akin (Pawley, 1973) and take the forms -ra'ini, -ra'ani, -ta'ini or -ta'ani. I think it likely that these forms will prove to be dialectal variants. As with the short transitive suffixes, the long transitive suffixes increase the valency of a verb by one and are followed by the relevant object enclitic (5-74a, b).

---

54 This preposition is used with place names and common nouns referring to locations and objects that can be entered, such as villages and houses, but is not used in the sense of 'towards' as in 'towards Peter'.

---
Only some of the consonantal phonemes in 'Are'are function as thematic consonants in the transitive suffixes. Out of the total ten consonant al phonemes in the 'Are'are phonemic inventory, only six can function as the onset of the short transitive suffix, and only two appear as the onset of the long transitive suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>short TS</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long TS</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Thematic consonants in the short and long transitive suffixes

The fact that only /t/ and /r/ (which may prove to be dialectal variants) can be part of the long transitive suffix suggests that possibly the consonants appearing in the onset of this suffix have a different status from the thematic consonants in the short transitive suffixes.

### 5.2.2.3 Causative prefix ha'a-

The causative prefix ha'a- in 'Are'are is a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic *paka. Usually, ha'a- increases the valency by one and can co-occur with the short transitive suffixes\(^{55}\). The derived verb appears with the object enclitic (5-75a, b).

(5-75a) **Wawataha na 'e aaroka.**

hole DET 3SG be.wide

'The hole is wide.'

(5-75b) **Ha'a-aaroka=a wawataha na!**

CAUS-be.wide=3OBJ hole DET

'Widen the hole!'
5.2.3 Valency-increasing devices with U-type and A-type verbs

Different verb types differ in what valency-increasing devices are available to them and what reading the resulting transitive verbs have.

5.2.3.1 Valency-increasing devices with U-type verbs

For U-type verbs, the most common valency-increasing device is the causative prefix *ha'a-* , which adds an external causer. The transitive verb also takes the relevant object clitic.

\[
\begin{align*}
(5-76) & \quad \text{"'ewa" } & \quad \text{be tall, long} & \quad \text{ha'a-'ewa=a } & \quad \text{‘make long’} \\
& \quad \text{"'okira" } & \quad \text{be strong} & \quad \text{ha'a-'okira=a } & \quad \text{‘make strong’} \\
& \quad \text{"'uru" } & \quad \text{be blind} & \quad \text{ha'a-'uru=a } & \quad \text{‘blind, make blind’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In some instances, the causative prefix gives the derived verb somewhat unexpected, metaphorical meaning:

\[
(5-77) \quad \text{oototo ‘be straight (e.g. road)’} \quad \text{ha'a-oototo=a } \quad \text{‘give advice to young people, teach them to follow the straight path’}
\]

Less commonly some U-type verbs employ the combination of the causative prefix *ha'a-* and one of the short transitive suffixes:

\[
(5-77) \quad \text{makata ‘be bright’} \quad \text{ha'a-makata-ri=a } \quad \text{‘brighten’} \\
\quad \text{aaku ‘sink’} \quad \text{ha'a-aaku-si=a } \quad \text{‘sink something’}
\]

Very few Undergoer subject verbs also have transitive forms without the causative prefix *ha'a-* but with the short transitive suffix:

\[
(5-78) \quad \text{aaku ‘sink’} \quad \text{aaku-si=a } \quad \text{‘sink something’} \\
\quad \text{kapa ‘be empty, be extinguished’} \quad \text{kapa-si=a } \quad \text{‘extinguish’}
\]

The derived verbs have a causative reading where an external Agent causes the Undergoer to be in a state or to enter a change of state.
5.2.3.2 Valency-increasing devices with A-type verbs

There are several valency-increasing strategies available to A-type verbs. A significant proportion of these verbs is marked for increased valency only by the presence of the object enclitic:

(5-79) n uu  'sing'  n uu=a  'sing something'
      uu ro  'shout'  uu ro=a  'shout at someone'
      hah i  'cook in earth oven'  hah i=a  'cook something in earth oven'

Other A-type verbs use one of the short transitive suffixes, followed by the object enclitic:

(5-80) ' oto  'throw a spear (intr)'  ' oto-mi=a  'spear someone/something'
      iiisu  'count'  iiisu-mi=a  'count someone/something'
      uu ku  'pull'  uu ku-mi=a  'pull someone/something'
      aaripono  'forget (intr)'  aaripono-si=a  'forget someone/something'

The valency-increasing operations by means of the short transitive suffixes introduce a new internal argument.

It is also possible to use the causative prefix ha'a- with A-type verbs which results in a causative reading. The derived verb often means that the Agent is persuading, encouraging or teaching the object do to something:

(5-81) n a'a  'talk'  ha'a-na'a=a  'make someone talk'
      haitatapa  'play'  ha'a-haitatapa=a  'incite to play'
      aarahu  'give a speach'  ha'a-aarahu=a  'encourage to give a speech'
      para'au  'swim'  ha'a-para'au=a  'teach someone to swim'

The A-type verbs derived with the prefix ha'a- can have a meaning which is related to their intransitive counterparts but not entirely predictable:

(5-82) rio  'look'  ha'a-rio=a  'wake someone up'
In rare instances, the presence of the prefix ha'a- does not increase the valency:

\[(5-83)\] 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{masi} & \text{laugh} \\
\text{ha'a-masi} & \text{'make fun, behave in a funny way'}
\end{array}
\]

Compare the two following examples:

\[(5-84a)\] 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Tione=ka} & \text{ha'a-masi}.\\
& \text{John=TAM CAUS-laugh} \\
& \text{'John is being funny.'}
\end{array}
\]

\[(5-84b)\] 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Tione=ka} & \text{ha'a-masi=} a \\
& \text{John=TAM CAUS-laugh=3OBJ Peter} \\
& \text{'John is making Peter laugh.'}
\end{array}
\]

5.2.3.3 Verbs employing several valency-increasing strategies

It is rather common for the same verb to use more than one valency-increasing device. The derived verbs often differ in meaning but not always.\(^{56}\)

\[(5-85)\] 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
aahe & \text{flow} \\
\text{aahe-si=} a & \text{'flood something'} \\
\text{ha'a-aahe=} a & \text{'cause someone/something to float away'} \\
\text{ha'a-aahe-si=} a & \text{'cause someone/something to float away'}
\end{array}
\]

\[(5-86)\] 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kae & \text{lie} \\
\text{kae-si=} a & \text{'lie to someone'} \\
\text{ha'a-kae-si=} a & \text{'trick someone'}
\end{array}
\]

\[(5-87)\] 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
ma'u & \text{be afraid} \\
\text{ma'u-ni=} a & \text{'fear something'} \\
\text{ha'a-ma'u=} a & \text{'scare, cause someone to be afraid'} \\
\text{ha'a-ma'u-ni=} a & \text{'scare, cause someone to be afraid'}
\end{array}
\]

\(^{56}\) It is possible that the translation equivalents given by the consultants do not reflect the precise meaning in 'Are'are or that a different discourse / elicitation technique is needed to reveal the differences.
(5-88) **rakaraka**

*be hot*

- **raka-**hi=a
  - 'heat up (transfer heat directly, only fire)
- **ha'a-**raka-**hi=a
  - 'cause to be hot (can be done by people)

(5-89) **nara**

'cry'

- **nara-**si=a
  - 'cry for or after someone'
- **ha'a-**nara-**si=a
  - 'make someone cry'

(5-90) **musu**

'spit'

- **musu-**hi=a
  - 'spit at someone'
- **musu-**ra'ani=a
  - 'spit something out'

In many verbs whose transitive forms alternate between those derived with one of the short transitive suffixes and those taking directly the object enclitic the difference in meaning expresses whether the subject affects the object directly or indirectly:

(5-91) **weo**

'be tired'

- **ha'a-**weo-**si=a
  - 'tire someone, possibly by a lot of talking or other action'
- **ha'a-**weo=a
  - 'tire someone, cause to be tired'

*Ha'aweoa=a* indicates that the object was made tired as a direct result of, for example, hard work. *Ha'aweosi=a*, on the other hand, can mean that the tiredness was the result of some less direct action, for example someone talking for too long and making thus the object tired by prolonged listening. Whilst the subject of *ha'aweoa=a* can be animate, such as a person, and inanimate, such as hard work, the subject of *ha'aweosi=a* is likely to be only a person.

Some verbs may use the same transitivising strategy but achieve the different meanings by using different thematic consonants:

(5-92a) **teke**

'fall'

- **teke-**ra'ani=a
  - 'drop something' (from one's hand onto the ground)
- **teke-**hi=a
  - 'fall all over something/someone' (e.g. juice splashing over someone)
- **teke-**si=a
  - 'drop something' (e.g. a pole which then falls flat onto the ground)
The fact that the same stem may occur with two different thematic consonants in the onset of the transitive suffix suggests that, unless we want to postulate two different original bases, one of these consonants is an innovation that does not reflect the original consonant in the stem. This notion is further supported by the fact that the same stem may appear with the short or long transitive suffix, each of them again having a different consonant in its onset as shown by the examples in (5-90), (5-92a) and (5-92b). These examples also suggest that at least some thematic consonants may be possibly associated with particular semantics. However, it is not possible to draw any clear conclusions without a dedicated in-depth study of this matter.  

5.3 Verb phrase

The verb phrase in 'Are'are may be formed solely by a verb:

(5-93) *Rio!*
   Look!

More commonly the verb phrase contains particles which mark tense, aspect, negation and other features. In the Oceanic literature, the verb plus preverbal and postverbal particles are generally referred to as verb complex (Lynch, 1998). However, the term verb complex does not necessarily denote a syntactic unit (Lichtenberk, 2008).

5.3.1 Preverbal particles

The preverbal particles are subject markers (see below), the particle *ka* (5.3.1.1), the future marker *ka rao* (5.3.1.3), negative markers *ma, man(i)* and *si* (5.3.1.4), immediate past marker *pi‘i* (5.3.1.5), continuative particle *ha’e* (5.3.1.6), temporary *maata‘i* (5.3.1.7) and attenuative *te* (5.3.1.8).

---

(5-92b) *ko‘u*  'drink'  
   *ko‘u-hi=a*  'drink something'  
   *ko‘u-si=a*  'sink something'

57 For a discussion on the semantics of the transitive suffixes in Sa'a see Ashley, 2012.
5.3.1.1 Subject markers

Subject markers index the subject in verbal as well as in verbless clauses. For this reason they are discussed in Chapter 7 which deals with clauses. Subject markers are also mentioned in Chapter 3 and in section 5.1 of this chapter.

5.3.1.2 The particle ka

The particle *ka* fulfils several functions in 'Are'are. Most commonly *ka* is used to mark imperfective (also progressive) aspect in active verbs (5-94). It also occurs with a stage-level predicates (and when it occurs with an individual-level predicate, it induces a stage-level reading) (5-98). *Ka* tends to cliticise to the preceding element, especially to monosyllabic elements such as weak pronouns.

(5-94)  
Na=ka  hura  no’o<sup>58</sup>.  
1SG=TAM  arrive  now  
'I am arriving now.'

Compare with completed past:

(5-95)  
Na  hura  no’o.  
1SG  arrive  PFV  
'I have arrived.'

The particle *ka* is used with active verbs to mark imperfective aspect in non-past clauses, but it is not used in the same way with stative verbs:

(5-96)  
Na=ka  raa  hi  Wairokai.  
1SG=TAM  go to  W.  
'I am going to Wairokai.'

Compare

(5-97)  
Na  rae=a  Tione.  
1SG  know=3OBJ  John  
'I know John.'

It is possible to use *ka* with stative verbs, but the use of *ka* induces a change of state reading. That is, it functions as an inchoative marker:

---

<sup>58</sup> The form *no’o* functions in several different ways. In (5-94) it expresses the current time whilst in (5-95) it functions as a perfective marker.
(5-98) 'Are nena=k|a| paina.
    thing DEM=TAM be.big
' That thing is getting big.'

Compare with state:

(5-100) Nima nau na 'e paina.
    house 1SG.POSS DET 3SG be.big
'My house is big.

The function of ka in marking a stage-level predicate is also clearly illustrated in the
following pairs of sentences where the presence of the particle ka signals motion, as opposed
to a position.

(5-101) Pita 'e=ka to'oru rua-na mako.
    Peter 3SG=TAM sit on-PRS ground
'Peter is sitting down on the ground (motion).'

(5-102) Pita 'e to'oru rua-na mako no'o.
    Peter 3SG sit on-PRS ground now
'Peter is sitting on the ground (position).'

Ka occurs frequently in narratives where the narrated events are presented in historical past.
See (5-18) and (5-109) below.

Whilst normally the particle ka occurs only in clauses expressing present, in conditionals it
can occur also in clauses expressing past. Compare the two examples below. The sentence in
(5-103) is a simple conditional indicating that whilst the events are possible, they have not
happened (yet). The sentence in (5-104) is a counterfactual conditional implying that the
situation expressed by the matrix (staying with sister) did not obtain because the condition
expressed by the embedded clause (going to Honiara) was not satisfied. In both cases, the
particle ka is present in the matrix clause as well as in the embedded clause:

(5-103) 'Aremara na=ka raa hi Honiara,
    if 1SG=TAM go to H.
    ma na=ka 'oni ha'ani=a hahone-ku na.
    and 1SG=TAM stay with=3OBJ sister-1SG.POSS DET
'If I go to Honiara, I will stay with my sister.'
(5-104) 'Arema

raa hi Honiara,
if 1SG=TAM go to H.

ha'araa na=ka
CNTF 1SG=TAM stay with=3OBJ sister-1SG.POSS DET

'If I went to Honiara, I would have stayed with my sister.'

The underlying form is *ka*, but when used with a 2sg subject, the surface form is *ko*. This is a progressive assimilation as the form of the 2sg pronoun / subject marker is 'o. The particle cliticises to the subject marker when present (5-105) or to other initial element (5-106).\(^{59}\) *Ka* may also fuse with the subject marker\(^{60}\), as in the case of *koru= ka* which is often realized as *kou=ka*, or *kira=ka*, which may be realized as *ki=ka* (5-107).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Inclusive</td>
<td><em>na=ka</em></td>
<td><em>kura=ka</em></td>
<td><em>koru=ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Exclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>'erua=ka</em></td>
<td><em>'ami=ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>'o=ko</em></td>
<td><em>'aurua=ka</em></td>
<td><em>'au=ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>'e=ka</em></td>
<td><em>kiraurua=ka</em></td>
<td><em>kira=ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ki=ka</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 The particle *ka* with subject markers

(5-105) *Na=ka* noro-nuu.
1SG=TAM listen-song
'I am listening to a song.'

(5-106) *Mane=ka* iiri=a sisihora.
man=TAM tell=3OBJ story
'(A) man is telling a story.'

(5-107) *Pita ma John ki=ka* poi no'o.
Peter and John 3PL=TAM shout now
'Peter and John are shouting now.'

*Ka* can also occur as a clause-initial free-standing element, especially in narratives when the subject is known from the preceding clause(s).

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\(^{59}\) Because the particle does not compulsorily cliticize in all environments, it is shown as a clitic on the relevant examples here.

\(^{60}\) There is some variation among the speakers, only the most common forms are listed here.
The narrative continues with repetition of the sentence:

(5-109) Ka ha~ha'a-susu-hi=a nena ma ...
TAM RDP~CAUS-breast-TR=3OBJ and then
'She breastfed (the baby) and then…'

In negative clauses, the negative particle ma may cliticize to ka. If these particles are preceded by a monosyllabic subject marker, the three morphemes may be realized as a single phonological word:

(5-110) Na=ka=ma hana.
1SG=TAM=NEG eat
'I am not eating.'

(5-111) Mane 'ewau 'e=ka=ma weo.
man DEM.DIST 3SG=TAM=NEG be.tired
'That man (over there) is not tired.'

The morpheme ka is found in some other Malaitan languages. Ka functions as a sequential marker in Lau (Featherstone-Santosuosso, 2011), as a sequential subject marker in Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk, 2008). The fact that in 'Are'are ka may appear together with any of the pronominal subject markers indicates that it does not normally function in this way in this language. However, during the transcription of the stories, such as the one from which the above examples were taken, the consultant commented that the ka refers to the subject (the mother). This suggests that perhaps there is a change in progress regarding ka and that in some cases it can refer to the subject, although this seems to be restricted only to third person singular subjects in a narrative context where the subject is known from previous clause(s). Also, this phenomenon is restricted to verbs that normally appear with ka.
5.3.1.3 The future ka rao

The marker *ka rao* is used for all verbs to express future. Some speakers used the variant *ka raro* (5-116).

(5-112) Pita 'e=ka rao raa hi Wairokai.
Peter 3SG=FUT go to W.
'Peter will go to Wairokai.'

(5-113) Hi mera kira=ka rao hura ra'ahore'e.
PL child 3PL=FUT arrive tomorrow
'The children will arrive tomorrow.'

It is possible that apart from the future/non-future tense distinction, the difference between using *ka* and *ka rao* lies in the degree of realis. *Ka rao* is used for less certain or more distant future, whilst *ka* expresses a high level of certainty that the state of affairs is indeed going to obtain:

(5-114) Kou=ka rao raa horo'a Pita ka hura.
1PL.INC=FUT go when Peter TAM arrive
'We will go when Peter arrives.'

Compare

(5-115) Na=ka raa ra'ahore'e.
1SG=TAM go tomorrow
'I am going tomorrow (for sure).'

The particle *ka rao* can also be used in conditionals. Although most commonly both the matrix and the embedded clauses contain the particle *ka*, some instances of conditionals in my data contain *ka rao* in the matrix clause. This is usually the case when the event expressed in the main clause is seen as happening subsequentially to the event expressed in the embedded clause. In other words, the point in time when the state of affairs expressed in the matrix clause will obtain is further from the present than the state of affairs or event expressed in the conditional clause:

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61 One speaker also produced the variant *ka raro*. 132
If it doesn't rain soon, these trees will die.

5.3.1.4 Negative markers ma, man(i), si

The negative markers ma, man(i) or si precede the verb in negative sentences. Ma is used to negate sentences in non-future tense (5-117) - (5-120), man(i) is used to negate imperatives (5-124) and si is used for future negation (5-121), (5-122) and in prohibitives (5-123). These particles occur as enclitics on the subject. The exception is man(i) which can be clause initial.

(5-117) Pita 'e=ma kiru naapon.
Peter 3SG=NEG be.sick yesterday
'Peter wasn't sick yesterday.'

(5-118) Pita 'e=ma roto naapon.
Peter 3SG=NEG swim yesterday
'Peter didn't swim yesterday.'

(5-119) Na=ma rae=a.
1SG=NEG know=3OBJ
'I don't know.'

(5-120) Pita ka=ma hahi=a poo.
Peter TAM=NEG cook=3OBJ pig
'Peter is not cooking the pig now.'

(5-121) Mane 'ewau 'e=si weo.
man DEM.PROX 3SG=NEG.FUT be.tired
'This man won't be tired.'

(5-122) Pita 'e=si na'a ra'ahore'e.
Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT talk tomorrow
'Peter won't talk tomorrow.'

(5-123) 'O=si tau=a!
2SG NEG.FUT do=3OBJ
'Don't do it!'
These particles are also discussed in Chapter 7.

5.3.1.5 Immediate past pi’i

The marker pi’i signals that an event or an action has occurred immediately before the reporting time. Its best translation equivalent in English is ‘just’.

(5-125) Pita ‘e pi’i hura.
Peter 3SG IM arrive
‘Peter just arrived.’

It can also be used to show that an event is going to immediately follow another event or action:

(5-126) Kou=ka hana sii ta’a kou pi’i raa hi Rutorea.
1PL=TAM eat PREC SEQ 1PL IM go to R.
‘We eat first, and then we go to R.’

5.3.1.6 Continuative ha’e

The particle ha’e frequently occurs in narratives. It may signal an ongoing action, and often the following verb appears in its reduplicated form:

(5-127) Ka raa ha’e raa~raa ke.
TAM go CONT CONT~go EMPH
‘He kept going.’

(5-128) Kukui nena ‘e=ka ha’e sisi’ini so’o-na hepehepe.
doggie DEM 3SG=TAM CONT go.after after-3PRS butterfly
‘The doggie keeps on following the butterfly.’

(5-129) Ka ha’e naa–nara no’o ha’i raa~ha.
TAM CONT CONT~cry now with go-NMLZ
‘She keeps on crying as she walks.’

In other cases ha’e may be used to link two simultaneous actions:
Kiraurua raa so’o-na kahu,
3DU go after-PRS river

kou=ka ha’e ri’ohi=a uura
1PL.EXCL=TAM CONT look.for=3OBJ crayfish
'The two of them were following (the) river, we are looking for crayfish.'

…ma nari puru so’o-na rooti na,
and nut after-PRS road na

'o=ko ha’e ‘ani=a nena.
2SG=TAM CONT eat=3OBJ SIT.DEM
‘…and (if there is) nari puru (kind of nut) next to the road, then you eat it.’

5.3.1.7 Temporary maata’i
Maata’i translates roughly as 'for a bit, quickly' and is used in situations where the speaker wishes to express that an action will be carried out for a limited period of time, temporarily, often before some other action.

Ha-na=ka maata’i susu, ta’a ha’ania ’o
PURP-PRS=TAM TEMP breastfeed SEQ DM 2SG

raa~raa ru’u.
CONT~go again
'So that (the baby) quickly feeds, then you go again.'

(Used in a narrative where a daughter is asking her mother to wait a bit so that her baby can be quickly breastfed before the mother continues her journey.)

Na=ka maata’i iisu kane.
1SG=TAM TEMP read yet
'I'm going to read for a bit (before sleeping).'

5.3.1.8 Attenuative te
This particle has an attenuative function: it indicates a low degree of a state, 'a bit'.

Na=ka te mahea.
1SG=TAM ATTN be.hungry
'I am (getting) a bit hungry.'
Kahu na 'e=ka te sisiu'a ke.
water DET 3SG=TAM ATTN be.cold EMPH
'The water is cooling down a bit.'

Te seems to contrast with the postverbal particle te, which is used as an intensifier.

5.3.2 Postverbal particles
Postverbal particles in 'Are'are include the intensifier te (5.3.2.1), the precedentive sii (5.3.2.2), the emphatic/intensifier ke (5.3.2.3), the perfective no'o (5.3.2.4), the ventive mai (5.3.2.5), the andative wau (5.3.2.6), the additive ru'u (5.3.2.7), the completive ri'i (5.3.2.8) and the affirmative ra' o (5.3.2.9).

5.3.2.1 Intensifier te
This particle expresses a high degree of a state or a high intensity of an event:

(5-136) 'E hana te ra'o!
3SG eat INTS AFF
'He ate a lot!'

(5-137) Na=ka mahea te rika'a.
1SG=TAM be.hungry INTS very
'I am so hungry.' or 'I am very hungry.'

5.3.2.2 Precedentive sii
This particle signals that one event preceded another one or that a state of affairs used to be true in the past:

(5-138) Pita 'e roha sii ri'i 'e pi'i nuuhi puri.
Peter 3SG dance PREC COMPL 3SG IMM sing? after
'Peter danced first and then he sang.'

(5-139) Na rae=a wa'a-mu ne 'e
1SG know=3OBJ brother-2SG.POSS REL 3SG
huta sii na.
be.born PREC DET
'I know your older brother.' (Lit. I know your brother who was born first.)
Mama-ku iinaia haha’ausurina sii nena.
father-1SG.POSS 3SG teacher PREC SIT.DEM
'My father used to be a teacher (before now).'

5.3.2.3 Compleitive ri’i
This particle signals that one action was completed before another began:

(5-141) Pita ‘e roha ri’i ‘e pi’i nuu.
Peter 3SG dance COMPL 3SG IMM sing
'Peter danced and then sang.'

(5-142) Pita ‘e ti~tisa ri’i ‘e to’i aa-na kaapenta.
Peter 3SG RDP-teach COMPL 3SG work OBL-PRS carpenter
'Peter used to be a teacher before he became a carpenter.' (Lit: Peter used to teach before he worked as a carpenter.)

Although ri’i may be used in some contexts instead of the precedentive sii, these two particles have a different meaning:

(5-143) Pita ‘e nuu sii, puri’-a-i ri’i ‘e pe’a.
Peter 3SG sing PREC after-OBL-OBJ COMPL 3SG dance
'Peter sang first and then danced.' (Lit: Peter sang first, after completing he danced.)

5.3.2.4 Emphatic / intensifier ke
The intensifier ke serves to emphasise the statement made by the speaker:

(5-144) Na=ka rao ‘ewa ke.
1SG=FUT be.tall EMPH
'I will be tall.' (maybe a little child says that)

(5-145) Suna na ‘e kapa maraa-na ke.
fire DET 3SG be.extinguished by.self-3PRS EMPH
'The fire went out by itself.'

(5-146) Na rete ke.
1SG be.good EMPH
'I am fine.'

5.3.2.5 The particle no’o
The particle no’o can be used in several very different ways. Whilst some uses are clear, others are harder to pin down.
One of its main functions is to mark perfectivity. In this context it does not co-occur with the particle *ka*. In many cases, it can be translated as 'already':

(5-147) 'Arai 'e mata no'oe.
    mango 3SG be.ripe PFV
    'The mango has (already) ripened.'

(5-148) Pita=ka rao hura no'o ta kou raa.
    Peter=FUT arrive PFV SEQ 1PL.INCL go
    'After Peter arrives we will go.' (Lit. 'After Peter has arrived, we go.')</n
(5-149) 'E=ma uuta 'ewa'a no'o ma 'ai na ka rao mae nena.
    3SG=NEG rain be.long PFV and tree DET FUT die SIT.DEM
    'It hasn't rained for a long time, and the tree(s) will die.'

(5-150) Na rio63 no'o.
    1SG look now
    'I am awake now.'

(5-151) 'Au hana no'oe?
    2PL eat already
    'Have you eaten already?'

*No'o* is also commonly used to express present or current time, now. In this context *no'o* commonly co-occurs with the particle *ka* in clauses with active verbs. Compare (5-151) above with (5-152) below:

(5-152) 'Au=ka hana no'o?
    2PL=TAM eat now
    'Are you eating now?'

(5-153) Pita ('e)=ka pe'a no'o.
    Peter (3SG)=TAM dance now
    'Peter is dancing now.'

The co-occurrence of *no'o* with verbs expressing states may suggest that a change of state has taken place:

63 This verb normally means 'look', as in: *Rio mai!* 'Look here/this way!'. If the particle *ka* was present in the above sentence, the meaning would be 'I am waking up.' *Na ka rio no'o.*
(5-154) 'O=ko rakaraka no'o?
2SG=TAM be.hot already
'Are you hot already?'

(5-155) Na=ka moro'u no'o.
1SG=TAM be.weak.with.hunger now
'I am weak with hunger now.

Apart from the more straightforward uses described above, no'o has other meanings that are not so transparent. In some cases, it can be translated as 'now' without the temporal meaning. Its function is plausibly more one of a discourse marker in these contexts. Note that it can occupy different position in the clause in these contexts:

(5-156) Pita no'o ne 'e 'ewa rika'a.
Peter ? REL 3SG be.tall very
'Peter is the tallest.' (Now Peter, he is the tallest.)

In the following example (5-157), no'o seems to emphasise that it is impossible for Peter to get any taller than he is since Peter is an adult:

(5-157) Pita 'e=si 'ewa no'o.
Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT be.tall INTS
'Peter won't be tall.'

In (5-158), no'o is used to highlight the fact that the mother was the only one doing the work and she was doing all the tasks all by herself. No'o is pronounced with an emphasis and the intonation results in the second vowel having a longer duration than in other environments.

(5-158) Iinaia ha-na raa-ha hi aano no'o,
3SG PURP-PRS go-NMLZ to garden INTS
iinaia ha-na kuki-ha no'o...
3SG PUPR-PRS cook-NMLZ INTS
'She was going to the garden, she was cooking... (all by herself, nobody helped her).'

5.3.2.6 The particle kane

The particle kane is used most commonly in the sense of 'yet' or 'still'. It applies to actions, events or states before now or the specified reference time:

(5-159) Pita 'e=ka=ma pe'a kane.
Peter 3SG=TAM=NEG dance yet
'Peter is not dancing yet.'
(5-160) 'O rae-para'au-ha no'o?
2SG know-swim-NMLZ already
'Can you swim already?' (if asking a small child)

answer:

(5-161) Na=ka\(^64\)=ma rae para'au-ha kane.
1SG=TAM know swim-NMLZ yet
'I can't swim yet.'

Although *kane* seems to be more common in negative sentences, it is not restricted to negative clauses:

(5-162) Na'o-ha-na koru=ka raa hi Rutorea,  
before-OBL-PRS 1PL.INCL=TAM go to R.

   koru=ka hana sii kane.
   1PL.INCL=TAM eat first yet
   'Before we go to Rutorea, we'll eat first.'

(5-163) Kahu na 'e=ka sisiu'a kane.
water DET 3SG=TAM be.cold still
'The water is (still) cooling down.'

Although in the majority of instances of *kane* in my data the particle *ka* is also present, this does not seem to be compulsory:

(5-164) Pita 'e=ma hura kane.
Peter 3SG=NEG arrive yet
'Peter hasn't arrived yet.'

(5-165) Pita 'e=ma hahi=a poo na kane.
Peter 3SG=NEG cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ pig DET yet
'Peter hasn't cooked the pig yet.'

5.3.2.7 Intensifier *ru'u*  
The literal meaning of *ru'u* is 'again', but it is commonly used for emphasis:

(5-166) Wera masika na ka nara ke ru'u.
child be.small DET TAM cry EMPH again
'The small child was crying again.' (historical present in a narrative)

\(^64\) *Rae* 'kow' normally does not occur with the particle *ka*. It appears that in this context the *ka* is necessary to signal that the state of affairs is temporary and may change.
(5-167) 'Aru 'on~'on ru'u, na=ka raa no'.
    2PL RDP~stay INTS 1SG=TAM go now
    'You stay (here); I am going now.'

In the examples below, ru'u seems to reaffirm the statement:

(5-168) Pita 'e=ma rau ha-na tisa ru'u.
    Peter 3SG=NEG become PURP-PRS teacher INTS
    'Peter didn't become a teacher.'

(5-169) Ha-na kou suai=a ru'u ma Pita 'e rae
    PURP-PRS 1PL ask=3OBJ INTS and Peter 3SG going.to
    'oni-ha ke.
    stay-NMLZ EMPH
    'If we ask him (Peter), he will stay.'

Ru'u also has an additive function and can be translated as 'again'.

(5-170) Wera masika na ka nara ke ru'u.
    child be.small DET TAM cry EMPH again
    'The small child is crying again.'

(5-171) Te horo'a Hai'ae'ae ka hura ru'u.
    IDF time H. TAM arrive again
    'One day, Hai'ae'ae arrives again.'

5.3.2.8 Affirmative ra'o

The particle ra'o expresses an affirmation of the state of affairs reported as being indeed true:

(5-172) Aai, 'o kuki rete ra'o!
    EXCM 2SG cook be.good AFF
    'You cook (really) well!'

Ra'o is also found as a component in a compound interjection 'aira'o used as a reaction to a statement or a situation. This interjection seems to express a surprise and can be best translated as 'really'. The following utterance appears in a story where mother is leaving home after having instructed her children not to follow her. After hearing someone calling, she turns around and sees her children following her. Then she says:
5.3.2.9 Ventive mai and andative wau

The status of mai and wau in respect to their lexical categories is not exactly clear. They seem to be multipurpose morphemes, being able to function in a number of ways in the language. Mai and wau can be both used as verbs, but this seems to be rather rare. The ventive mai serves to express a direction towards the speaker, or towards a destination mentioned in the discourse or a location close to the speaker. The andative wau expresses a direction of motion away from the speaker or a point in space specified in the discourse. The deictic centre is commonly but not always the speaker. It can be a character or a place in a narrative, or a place specified in the discourse. Compare the following two examples:

(5-174) Na=ka mai.
1SG=TAM VENT
'I am coming (to the interlocutor or to a specified destination)'

(5-175) Na=ka wau.
1SG=TAM AND
'I am going (away).'

Both sentences can be uttered in exactly the same situation by the same speaker. Whilst the first indicates that the motion is in the direction towards someone or something, the second focuses on the fact that the speaker is leaving, going away from someone or something. Whilst the above sentences were produced by a native speaker, more commonly mai and wau would co-occur with the verb raa 'go' in these contexts.

Mai and wau are commonly found in compound proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively, and they can possibly also function as prepositions. These functions are discussed in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and Chapter 6. The examples below illustrate the use of mai and wau as postverbal particles, although in (5-176) mai could be possibly analysed as a preposition.
(5-176) ‘Au  rio  mai!
   2PL  look  VENT
   'Look here!'

(5-177) Pita  'e  raa  mai  maani  taihai?
   Peter  3SG  go  VENT  ABL  where.LOC
   'Where did Peter come from?'

The sense of 'towards' can refer to an position not identical with the position of the speaker:

(5-178) Eeta-na  mera  'e  hura  mai  sasaan  siri'in.
   one-ORD  child  3SG  arrive  VENT  school  today
   'The first child (that) arrived at school today.'

There is evidence that cases such as (5-177) are not serial verb constructions (SVCs). In transitive SVCs, the object clitic attaches always to the second verb. This is not the case in (5-178):

(5-179) Hua=a  mai  hau  para  nena wau!
   bring=3OBJ  VENT  stone  be.white  DEM.DIST
   'Bring here that white stone!'

The andative wau is used in same way as mai, with the opposite meaning:

(5-180) Raa  wau!
   go  AND
   'Go away!'
6 Prepositional phrase

According to Payne, adpositions historically derive from nouns or verbs (1997:87). All 'Are’are adpositions are prepositions and the majority of them display behaviour linking them to their nominal or verbal origin. They can be divided into three categories, according to whether they index their objects and how.

- **Verb-like prepositions** index their objects by means of pronominal clitics in a similar way to how transitive verbs mark their direct objects.
- **Noun-like prepositions**, including the etymons 'a-, aa- and ha-, index their objects by means of personal suffix identical to possessive suffixes marking inalienable possession on nouns.
- **True (or bare) prepositions** do not index their objects in any way.

Each of these categories will be discussed in turn in the following sections, including an examination of the features that distinguish the verb-like and the noun-like prepositions from verbs and nouns respectively.

Different elements may function as the complement of a preposition: a noun phrase (6-1) or only the pronominal suffix (6-2), a PP (6-3) or a clause (6-4). The heads of the PPs are in bold:

(6-1) *so'o-na   nima*
    about-PRS house
    'about a house'

(6-2) *so'o-ku*
    about-1SG.PRS
    'about me'

(6-3) *hi   rao-na   nima*
    in    IN-PRS house
    'into the house'

(6-4) *…ko'e  na   'e   pora   tama-na   'e   reesi=a   simi   ne…*  
    frog   DET   3SG   jump   REAS-PRS   3sg   see=3OBJ   fly   DET
    '… the frog jumped because it saw the fly…
Some verbs combine with prepositions to express a particular meaning, in a similar way to English phrasal verbs. The meaning of the verb + preposition unit is to a large extent predictable from the meaning of its individual components, but not always. The examples below illustrate the combination of verbs and prepositions. The equal sign signals a clitic attaching to a verb-like preposition whilst the dash signals a suffix taken by a noun-like preposition:

\[
\begin{align*}
na'a \ ha'ani=a & \quad \text{'talk with'} \\
n'a \ tare=a & \quad \text{'talk to'} \\
n'a \ so'o-na & \quad \text{'talk about'} \\
raa \ tare=a & \quad \text{'go towards'} \\
raa \ so'o-na & \quad \text{'go after, follow'} \\
n'i'irae \ so'o-na & \quad \text{'think about'} \\
n'i'irae \ aa-na & \quad \text{'remember'} \\
n'i'irae \ ha-na & \quad \text{'want'} \\
n'i'irae \ tare=a & \quad \text{'like'} \\
nunumasi \ tare=a & \quad \text{'smile at'} \\
masi \ tama-na & \quad \text{'laugh at'} \\
ma'u \ tama-na & \quad \text{'be afraid because of'} \\
rio \ so'o-na & \quad \text{'look after'}
\end{align*}
\]

6.1 Verb-like prepositions

It has been suggested that the verb-like prepositions in Oceanic languages originated as verbs, most likely as manner components in serial verb constructions, and over a time have been reanalysed into adpositional elements (Durie, 1988). This view is adopted here. The verb-like prepositions in 'Are'are resemble transitive verbs in the way they mark their objects. When the object is a weak pronoun, it usually appears as an enclitic on the verb although the weak pronouns that have two or more syllables tend not to cliticise. When the object is a strong pronoun, the verb may optionally take the enclitic =a. See table 6.2 below for an overview of the relevant pronominal forms. When the object of the preposition is a noun

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65 These forms are also discussed as prepositional verbs, e.g. Pawley (1973).
phrase, either singular or plural, the clitic =a is always present. Since the object referencing is identical to the one found on verbs, the objects of verb-like prepositions are glossed in the same way as direct objects of verbs.

Another link between the verb-like prepositions and transitive verbs can be seen in morphology. The stems of all the verb-like prepositions end in -i. The form *-i has been reconstructed by Pawley as a transitive suffix in Proto-Oceanic (1973). Reflexes of this transitive suffix can be seen in the short transitive suffixes taken by one class of modern 'Are'are verbs which take the form -(C)i, see section 5.2.2.1 in Chapter 5. It seems unlikely that this similarity would be a coincidence.

### 6.1.1 Evidence for verb-like prepositions

Although the verb-like prepositions most likely originated as modifying verbs in serial verb constructions, in modern 'Are'are their distribution differs from the distribution of verbs. The serial verb constructions have different properties from sequences of verbs and verb-like prepositions.\(^{66}\) The main difference is that in SVCs no elements are allowed to come between the two verbs, but in a sequence of a verb and a verb-like preposition intervening elements are common.

As the example (6-5) below illustrates, in a serial verb construction nothing comes between the two verbs. The verbs are shown in bold:

\[(6-5) \ 'O=ko \ 'oni \ maasi=a \ maamaa-mu \ no'o!\]

\[
\begin{aligned}
2SG=TAM & \text{stay} & \text{wait.for}=3OBJ & \text{father}=2SG.POSS & \text{now} \\
\text{You stay (and) wait for your father!}'
\end{aligned}
\]

If the verb-like prepositions were in fact verbs, the following sentences would not be grammatical. The verbs and the prepositions are shown in bold:

In (6-6), the object of the verb suna na 'the fire' comes between haua and 'ohi'o 'around you.'

\[(6-6) \ Hau=a \ suna \ na \ 'ohi=o!\]

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{light}=3OBJ & \text{fire} & \text{DET} & \text{around}=2SG \\
'Light the fire around you! (so that it keeps you warm)'
\end{aligned}
\]

\(^{66}\) For a more in-depth discussion on serial verb constructions see Chapter 8.
In (6-7), two words intervene between the verb *poi* 'call' and *tarea* 'towards (her)':

\[(6-7) \quad Ka \quad poi\quad 'ara'a \quad ru'u \quad tare=a\quad teetee…\]

TAM call up again ALL=3OBJ mum

'She calls up to the mum again…'

In (6-8a), the noun phrase *waru uura nau na* 'my crayfish' intervenes between the verb *to'onia* 'pour' and the preposition *ha'ania* 'with'. Also, the lexeme *ke* intervenes between the verb *tahi* 'leave' and the preposition *maania* 'from':

\[(6-8a) \quad 'E \quad to'oni=a \quad waru \quad uura \quad nau \quad na \quad ha'ani=a\quad he \quad pour=3OBJ \quad QUANT\quad crayfish \quad 1SG.POSS \quad DET \quad with=3OBJ\]

\[\quad uura \quad naia \quad ma \quad 'e \quad tahi \quad ke \quad maani=nau\quad crayfish \quad 3SG.POSS \quad and \quad 3SG \quad leave \quad EMPH \quad ABL=1SG\]

'He poured my crayfish with his crayfish and ran away from me.'

Distribution also supports the analysis that these lexemes function as prepositions. The verb-like preposition can appear in the same position as the noun-like prepositions. Compare *ha'ania* 'with' in the sentence (6-8a) above with *raona* 'in' in (6-8b) below:

\[(6-8b) \quad 'E \quad to'oni=a \quad waru \quad uura \quad Ninikowau \quad na\quad he \quad pour=3OBJ \quad QUANT\quad crayfish \quad N. \quad DET\]

\[\quad rao-na \quad kakato \quad naia \quad na \quad ke.\quad IN-PRS\quad basket \quad 3SG.POSS \quad DET \quad EMPH\]

'He poured Ninikowau’s crayfish into his basket.'

In both examples, the prepositions come after the direct object of the verb. Both prepositions are in turn followed by their own objects, *uura naia* 'his crayfish' and *kakato naia* 'his basket'. If *ha'ania* still functioned as a verb, it would be unexpected to find it in the same position as the noun-like preposition.

Verbs functioning as modifiers of the head verbs in serial verb constructions can still function independently as verbs (see Chapter 8). The verb-like prepositions do not have the ability; they can only appear as a modifier in a verbal clause.\(^\text{67}\)

\[(6-9a) \quad Pita \quad 'e \quad raa \quad tare=a \quad iinaia.\quad Peter \quad 3SG \quad go \quad ALL=3OBJ \quad 3SG\]

'Peter went towards him/her.'

\(^{67}\) The verb-like prepositions cannot be heads of predicates, but the noun-like prepositions can, see Chapter 7.
(6-9b) *Pita 'e tarea iinaia.

I suggest that the final difference between the modifying verbs in an SVC and the verb-like prepositions is in that in transitive SVCs, the object referencing clitic appears on the second verb only, never on the first one or on both:

(6-10) Pita 'e na'a waerĩ=a John.
    Peter 3SG speak destroy=3OBJ John
    'Peter spoke badly about John.' (and made him angry)

In the example (6-11) below, both iiria 'tell' and taria 'to' appear with the object clitic:

(6-11) Pita 'e iiri=a sisihora tari=a John.
    Peter 3SG tell=3OBJ story to=3OBJ John
    'Peter told a story to John.'

As prepositional phrases do not normally directly follow transitive verbs, it is problematic to illustrate the difference on a construction where no elements intervene between the verb and the verb-like preposition. The following example was found in my data, where both ni'irae and taria appear with the object clitic:

(6-12) 'E ma ni'irae=a tari=a kato-ni uura...
    3SG NEG think=3OBJ of=3OBJ basket-AS crayfish
    'He didn't think of the basket of the crayfish.'

Admittedly, there are not many instances of ni'irae 'think of' 'remember' taking the object clitic in my data. This may be caused by the nature of the verb: ni'irae is a prepositional verb taking oblique objects (PPs) rather than a strictly transitive verb taking direct nominal objects. In most cases, PPs that follow a clearly transitive verb are headed by noun-like prepositions.

Table 6.1. lists the verb-like prepositions found in my data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning or function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha'ani</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tare, tari</td>
<td>towards, of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ohi</td>
<td>around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haahi</td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maani</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarariu, riuni</td>
<td>compared with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 The verb-like prepositions in 'Are'are
Table 6.2 below lists the pronominal forms, either clitics or free-standing, used by the verb-like prepositions to mark their objects. Note that for the objects expressed by strong pronouns, the clitic =a is not compulsory but very common. The use of the clitic =a with the weak pronouns is ungrammatical, see (6-14), with one exception. The weak form of 3sg is 'e, which, unlike the other weak forms, can be used only in subject position. The 3sg object is marked by the clitic =a instead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Weak</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Weak</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2 Object referencing by the verb-like prepositions

6.1.2 *Ha'ani* additive, 'with'

*Ha'ani* has an additive function and is used in many contexts as the English 'with'. The following examples illustrate the use of this particular preposition as well as the indexing of the complement by the verb-like prepositions in general.

(6-13) *keni* *ha'ani=a* *ma'ima'i* *na*

'woman with=3OBJ basket DET'

(6-14) *Pita* 'e *raa* *ha'ani=a* *iinau* / *nau.*

'Peter 3SG go with=3OBJ 1SG / 1SG'

(6-15) *Pita* 'e *haiotoi* *ha'ani=a* *Tione.*

'Peter 3SG meet with=3OBJ John'

One speaker produced the form *ha'i* for *ha'ania.*
This preposition can also be used to coordinate multiple objects:

(6-17) Pita 'e rae=nau ha'ani=a John / iinaia.
Peter 3SG know=1SG with=3OBJ John 3SG
'Peter knows me and John / him.'

(6-18) Na rae=a Tione ha'ani kira.
1SG know=3OBJ John with 3PL
'Peter knows John and them.'

In some contexts, ha'ani can be used interchangeably with ma 'and':

(6-19) Na rae=a Tione ma/ ha'ani=a iikira.
1SG know=3OBJ John and / with=3OBJ 3PL
'Peter knows John and them.'

Ha'ania also functions as a discourse marker, a kind of filler, in a similar way to the English discourse marker 'like'. See section 7.3.5. in Chapter 7.

6.1.3 Tare / tari allative 'to', 'towards', 'of'
The preposition tare has the general meaning 'to' 'towards,' but this meaning changes when the preposition appears with different verbs. Therefore, the gloss for tarea differs according to its meaning in a given context:

(6-20) Rio tare=nau!
look ALL =1SG
'Look at me!'

(6-21) Pita 'e raa tare=a iinaia.
Peter 3SG go ALL=3OBJ 3SG
'Peter went towards him/her.'

(6-22) Pita 'e=ka na'a tare=a.
Peter 3SG=TAM talk ALL=3OBJ
'Peter is talking to him/her.'

Note that as (6-22) above illustrates, it is possible to express third person singular object of the verb-like prepositions solely by means of the object clitic. The same behaviour has been
observed in transitive verbs and also the noun-like prepositions can reference their third
person singular objects solely by the relevant suffix –na.

(6-23) Pita 'e=ka uuro tare=a Tione.
     Peter 3SG=TAM shout ALL=3OBJ John
     'Peter is shouting at John.'

Other combinations attested in my data are iiria tare 'tell to', poi tare 'call to', ooro tare 'run
to' and ni'irae tare 'remember'. Note that this preposition is not used with places and place
names - the preposition hi would be used in this context (see section 6.3.).

Most of my consultants also produced the form tari at times. It is possibly a variant of tare, as
their meaning seems to be identical in most cases:

(6-24) Pita 'e iiri=a sisihora tari=a John.
     Peter 3SG tell=3OBJ story ALL=3OBJ John
     'Peter told John a story.' or 'Peter told a story to John.'

(6-25) Pita 'e iiri=a sisihora tari='o / kira.
     Peter 3SG tell=3OBJ story ALL=2SG 3PL
     'Peter told you / them a story.'

The preposition taria appeared only with the verbs raa 'go', iiria 'tell', sisihora 'story-tell',
ni'irae 'think' or 'remember', and thus its distribution was somewhat narrower than the
distribution of tarea.

However, there were two contexts where the meaning of tari versus tare was different. When
tari is combined with the verb raa 'go', the meaning is 'meet':

(6-26) Pita 'e raa tari=a Tione.
     Peter 3SG go ?=3OBJ John
     'Peter met John.'

The sequence raa tarea means 'go towards'. That this combination has a different meaning
from raa taria is obvious from the example below:
This sentence could be uttered to comment that Peter went to John's house, but John was not there, and Peter was going and then met John at another place, on top of the reef.

When combined with the verb tau 'do', the meaning is 'find':

\[(6-28) \quad 'O \quad tau \quad tari=a \quad Pita?\]

\[2SG \quad do \quad ?=3OBJ \quad Peter\]

'Did you find Peter?'

Only the form tari is grammatical in this context.

On the one hand, the forms tare and tari seem to be interchangeable most of the time and thus could be variants of the same lexeme. However, the fact that in some environments only one of them is grammatical suggests that possibly these are two different lexemes. It is also noteworthy that there exists a transitive verb tari= in 'Are'are which means 'to acquire', to gain', 'to earn'. It is not clear whether or how this verb may be related to the prepositional tari.

6.1.4 'Ohi locative 'around'

This preposition can mean 'around' or 'over'. So for example, when talking to a child, one could say:

\[(6-29) \quad Hui=a \quad kahu \quad na \quad 'ohi='o!\]

\[pour=3OBJ \quad water \quad DET \quad around=2SG\]

'Pour / splash the water (all) over you!'

The sentence could be interpreted in two ways. The first interpretation would be to splash the water about one's person, as in washing. The second interpretation, if child wants to be smart, would be to pour the water on the ground in the circle around themselves.
6.1.5 *Haahi* locative 'above'

*Haahi* is used to indicate a location 'above':

(6-27) *Pita 'e haahi kura.*
Peter 3SG above 1DU.INCL
'Peter is above us.'

(6-28) *Pita 'e haahi / haahi=a iikura.*
Peter 3SG above / above=3OBJ 1DU.INCL
'Peter is above us.'

(6-29) *Hua=a mai kapu ta'auru haahi='o na!*
bring=3OBJ VENT cup up above=2SG DET
'Bring me the cup above you!'

The above command could be used in a scenario when the speaker requests a specific cup that is located above the hearer, such as on the shelf under which the hearer is sitting. The location of the cup is specified twice - once by the true preposition *ta'auru* (expressing absolute location 'up') and the second time by a specific reference to its location as related to the hearer.

6.1.6 *Maani* ablative 'from'

The meaning of the preposition *maani* is 'from':

(6-30) *Taihai 'o raa maani=a na?*
where.DIR 2SG go ABL=3OBJ DET
'Where did you come from?'

It is also possible to express the question in the following manner:

(6-31) *'O raa maani-hai?*
2SG go ABL-where.DIR
'Where did you come from?'

(6-32) *'E pora maani=a paketi nena ma...*
3SG jump ABL=3OBJ packet and then...
'It jumped out of the packet and then…'

(6-33) *Pita 'e ooro maani=nau.*
Peter 3SG run ABL=1SG
'Peter ran away from me.'
(6-34) Rasu ka raa-raa maani=a rika’a.  
smoke TAM CONT-go ABL=3OBJ very  
'The fire is smoking a lot.’ (Lit.: The smoke is going from it (the firepit) a lot.)

6.1.7 Tarariu ‘compared to’

The lexeme tarariu is used for comparative but not superlative constructions:

(6-34) Pita ’e ’ewa tarariu=a John.  
Peter 3SG be.tall compared.to=3OBJ John  
'Peter is taller than John.'

(6-35) Pita=ka raa-raa rawahia tarariu=a John.  
Peter=TAM HAB-go fast compared.to=3OBJ John  
'Peter walks faster than John.'

(6-36) Keni waiwau ’e kuki rete tarariu=nau.  
woman DEM.DIST 3SG cook be.good compared.to=1SG  
'That woman cooks better than me.'

(6-37) Na tapo=a marika iiwera tarariu=’o.  
1SG catch=3OBJ fish be.many compared.to=2SG  
'I caught more fish than you.'

The dialectal variant\textsuperscript{69} riuni is used by some speakers. Also in the below sentence, the variant uuwera 'be many' is used, as opposed to the more usual iiwera:

(6-38) Pita ’e hua=a marika uuwera riumi=a John.  
Peter 3SG catch=3OBJ fish be.many compared.to=3OBJ John  
'Peter caught more fish than John.'

6.2 Noun-like prepositions

Many but not all prepositions in this category express a location of a person or an object in relation to another person or object (personal locatives). The noun-like prepositions behave like nouns in that they index their objects by means of personal suffixes. These suffixes are identical to possessive suffixes taken by nouns to express (direct) inalienable possession. They are glossed PRS for personal here, to distinguish them from the strictly possessive constructions.

\textsuperscript{69} In both variants there is the component riu, which is likely to carry the comparative function. In this example, the speaker also used the dialectal variant uuwera instead of iiwera.
6.2.1 Evidence for noun-like prepositions

The main feature distinguishing the noun-like prepositions from nouns is their distribution. Even though they may have nominal origins, unlike nouns, the noun-like prepositions cannot function as the subject of a sentence:

(6-39) *Rape-ku ka wa'i.
    body-1SG.POSS TAM hurt
    'My body hurts.'

(6-40) *Rao-ku ka wa'i.
    If rao was a noun, a possible interpretation that would make sense semantically could be 'My insides hurt.'

The noun-like prepositions can appear as a modifier of the head noun in the subject noun phrase, but cannot themselves function as the head of a subject noun phrase:

(6-41) Mane 'api-mu na 'e 'ewa.
    man next.to-2SG.PRS DET 3SG be.tall
    'The man next to you is tall.'

(6-42) *'Api-mu na 'e 'ewa.
    Intended meaning '(The one) next to you is tall.'

The noun-like prepositions cannot function as the direct object of a transitive verb:

(6-41) *Na reesi=a nunu-ku
    1SG see=3OBJ image-1SG.POSS
    'I saw my image (in the mirror).' 

(6-42) * Na reesi=a 'api-ku.
    Intended meaning 'I saw (the one) beside me.'

Noun-like prepositions normally cannot appear with a quantifier (6-44) or a determiner (6-42 above) unless the noun they modify is present:

(6-43) rua wa'a-ku
    two brother-1SG.POSS
    'my two brothers'

(6-44) *rua 'api-ku
    intended meaning 'my two sides'

70 It is however possible to say Popo-ku ka wa'i. 'My side (of body) hurts.' See comment below.
Semantically the noun-like prepositions differ from nouns in that they are not referential; they tend to express a relation between two entities: 'api- 'beside', rua- 'on top', rao- 'inside' etc. These prepositions commonly head PPs that appear with prepositional verbs (6-45), or function as adverbial adjuncts of intransitive verbs (6-46):

(6-45) Na=ka ni’irae so’o-na Tione.
    1SG=TAM think about-PRS John
    'I am thinking about John.'

(6-46) Hi mera na kira=ka haitatapa popo-na nima.
    PL child DET 3PL=TAM play beside-PRS house
    'The children are playing next to (the) house.'

The only exception among the noun-like prepositions is the form popo-, which functions as a preposition as well as a noun meaning 'side (of one's body)'.

Table 6.3 below lists the noun-like prepositions in 'Are'are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'api-na</td>
<td>next to, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matora-na</td>
<td>between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popo-na</td>
<td>next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rao-na</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rua-na</td>
<td>on top</td>
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<td>reason</td>
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<td></td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-na</td>
<td>purpose, recipient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 The noun-like prepositions

When the object of the noun-like preposition is first person singular or second person singular pronoun, the preposition will take the relevant suffix for that person, that is -ku for 1sg and -mu for 2sg. For all other persons the preposition takes the suffix -na, which is followed by the relevant personal pronoun in dual and plural. Third person singular pronominal object is
referenced solely by the suffix –na. When the object is expressed by a strong pronoun, the
prepositions take the suffix -na for all persons. This suffix is also present for nominal
complements, both singular and plural. Table 6.4 below shows an overview of the personal
suffixes taken by the noun-like prepositions for each person like so'o 'after'. Compare with
Table 4.5 in section 4.2.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
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<td>iikura</td>
<td>iikuru</td>
<td>iikuru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4 Personal suffixes used with the noun-like prepositions

6.2.2 'Api-na - allative, locative, possessive

This preposition can be used in a range of contexts. One of its functions is allative, meaning
'to', 'towards':

(6-47) Na'a 'api-ku!
talk to-1SG.PRS
'Talk to me!'

(6-48) Sisihora 'api-na koru!
storytell to-PRS 1PL.INCL
'Tell us a story!' 

It also expresses a location next to someone or something:

(6-49) kapu 'api-mu na 
cup next.to-2SG.PRS DET
'the cup next to you'

This preposition can also be used to express a temporary possession, similar to English 'have
something on one's person':

(6-50) 'Are 'api-mu?
thing on-2SG.PRS
'Do you have (betelnut)?
6.2.3  **Matora-na - locative 'between'**

This preposition denotes the position 'between':

(6-51) *Pita 'e uura matora-na iinau ma ii'o.*
Peter 3SG stand between-PRS 1SG and 2SG
'Peter stood between me and you.'

(6-52) *Pita 'e uura matora-ku ma panipani na.*
Peter 3SG stand between-1SG.PRS and wall DET
'Peter stood between me and the wall.'

6.2.4  **Popo-na - locative, 'on the side'**

*Popo-na* expresses a location or direction 'on the side' or 'beside' someone or something. The bound morpheme *popo* is used in expressions such as *popomauri* 'right hand side'.

(6-53) *'Eno popo-ku!*
lie side-1SG.PRS
'Lie next to me!'

(6-54) *Raa popo-na pani 'ai'ewau!*
go side-PRS wall DEM.DIST
'Go next to that wall!'

(6-55) *Mane popo-mu na 'e 'ewa.*
man side-2SG.PRS DET 3SG be.tall
'The man next to you is tall.'

6.2.5  **Rao-na - inessive 'in', 'inside'**

This preposition is used to indicate a location of 'in' or 'inside':

(6-56) *Pita 'e rao-na nima na.*
Peter 3SG IN-PRS house DET
'Peter is inside the house.'

(6-57) *Pita 'e 'ewa rika'a rao-na komu.*
Peter 3SG be.tall very IN-PRS village
'Peter is the tallest from the village.'
(6-59) Te 'are 'e ma 'oni rao-na manata-ku.
   IDF  thing 3SG NEG stay IN-PRS mind-1SG.POSS
   'I don't know anything.' (Lit.: There is nothing inside my mind.)

(6-60) Rikimana  manu rao-na ma'asu na kira ka nuu-nuu.
       all   bird IN-PRS forest DET 3PL TAM CONT~sing
   'All the birds in the forest are singing.'

6.2.6  *Rua-na* - locative, 'on top'

This preposition indicates a location or direction of 'on top' of a surface:

(6-61) Kato na 'e 'oni rua-na mako.
       basket DET 3SG stay on.top-PRS ground
   'The basket is on the ground.'

(6-62) Ha'a-to'oru-si=a ketoro na rua-na suna!
       CAUS-sit-TR=3OBJ kettle DET on.top fire
   'Put the kettle on the fire!'

6.2.7  *So'o-na* - 'about', 'of', 'after'

*So'o-na* corresponds to several English translation equivalents. It is used to indicate a content of a narrative, in the same way as the English 'about' would be used in this context.

(6-63) Haia, te aarasihora koru 'e so'o-na ha'ania
       okay  IDF story 1PL.INCL 3SG about-PRS DM

      huka ma poro.
   wife and husband
   'Okay, our story is about a wife and a husband.'

(6-64) Pita 'e na'a so'o-na iikira.
       Peter 3SG talk about-PRS 3PL
   'Peter talked about them.'

*So'o-na* can also be translated as 'of':

(6-65) Na=ka ni'irae so'o-na Tione.
       1SG=TAM think of-PRS John
   'I am thinking of John.'
Another meaning of so'o-na is 'after' (not in the temporal sense):

(6-66) Ri'o so'o-na kira!
look after-PRS 3PL
'Look after them!'

(6-67) Na raa so'o-mu.
1SG go after-2SG.PRS
'I followed you.' (Lit. 'I went after you.')</p>

6.2.8 Tama-na - reason 'because'

Tama-na is the preposition of reason. It can be used in declarative sentences as 'because' and in interrogative sentences with the meaning 'why':

(6-68) 'Arai na 'e kasu tama-na rakaraka-ha.
mango DET 3SG be.rotten REAS-PRS be.hot-NMLZ
'The mango rotted because of the heat.'

(6-69) Hanara 'e 'ehu tama-na suna 'e rakaraka.
food 3SG burn REAS-PRS fire 3SG be.hot
'The food burned because the fire was hot.'

(6-70) Tama-na 'aitaa 'e mae na?
REAS-PRS what 3SG die DET
'Why did he die?' or 'What did he die of?' (Lit.: Because of what did he die?)

In other contexts the preposition tama-na corresponds with the English 'at':

(6-71) Pita=ka masi tama-ku.
Peter=TAM laugh REAS-1SG.PRS
'Peter is laughing at me.’ (I did something that made Peter laugh.)

6.2.9 The prepositions 'a-, aa- and ha-

Among the noun-like prepositions there are three etymons that are especially common in particular contexts and co-occur with particular verbs: 'a-, aa-, ha-. These etymons reference their objects in the same way as other noun-like prepositions. Their functions are however broader; therefore, they are discussed here separately.
6.2.9.1 'A-na

This preposition is mostly used to express a recipient:

(6-72) Pita 'e wate=a hanara 'a-na 'au.
     Peter 3SG give=3OBJ food REC-PRS 2PL
     'Peter gave you food.'

(6-73) Pita 'e=ka na'a 'a-na 'au.
     Peter 3SG=TAM talk REC-PRS 2PL
     'Peter is talking to you (giving you advice)'

The meaning 'talk to' can also be expressed with the preposition 'api-na. I am not sure whether the different possibilities are just due to the speaker's choice or whether there is a significant difference in meaning. Since 'api-na can also express a temporary possession, it seems plausible that it can be used with a similar meaning to 'a-na, that is to reference a recipient.

The preposition 'a-na is unusual in that, unlike the other noun-like prepositions, there is an additional morpheme for first and second person singular objects. I analyse this morpheme =a as a clitic. The preposition thus takes the form 'a-ku=a and 'a-mu=a for 1sg and 2sg respectively:

(6-74) Pita 'e=ka na'a 'a-ku=a.
     Peter 3SG=TAM talk REC-1SG.PRS=?
     'Peter is giving me advice.

(6-75) Pita 'e wate=a hanara 'a-mu=a.
     Peter 3SG give=3OBJ food REC-2SG.PRS=?
     'Peter gave you food.'

This clitic may be realised as =’i:

(6-76) Pita 'e wate=a hanara 'a-mu=’i.
     Peter 3SG give=3OBJ food REC-1SG.PRS=?
     'Peter gave you food.'

It is not clear what the function of these clitics is, and how they differ from each other. Whilst there is a suffix –’i that may appear with the other noun-like prepositions, it is not used together with the regular personal suffixes. See section 6.2.10. below.
6.2.9.2 Aa-na

This etymon is used in a range of contexts: marking possession, in expressing like/dislike, benefactive/recipient constructions, as an instrumental preposition. Commonly, this preposition is used to introduce an oblique argument.

a) Possessive constructions and ownership

(6-77) Nima paina 'e aa-ku.
    house be.big 3SG POSS-1SG.PRS
    '(The) big house is mine.'

(6-78) Nima paina 'e aa-na Pita.
    house be.big 3SG POSS-PRS Peter
    'The big house is Peter's.'

When used together with the verb to'o, the unit to'o aa-na has the meaning 'to own' or 'to be married to':

(6-79) Pita 'e to'o aa-na 'aikarua.
    Peter 3SG own POSS-PRS canoe
    'Peter owns a canoe.'

(6-80) Pita 'e to'o keni, Pita 'e to'o aa-na Jane.
    Peter 3SG marry woman Peter 3SG marry POSS-PRS Jane
    'Peter married (a woman), Peter is married to Jane.'

b) Expressing likes and dislikes

When combined with the lexeme rae-na 'his/her being', the unit to'o aa-na acquires a different meaning from the one described above. When the rae-na is the subject, the construction expresses likes or, when negated, dislikes:

(6-81) Pita, rae-na 'e ma to'o aa-na John.
    Peter being-POSS 3SG NEG like-PRS John
    'Peter doesn't like John.'

(6-82) Rae-ku 'e to'o aa-na to'ī aa-na kara piakau.
    being-1SG.POSS 3SG like-PRS make OBL-PRS cassava pudding
    'I like making cassava pudding.'
b) Benefactive / recipient constructions

In benefactive or recipient constructions, all three of the etymons 'a-na, aa-na and ha-na may be used. It is not entirely clear what is the difference between these. Whilst some speakers indicated that possibly some constructions refer merely to the recipient whilst others implied that the recipient also benefited from the item given, this distinction was not made by all speakers in all contexts.

(6-83) Pita 'e wate=a hanara aa-na John.
     Peter 3SG give=3OBJ food REC-PRS John
     'Peter gave John food.'

(6-84) 'Au rae were=a kahu aa-na koru!
     2PL go.to fetch=3OBJ water REC-PRS IPL.INCL
     'Go fetch water for us!'  

(6-85) …rua mera ka huta aa-na kirarua no'o.
     two child TAM be.born REC-PRS 3DU PFV
     …two children are born to them.

b) Instrumental preposition

(6-86) Mane waiwou 'e 'ui=nau aa-na hau.
     man DEM.DIST 3SG throw=1SG INS-PRS stone
     'The man over there threw a stone at me. (Lit. That man he threw me with a stone.)'

(6-87) Mane 'e aapi=a niu aa-na hakesi.
     man 3SG split=3OBJ coconut INS-PRS axe
     '(The) man split coconut with an axe.'

(6-88) Na ka ra'au aana haka.
     1SG TAM go INS-PRS boat
     'I am going by boat.'

b) Obligue objects / prepositional objects

Aa-na is used with some verbs that require prepositional objects:

(6-89) Pita 'e ha'a'uni=a John aa-na poo.
     Peter 3SG promise=3OBJ John OBL-PRS pig
     'Peter promised John a pig.'
(6-90) Na noro=a wara aa-na Pita.
1SG hear=3OBJ news OBL-PRS Peter
'I heard (the) news from Peter.'

(6-91) Iinau, na=ka mauri aa-na ma'asu he'eta.
1SG 1SG=TAM live OBL-PRS vegetables only
'I live only on vegetables.' (I am a vegetarian)

(6-92) Pita 'e rete aa-na roto-ha.
Peter 3SG be.good OBL-PRS swim-NMLZ
'Peter is good at swimming.'

This preposition is also used in the sense 'out of' when identifying a member(s) of a group:

(6-93) te haru mane aa-na kira
QUANT.SUB man OBL-PRS 3PL
'some men out of them'

Aa-na can be used to express the equivalents of English 'of':

(6-94) Pita 'e mae aa-na to'i-ha.
Peter 3SG die OBL-PRS work-NMLZ
'Peter died of (over)work.'

(6-95) To'i rete aa-ku!
hold be.good OBL-1SG.PRS
'Hold me firmly (so that I don't fall)!'

Aa-na is used to identify a place in space or in time:

(6-96) 'Ami=ka rao hurai 'o aa-na rihi ne
1PL.EXCL=FUT meet 2SG OBL-PRS place REL
nima Pita 'e 'on'~oni aa-i na.
house Peter 3SG HAB~live OBL-OBJ DET
'We will meet you where Peter's old house used to be.'

(6-97) 'Ami=ka rao ra'au aa-na horo'a
1PL.EXCL=FUT go OBL-PRS time
Pita=ka hura taha mai.
Peter=TAM arrive come.in.sight VENT
'We will go when Peter gets here.'
6.2.9.2.1 Combination of verb plus aa-

Whilst in most instances aa-na functions as a head of a PP, phonologically independent on the verb, in certain contexts the sequence of verb plus aa-na seems to be undergoing a reanalysis. For at least some of my consultants, the verb + aa-na sequences in the below examples have been reanalysed as one phonological word where it is no longer possible to separate the individual components. The resultant word form seems to be a kind of gerund with the meaning 'v-ing of':

\[(6-98)\] 
Rae-ku to'o aa-na to'iana nima.  
being-1SG.POSS like making.of? house
'I like making houses.'

Compare

\[(6-99)\] 
Rae-ku to'o aa-na to'i-ha  
being-1SG.POSS like work-NMLZ
'I like work.'

The lexemes hahiana and to'iana in the below examples plausibly originated as hahi aa-na and to'i aa-na:

\[(6-100)\] 
Hi keni na kira hao=a hahita na no'o  
PL woman DET 3PL prepare=3OBJ earth.oven DET PFV
ha-na hahiana poo na.  
PURP-PRS evening.of? pig DET
'The women prepared the hot stones to oven the pig.'

\[(6-101)\] 
Hi mane na kira eepa=a ma'asu na ha-na  
PL man DET 3PL clear=3OBJ forest DET PURP-PRS
\[to'iana\] nima.  
building.of house
'The men cleared the forest to build the house.'

The forms in (6-100) and (6-101) differ from the normal forms of the verbs. Compare with the following examples:

\[(6-102)\] 
Hi keni na kira hahi=a poo na.  
PL woman DET 3PL cook.in.earth.oven=pig DET
'The women cooked (ovened) the pig.'
(6-103) *Mane 'e to'i=a nima.*
    man 3SG build=3obj house
'A man built a house.'

There is evidence that the fused sequence of verb plus *aa-na* has the properties of nouns. In the example below, *kuraana* 'curing of' functions as the subject of the sentence:

(6-104) *Kuraana Tione ka rau.*
curing.of? John TAM happen
'Curing of John must happen'

There are not many examples of this construction attested in my data. Whilst it appears that there is a possible change in progress regarding (some) verbs plus *aa-na*, it will be necessary to test this hypothesis by more data from a number of speakers before a conclusion can be made.

6.2.9.3 *Ha-na*

*Ha-na* most commonly carries the meaning of purpose, but it is also used in benefactive/recipient constructions and in constructions expressing a wish. *Ha-na* can take nominal or clausal complements.

a) Purpose

(6-105) *John=ka rorosu ha-na to'oru-ha.*
    John=TAM bend PURP-PRS sit-NMLZ
'John is bending in order to sit.'

(6-106) *Kou=ka roko ha-na hana.*
    1PL.INCL.TAM gather PURP-PRS 1PL.INCL=TAM eat
'Let's get together so that we can eat.'

b) Benefactive/recipient constructions

(6-107) *Pita 'e haata'ani=a nima na ha-mu.*
    Peter 3SG show=3OBJ house DET REC-2SG.PRS
'Peter showed the house to you.' or 'Peter showed you the house.'

(6-108) *Tau=a ha-ku ma'ima'i masika na!*
give=3OBJ REC-1SG.PRS basket be.small DET
'Give me the small basket!'
c) *Ha-na* can be used to express likes, in combination with *rae-na*:

(6-109) **John  rae-na  ha-na  to'oru-ha.**
John being-3SG.POSS OBL-PRS sit-NMLZ
'John would like to sit.'

When combined with the verb *ni'irae* 'think', *ha-na* is used to express a wish or a desire:

(6-110) **Mane  'e  ni'irae  ha-na  i-phone.**
man 3SG think OBL-PRS i-phone
'(That) man wants an i-phone.'

d) Periphrastic causatives are expressed by the combination of *tau* and *ha-na*:

(6-111) **Tau=a  ha-na  'e  ma'ahini!**
do=3OBJ PURP-PRS 3SG scratch
'Make it scratch!'

Note that in the above example the sequence of *tau a hana* has a different meaning from the sentence below, where *tau* is used as a synonym of *wate* 'give':

(6-112) **Pita  ('e)=ka  aa'o  ha-na  John.**
Peter (3SG)=TAM fish PURP-PRS fish
'Peter gave (it) to John.'

e) *Ha-na* can be used to express an equivalent of English 'for':

(6-112) **Pita  ('e)=ma   rau  ha-na  tisa   ru'u.**
Peter (3SG)=NEG happen OBL-PRS teacher INTS
'Peter didn't become a teacher.'

(6-113) **Na=ka  rio  ha-na  kui  'e  tahi  'asia  na.**
1SG=TAM look OBL-PRS dog 3SG leave away DET
'I am looking for the dog that ran away.'

f) Other uses of *ha-na*:

(6-114) **Pita  'e=ma  rau  ha-na  tisa  ru'u.**
Peter 3SG=NEG happen OBL-PRS teacher INTS
'Peter didn't become a teacher.'

(6-115) **Mane  'e  rika'a,  mane  ha-na  ko'u-ha  no'o.**
man 3SG ?  man OBL-PRS drink-NMLZ INTS
'(That) man is nuts, he drinks a lot.' (repeated example (3-47b)
6.2.10 Objects expressed by the suffix –na, -’i / -i only

When the object of a noun-like preposition is third person singular, it is possible to reference it solely by the –na suffix without the need for an overt pronominal or nominal object, provided enough detail is provided in the context:

(6-117) *Pita 'e wate=a hanara 'a-na.*
Peter 3SG give=3OBJ food REC-PRS
'Peter gave him/her food.'

(6-118) *Pita 'e=ka na’a so'o-na.*
Peter 3SG=TAM talk about-PRS
'Peter is talking about him/her/it.'

(6-119) *Tione=ka ha'amari'si nena ma Pita=ka masi tama-na.*
John=TAM make.fun and then Peter=TAM laugh REAS-PRS
'John is making fun, and then Peter is laughing at it.'

It is also possible for the object to be referenced by a pronominal anaphoric element -’i. This is the case when the complement is understood from the context, such as when it has been spoken about before or is being pointed to. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

(6-120) *Pita 'e wate=a hanara 'a-ku-a.*
Peter 3SG give=3OBJ food REC-1SG.PRS-OBJ
'Peter gave you food.'

(6-121) *Pita 'e wate=a hanara 'a-ku-'i.*
Peter 3SG give=3OBJ food REC-1SG.PRS-OBJ
'Peter gave me food.'

(6-122) *Raa popo-na pani 'ai'ewau!*
go next.to-PRS wall DEM.DIST
'Go next to the wall over there!'

(6-123) *To'oru popo-'i!*
sit next.to-OBJ
'Sit next to it!'
6.3 True/bare prepositions

The last group contains prepositions that do not index their objects in any way. Unlike the verb-like and noun-like prepositions, they often stand alone, without any object at all. With the exception of hi, the true prepositions may be used to modify nouns, either in their bare form or combined with other morphemes into compounds. Table 6.5 lists the true prepositions in 'Are'are, together with their meaning.
### Table 6.5 True prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hi</em></td>
<td>to, at, in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ta'au, ta'auru</em></td>
<td>up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taita'au</em></td>
<td>in front of or above (the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hiuru</em></td>
<td>up (direction of motion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hu'a</em></td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>haihau</em></td>
<td>behind or below (the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mai</em></td>
<td>general location, ventive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wau</em></td>
<td>general location, andative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 6.3.1 *Hi* 'to'

The general directional preposition *hi* is used with place names and nouns designating location, such as *nima* 'house', *aano* 'garden' but not with persons.

(6-131) *Pita  e=si  raa  hi  Wairokai.*

Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT go to Wairokai.

'Peter will not go to Wairokai.'

(6-132) *Na=ka  raa  hi  ni*a  no'o.*

1SG=TAM go to house now

'I am going to (a) house / home now.'

It is possible for the preposition *hi* to be used together with other prepositions. *Hi* may either precede (6-133) or follow (6-135) another preposition:

(6-133) *E  raa  hi  rao-na  paak.*

3SG go to IN-PRS park

'He went to a park.'

#### 6.3.2 *Ta'au, ta'auru* 'up'

The preposition *ta'au* expresses a location perceived as high:

(6-134) *Rato  e  rao-na  rararaa  ta'au.*

sun 3SG IN-PRS sky up

'(The) sun is up in the sky.'
It can also refer to a location positioned higher in terms of landscape, for example, to a house built on a hill:

(6-135) *Raa* ta'au hi nima!
    go up to house!
    'Go up to the house!'

*Ta'au* and *ta'auru* may be used in a slightly different sense, similar to English 'up the street'. The village Rutorea may not necessarily be elevated compared to the speaker's location:

(6-136) Ooho-ta ka rau ta'auru Rutorea.
    fight-NMLZ TAM happen up R.
    'There is a fighting happening up in Rutorea.'

6.3.3 *Taita'au, taita'auru* 'in front of' or 'above'
The preposition *taita'au* refers to a location that may be above the speaker (6-137) but also in front of the speaker (6-138):

(6-137) Manu koko'ara taita'auru.
    bird be.yellow up
    'There is a yellow bird up there (in the trees).'

(6-138) Noni taita'au71 'e rio rete.
    person in front 3SG look be.good
    '(The) person in front looks nice / pretty.'

This preposition is likely a compound *tai* 'place' and *ta'au* 'up, above'.

6.3.4 *Hiuru* 'upwards'

*Hiuru* refers to a direction upwards. Note that unlike *ta'au* and *taita'au*, *hiuru* does not refer to a location relative to the speaker:

(6-139) 'E=ka ta'e=a korosi-na hiuru.
    3SG=TAM lift=3OBJ skirt-3SG.POSS upwards
    'It is lifting up her skirt.' (In a narrative where a man's fishing rod accidentally catches a woman's skirt.)

---

71 This is possibly a reduced relative clause with a prepositional predicate.
6.3.5  *Hu'a 'down'*

According to my consultants, the morpheme *hu'a* has the meaning 'down' or 'here'. It is more commonly used as a part in compound lexemes that function as noun modifiers, such as *'ai'ehu'a 'this here'.* See Chapter 4.

(6-140) *nima  hauhu'a*

    house  down.there
    '(the) house down there'

6.3.6  *Haihau 'behind' or 'below'*

The morpheme *haihau* refers to a location behind or below the speaker.

(6-141) *nima  haihau*

    house  behind
    '(the) house over there (behind the speaker)'

6.3.7  *Mai ventive*

The morpheme *mai* has many functions in different contexts, as a component in compound nouns (*mai-hoe, mai-hana*), adverbal (*raa mai*) and as a prepositional element with the meaning 'close to (the speaker or another point of reference)' or 'towards (the speaker or another point of reference).'

(6-142) *Koru=ka  'oni mai komu moa koru=ka raa*

    1PL.INCL=TAM  stay  VENT  village or  1PL.INCL=TAM  go

    hi  Rutorea.
    to  Rutorea
    'Either we stay here in the village or we go to Rutorea.'

(6-143) *Eeta-na  mera 'e hura mai sasaani siri'ini.*

    one-ORD  child  3SG  arrive  VENT  school  today

    'The first child arrived to school today.'

6.3.8  *Wau* general location

The preposition *wau* expresses a location or a direction away from the speaker or another point of reference.

---

72 The word form *wau* is used by some speakers as a plural marker. Interestingly, the preposition *hi* also has the same form as the regular plural marker used by most speakers. See Chapter 4.
When expressing a direction, *wau* can be used together with the preposition *hi*:

(6-145) *E=ka  sisiho  wau  hi  aasi.*
3SG=TAM descend  PREP to sea
'She is going down to the sea.' (away from her previous location)

(6-146) *E  hura  wau  nima...*
3SG go  PREP house
'He arrived at the house…' (From another location)

(6-147) *Ho’ita’i  wau!*
turn  PREP
'Turn (yourself) that way!' (pointing)

(6-148) *Hua=a  mai  kapu  wau  kiseni  na!*
bring=3OBJ  VENT cup  AND kitchen  DET
'Bring me the cup from the kitchen!'

The morpheme *wau* has a similar range of uses as *mai*. It can function as a component in compound demonstratives (*wau'ee*), see Chapter 4.

The location/direction expressed by *mai* and *wau* is relative and depends not only on the speaker's location but also on the intended meaning. In the sentence below, both *mai* and *wau* may be used to indicate that the speaker is on his way home:

(6-149) *Na=ka  raa  mai / wau  nima.*
1SG=TAM go  VENT AND house
'I am coming / going home.'

*Mai* would be used to indicate that the speaker is approaching the house, whilst *wau* emphasises the speaker's leaving their current destination. So the primary difference is that whilst *mai* refers to coming 'to', *wau* indicates leaving 'from (another destination)'. Similar distinction is illustrated by the example (6-150), where *mai* or *wau* would be used depending on whether the speaker wishes to say 'here in the village' or 'over there in the village'.
Peter being-POSS PURP-PRS go-NMLZ to H. but

John being-POSS PURP-PRS stay-NMLZ PREP village

'Peter wanted to go to Honiara but John wanted to stay in the village.'

6.4 Prepositional compounds

There are several prepositional etymons expressing (usually) a location of one entity in relation to another entity. Unlike the noun-like prepositions, these etymons do not take the personal suffixes themselves but are directly followed by one of the prepositions 'a- or ha- which in turn take the relevant suffix. I am not entirely sure about the status of these etymons; whilst they have an identifiable meaning, they seem to be able to function only as bound morphemes as they usually do not occur as independent forms in my data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waru-ha-na</td>
<td>below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kao-'a-na</td>
<td>in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'o-ha-na</td>
<td>in front, before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puri-'a-na</td>
<td>behind, after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uri-ha-na</td>
<td>like, as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6 Prepositional compounds

(6-151) Pita  'e  waru-ha-mu.
Peter 3SG below-OBL-2SG
'Peter is below you.'

(6-152) Pita  'e  waru-ha-na  'ami.
Peter 3SG below-OBL-PRS 1PL.EXCL
'Peter is below us.'

(6-153) Pita  'e  uura  kao-'a-na  'aikarua  na.
Peter 3SG stand in.middle-OBL-PRS canoe DET
'Peter stood in the middle of the canoe.'

(6-154) Pita  'e  uura  kao-'a-na  'ami.
Peter 3SG stand in.middle-OBL-PRS 1PL.EXCL
'Peter stood in the middle of us.'
(6-155) Pita 'e musu-hi na'o-ha-na John.
Peter 3SG spit-TR in.front-OBL-PRS John
'Peter spat in front of John.' (in J. direction)

(6-156) Pita 'e uura puri-'a-ku.
Peter 3SG stand behind-OBL-1SG.PRS
'Peter stood behind me.'

The morphemes na'o and puri can be used in locational as well as in temporal manner, see section 8.2.2.1. There is one instance of puri occurring independently in my data, see example (5-138) in Chapter 5. In one case this etymon appears in the form ha'apuri, meaning 'from behind', see example (7-20) in Chapter 7.

'Uri commonly appears in the form 'uria which is used in polar interrogatives and to introduce embedded questions. I suggest that in those instances 'uria is possibly a verb meaning 'be so', 'be like'. When it occurs with the noun-like preposition ha-na, the meaning is also related to 'like'. The form 'uri does not seem to be able to function by itself.73

(6-157) 'Oki'~okira-ha kui na 'e 'uri-ha-na laione.
INTS~be.strong-NMLZ dog DET 3SG like-OBL-PRS lion
'The dog is strong as a lion.'

(6-158) 'O=ko tau 'uri-ha-ku!
2SG=TAM do like-OBL-1SG.PRS
'Do it like me!

73 It also appears in the demonstrative compounds 'uriwau 'over there' and 'ure'ee 'like this', see section 3.3.3.
7 Clauses

This chapter outlines the structure of the clause in 'Are'are. In my analysis, I follow Dryer's terminology. Dryer (2007) distinguishes between verbal and non-verbal clauses, and between verbal and non-verbal predicates. Verbal clauses contain a verb, either a lexical one or a copula. Non-verbal clauses do not contain any verbal element at all. Verbal and non-verbal clauses are not to be confused with verbal and non-verbal predicates. A verbal clause which contains a lexical verb has a verbal predicate; a verbal clause containing a copular verb has a non-verbal predicate, as the copula is not part of the predicate. A non-verbal clause contains a non-verbal predicate without the copula.

Whilst clauses with verbal predicates are the most common type of clause in 'Are'are, clauses with non-verbal predicates are also frequent. 'Are'are allows non-verbal clauses only in non-future tense; in future tense a copular verb is required. This chapter discusses the different kinds of predicates in the following order: section 7.1 discusses the use of subject markers, section 7.2. deals with verbal clauses. Section 7.3. describes non-verbal clauses: 7.3.1. Nominal predicates, 7.3.2. Locative predicates, 7.3.3. Other non-verbal predicates. Section 7.4. discusses pragmatically marked structures: 7.4.1. Negation, 7.4.2. Interrogatives, 7.4.3. Imperatives, 7.4.4. Topicalisation, 7.4.5. Discourse markers.

7.1 Subject and subject markers

In all 'Are'are clauses the subject precedes the predicate. Commonly, the subject (which can be either an NP or a clause) appears as the clause-initial element (7-1) to (7-3). In the examples below, the subjects are enclosed in square brackets.

(7-1) [Na]=ka  moro'u  no'o.
   ISG=TAM be.weak.with.hunger now
   'I am weak with hunger now.'

(7-2) [To'i  aa-na  nima  na]  'e  siko  no'o.
   build OBL-PRS house DET 3SG finish PFV
   'The building of the house has finished.'
The subject NP can be followed by a subject marker that agrees in number and person with the subject (7-4), also (7-2), (7-3).

\[(7-4) \text{ Hi mane 'ewau] kira=ka weo.}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{PL} & \text{mane} & \text{DEM.DIST} \\
\text{kira} & \text{3PL=TAM} & \text{be.tired} \\
\text{weo} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

'The men over there are tired.'

In verbal clauses, the subject markers are followed by the verb (see examples above), in non-verbal clauses they are followed by the non-verbal predicate (predicate in square brackets) (7-5).

\[(7-5) \text{ Pita 'e [ha'itau].}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Peter} & \text{3SG far} \\
\text{ha'itau} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

'Peter is far.'

The subject marker is commonly omitted, especially when the subject is third person singular. The most common environment where the subject markers are omitted is in clauses with 3sg subjects which contain the particle ka or the future marker ka rao:

\[(7-6a) \text{ Mane 'e=ka iiri=a sisihora na.}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{mane} & \text{3SG=TAM} & \text{tell=3OBJ story} \\
\text{iiri} & \text{DET} & \\
\text{sisihora} & \text{DET} & \\
\text{na} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

'(The) man is telling the story.'

\[(7-6b) \text{ Mane Ø ka iiri=a sisihora na.}\]

'(The) man is telling the story.'

\[(7-7a) \text{ Pita 'e=ka rao to'o aa-na iiora.}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Peter} & \text{3SG=FUT own OBL-PRS canoe} \\
\text{rao} & \text{DET} & \\
\text{to'o} & \text{DET} & \\
\text{aa-na} & \text{DET} & \\
\text{iiora} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

'Peter will have a canoe.'

\[(7-7b) \text{ Pita Ø ka rao pe'a ra'ahore'e.}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Peter} & \text{FUT dance} & \text{tomorrow} \\
\text{rao} & \text{DET} & \\
\text{pe'a} & \text{DET} & \\
\text{ra'ahore'e} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

'Peter will dance tomorrow.'

It is possible to omit the subject marker with other TAM markers, such as the negative future particle si. The omission is not restricted to singular:
(7-8a) *Pita 'e=si raa hi Wairokai ra'ahore'e.  
Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT go to W. tomorrow
'Peter won't go to Wairokai tomorrow.'

(7-8b) Pita Ø si raa hi wairokai ra'ahore'e. 
'Peter won't go to Wairokai tomorrow.'

(7-9a) *Hi mera na kira=si raa hi Wairokai ra'ahore'e.  
PL child DET 3PL=NEG.FUT go to W. tomorrow
'The children won't go to Wairokai tomorrow.'

(7-9b) Hi mera na Ø si raa hi Wairokai ra'ahore'e. 
'The children won't go to Wairokai tomorrow.'

As the example (7-10b) below illustrates, the subject marker can be omitted even in the absence of the TAM markers, although this is less common in my data.

(7-10a) John 'e aariponosi=a sisihora na.  
John 3SG forget=3OBJ story DET
'John forgot the story.'

(7-10b) John Ø aariponosi=a sisihora na. 
'John forgot the story.'

**Subject markers with names**

There is one environment attested in my data where the presence of the subject marker is not permitted, and that is when giving someone's name:

(7-11) Rata-na Ø Pita.  
named-POSS Peter
'His name is Peter.'

(7-12) Rata-na mane 'ai'ee Ø Pita.  
named-POSS man DEM.PROX Peter
'This man's name is Peter.'

compare

(7-13) *Rata-na 'e Pita.  
'His name is Peter.'
This exclusion is valid for the nominal predicate with names only. When the predicate is verbal, the subject marker is present:

(7-15) * Rata-na 'e 'ewa / 'e'ewa.
name-POSS 3SG be.long
'This man's name is Peter.'

When talking about names, it is sometimes possible to omit the subject marker, but the meaning will be changed. Compare the two following examples:

(7-16a) Rata-na 'e koko'osu.
name-POSS 3SG be.short
'His name is short.'

(7-16b) Rata-na Ø Koko'osu.
'His name is Koko'osu.'

### 7.2 Verbal clauses/predicates

The basic word order of constituents in a verbal clause is SV(X) for intransitive clauses, where S stands for the subject, V for the verb and X for another element which may be a verbal or a clausal modifier. For transitive clauses, the typical word order is SVO(X), where the O stands for a direct object.

The basic structure of a verbal clause may be represented in a linear way as follows:

(Temporal expression)

(Subject) (Subject marker) (TAM) Verb (DO) (IO) (Place Adverbial) (Manner/time adv) (Discourse markers)/(Situational demonstrative adverbs)

The core constituents of intransitive clauses are the verb complex and the subject (7-17), (7-18).

(7-17) Pita 'e=ka aa'o.
Peter 3SG=TAM fish
'Peter is fishing.'

Temporal expressions such as rikimana horo'a 'every day, often' may occupy different positions in the clause.
7.2.1.1 The verb complex and the subject markers

The verb complex is the only truly necessary component of the clause as the subject and/or the subject marker may be omitted. This is especially common when the subject is 3sg and the clause contains a TAM marker. If the subject can be inferred from the context, it does not have to be overtly expressed and the clause can contain only the subject marker but not the subject NP (7-19).

(7-19) 'E mae naaponi.
3SG die yesterday
'He/she died yesterday.'

It is also possible for both the overt subject and the subject marker to be omitted, most commonly in the presence of *ka*. This is especially common in narratives when the topic subject expressed by a NP in the first clause may be omitted in subsequent clauses (7-20).

(7-20) Teetee-na Ø ka na-nara, Ø ka noro ha'apuri,
mother-POSS TAM RDP~cry TAM hear from.behind

Ø ka rio keke, aai!
TAM look sideways oh
'Her mother is crying, she hears (something) from behind, she looks sideways and oh'

After the topic is introduced in a clause, subsequent clauses may contain only the subject marker (7-21), both the subject marker and the TAM marker (7-22) or the TAM marker without the subject marker (7-23).

(7-21) Ko'e na 'e pora ke, 'e pora maani=a paketi ne.
frog DET 3SG jump EMPH 3SG jump ABL=3OBJ parcel DET
'The frog jumped, it jumped out from the parcel.'

(7-22) Rikimana horo'a neke-na ka raa hi aano...
every day mother-POSS TAM go to garden...
'Every day his mother goes to (the) garden'

...ma 'e=ka to'i~to'i 'are 'a-na Ninikowau he'eta.
and 3SG=TAM HAB~work thing BEN-PRS Ninikowau always
'and she always makes things for Ninikowau.'
(7-23) *Ka* tautau aakau aa-na hanara ha-na mera na.
TAM prepare BEN-PRS food PURP-PRS child DET
'(She) prepares food for the child.'

Often speakers would repeat part of the preceding clause before continuing with the story, and the subject is usually omitted in the repeated clause, as in (7-24).

(7-24) *Rikimana* horo'a meru keni nena 'e=ka pahe~pahe
every time child woman DET 3SG=TAM HAB~walk
rao ma'asu.
IN forest
'Always this girl walked in the forest.'

*Ka* pahe~pahe rao ma'asu.
TAM HAB~walk IN forest
'(She) walked in the forest.'

Properties and forms of the pronouns functioning as subject markers are discussed in Chapter 4.

7.2.1.2 **Direct and indirect object**

Direct objects, nominal and pronominal, directly follow the verb. For discussion on referencing of direct objects see section 5.2.1.2 in Chapter 5.

(7-25) *Pita* 'e teke-ra'ani=a [niu na].
Peter 3SG fall-TR=3OBJ coconut DET
'Peter dropped the coconut.'

(7-26) *John* 'e aariponosi [kira].
John 3SG forget 3PL
'John forgot them.'

In clauses with ditransitive verbs, the direct object usually occupies the slot directly after the verb and is followed by the indirect object. The indirect objects are expressed by a PP.

(7-27) *Pita* 'e ka haata'ani=a [nima naia] [ha-na Tione].
Peter 3SG TAM show=3OBJ house 3SG.POSS OBL-PRS John
'Peter is showing his house to John.'

However, the order of the constituents may be reversed, and the indirect object may come before the direct one:
If the indirect object is pronominal, it usually follows the direct object:

(7-29) *Pita 'e haata'ani=a [nima ha-mu].
Peter 3SG show=3OBJ house DET OBL-2SG.POSS
'Peter showed you the house.'

### 7.2.1.3 Adverbials

'Are'are clauses may contain place (7-30), time (7-31), manner (7-32) or reason (7-33) adverbials. These typically follow the verb and often occur clause-finally:

(7-30) *Hi mera na kira=ka haitatapa [hau kahu].
PL child DET 3PL=TAM play PREP water
'The children are playing near the water (over there).'</n
(7-31) *Na=ka rao roto [ra'ahore'e].
1SG=FUT swim tomorrow
'I will swim tomorrow.'

(7-32) *Ka raa ['uriha-na ka weo].
TAM go like-PRS TAM be.tired
'(He) walks like he is tired.'

(7-33) *'Arai na 'e kasu [tama-na rakaraka-ha].
mango DET 3SG be.rotten REAS-PRS be.hot-NMLZ
'The mango rotted because of the heat.'

Reason adverbials are more commonly clausal and are discussed in Chapter 8.

The subject may be preceded by a temporal expression such as *karahini* 'soon':

(7-34) *Karahini, na=ka siko no'o.
soon 1SG=TAM finish DM
'I am going to finish soon.'

The lexeme *karahini* can be used in two different senses. When occurring clause-initially as in the example (7-34) above, it has a temporal reading. It can also occur as a place adverbial in
the sense of 'close, nearby'. In that case it always occurs in the usual place for adverbials, which is following the verb:

(7-35) Pita  'e=ma  'oni  karahini.
Peter 3SG=NEG stay/live close
'Peter is not close.' or 'Peter doesn't live nearby.'

Other temporal expressions may occupy the clause-initial slot. When occurring clause-initially, the temporal expressions serve to ground the event in time:

(7-36) 'O  rae  naaponi,  Pita  'e  raa  hi  aano…
2SG know yesterday Peter 3SG go to garden
'You know yesterday, Peter went to (the) garden…'

Compare with a sentence where naaponi appears in the usual position for time adverbials:

(7-37) Mane  'e'ewa  'e  raa  naapon.
man be.tall 3SG go yesterday
'(The) tall man left yesterday.'

When the temporal expression occurs clause-initially, it is in a displaced position. This is indicated by a pause between the temporal expression and the subject. There is no pause when the temporal expression occupies its usual position.

7.2.1.4 Negation

In negative verbal clauses, the negative particle *ma* is used for non-future. *Ma* always precedes the verb:

(7-38) Keni  'ene  'e=ma  to'o  aa-na  te  mera
woman DEM 3SG=NEG own OBL-PRS IDF child
'This woman doesn't have any children.'

To negate a future tense clause, the preverbal negative particle *si* is used:

(7-39) Pita  'e=si  hahi=a  poo  ra'ahore'e.
Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ pig tomorrow
'Peter will not cook a pig in the earth oven tomorrow.'

Negative particles are discussed in section 5.3.1.4. and 7.4.1.
7.2.1.5 Situational demonstrative adverbs

The situational demonstrative adverbs, which serve to assert that the state of affairs is indeed as has been stated by the speaker, occur clause-finally. The most commonly used one is *nena*:

(7-40) *Pita 'e tisa warita nena.*
Peter 3SG teacher be.old SIT.DEM

'Peter used to be a teacher.'

(7-41) *Sisihora koru 'e siko nena.*
story 1PL.INCL 3SG finish SIT.DEM

'Our story is finished.'

Situational demonstratives are also discussed in Chapter 4.

7.2.1.6 Clausal complements

A clause may function as a direct object, in which case it directly follows the transitive verb:

(7-42) *Pita 'e tau=a [kuki na 'e napota].*
Peter 3SG do=3OBJ pot DET 3SG be.broken

'Peter caused/made the pot to break.'

Complex sentences, including those with clausal complements, are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

7.3 Non-verbal clauses/predicates

Nonverbal clauses, where predicates are simply juxtaposed with their subjects without the presence of any verb, are common in 'Are'are. A nonverbal clause is typically formed by a subject and a nominal, locative, possessive or other prepositional predicate. However, it appears that 'Are'are allows non-verbal predicates only in non-future tense; the predicates must contain a verb for future tense. The future tense clauses then have the usual properties of verbal clauses. Negation can be achieved either by the negative particle *ma* or by means of the negative verb *mao* (Negation is discussed in detail in section 7.3.1.). The particle *ka* is not found in non-verbal clauses.

7.3.1 Nominal predicates

As stated above, in non-verbal clauses the subject is juxtaposed with the predicate. In the examples below, the non-verbal predicates are enclosed in the square brackets:
(7-43) Rata-ku [Margaret].
    name-1SG.POSS Margaret
    'My name is Margaret.'

(7-44) Na [tisa].
    1SG teacher
    'I am a teacher.'

(7-45) Mane nena 'e aaraha nena.
    man DEM 3SG chief SIT.DEM
    'This man is a chief.'

Identificational predicates follow the same pattern:

(7-46) 'Aikarua 'ee 'aikarua Pita nena.
    canoe DEM canoe Peter SIT.DEM
    'This is Peter's canoe.'

As in the verbal clauses, the subject marker may be omitted:

(7-47a) Maria 'e keni, Pita 'e mane.
    Mary 3SG woman Peter 3SG man
    'Mary is a girl; Peter is a boy.'

(7-47b) Maria keni, Pita mane.
    'Mary is a girl; Peter is a boy.'

A clause with nominal predicate may be negated by the particle ma (7-48) or by the negative verb mao (7-49):

(7-48) Maria ma mane, Pita ma keni.
    Mary NEG man Peter NEG woman
    'Mary isn't a boy; Peter isn't a girl.'

(7-49) Mane nena aaraha mao nena.
    man DEM chief be.not SIT.DEM
    'This man isn't a chief.'

Whilst the non-future tense is unmarked, future is marked by the marker ka rao or si in negative. However, in future tense clauses a verb is compulsory, both in positive and negative sentences. The translation of the copula rau\(^{75}\) is closer to 'become' than to 'be'.

\(^{75}\) Rau normally translates as happen, and its transitive version is raunia 'control'.
(7-50) Na=ka paina ma na=ka rao rau ha-na namo.
1SG=TAM be.big and 1SG=FUT become PURP-PRS warrior
'When I grow up, I will be a warrior.'

(7-51) Na=ka paina ma na=si rau ha-na namo.
1SG=TAM be.big and 1SG=FUT.NEG become PURP-PRS warrior
'When I grow up, I won't be a warrior.'

7.3.2 Prepositional predicates
Prepositional predicates in 'Are'are can express a possession (section 7.2.2.1.), location (section 7.2.2.2.) or other kind of relation (7.2.2.3.). They are headed either by a preposition taking a complement or by an intransitive preposition not requiring a complement (7-64a), (7-64b), (7-65a) and (7-56b).

7.3.2.1 Possessive
Non-verbal predicates are also used to express possession in 'Are'are. In these predicates, the noun-like preposition aa-na is used most often:

(7-52) Nima paina 'e [aa-na Pita].
house be.big 3SG OBL-PRS Peter
'Peter has a big house.'

(7-53) Nima paina 'e [aa-ku].
house be.big 3SG OBL-1SG.POSS
'I have a big house.'

Negation is possible using the negative verb mao:

(7-54) Nima paina 'e mao aa-ku.
house be.big 3SG be.not OBL-1SG.POSS
'I don't have a big house.'

The negative particle ma was never produced with the noun-like preposition in non-verbal possessive predicates by my field consultants. It was considered ungrammatical by my main language consultant:
This suggests that possessives have a slightly different status to other PPs, where both ma and mao are grammatical modes of negation.

The noun-like preposition ‘api-na can also be used in non-verbal predicates. This preposition also expresses possession, albeit of a slightly different kind. ‘Api-na translates into English as 'with, to/towards', and the possession expressed through this preposition has a temporary character. In the following example, the speaker is enquiring as to whether the hearer currently carries any betelnut:

(7-56) ‘Are ‘api-mu?
      thing   with-2SG.POSS
      'Do you have any? (generally meaning betelnut in this context)'

The literal translation would be '(Is) the thing with you?' The closest structure of this kind in English would be 'Do you have any (money) on you?'

Negation of this construction is possible with the negative verb mao:

(7-57) Te ‘are mao (‘api-ku).
      IDF thing be.not (with-2SG.POSS)
      'I don't (have any on me)'

In the answer, the construction ‘apiku can be omitted. The translation would thus be akin to the English 'I don't (have any)'.

7.3.2.2 Locative

Clauses with locative predicates are also formed by juxtaposition of the subject and the predicate. Since the predicate does not contain a verb, the particle ka is not present. The square brackets in the examples below enclose the predicates:

(7-58) ‘Aikarua iiwera ‘e76 [rao-na raera na].
      canoe   be.many   3SG  IN-PRS   lagoon DET
      'There are many canoes in the lagoon.'

76 ‘E is a 3sg subject marker, but it is often used for plural referents, especially if they can be understood to form a group.
(7-59) Hi mera kira [rao-na nima].
   PL child 3PL IN-PRS house
'The children are in the house.'

(7-60) Pita 'e [wau nima].
   Peter 3SG over.there house
'Peter is in the house (over there).'

Locative predicates may be headed by an intransitive preposition:

(7-61) Manu koko'ara [taita'auru].
   bird be.yellow up.there
'There is a yellow bird up there.'

It is also possible to use both the prepositional phrase and the absolute location expression in one predicate:

(7-62) Rato 'e [rao-na rararaa ta'au].
   sun 3SG IN-PRS sky up
'The sun is up in the sky.'

As in the verbal predicates, non-future is unmarked (7-63), also above.

(7-63) Pita 'e [rao-na nima naapon].
   Peter 3SG IN-PRS house yesterday
'Peter was in the house yesterday.'

Clauses with locative predicates can be negated by the particle ma or the negative verb mao.

There does not seem to be any difference to the meaning:

(7-64a) Pita 'e=ma ha'itau.
   Peter 3SG=NEG far
'Peter is not far.'

(7-64b) Pita 'e mao ha'itau.
   Peter 3SG be.not far
'Peter is not far.'

(7-65a) Pita 'e=ma karahini.
   Peter 3SG=NEG nearby
'Peter is not close.'
Similarly to the nominal predicates, locatives require a copular verb for future tense. The verb ‘oni is used with locative predicates. This verb can also function as a full lexical verb with the meaning ‘stay’ or ‘live’. Positive future is marked by the particle ka rao, negative future by the particle si. Sentences in future tense without a copular verb are ungrammatical (7-70).

(7-67) Iiora ‘e=[ka rao ‘oni wau kahu ra’ahore’e].
canoe 3SG=FUT stay over.there water tomorrow
'The canoe will be on/in the water tomorrow.'

(7-68) Pita=[ka rao ‘oni rao-na nima ra’ahore’e].
Peter=FUT stay IN-PRS house tomorrow
'Peter will be in the house tomorrow.'

(7-69) Hi mera kira=[si ‘oni rao-na nima ra’ahore’e].
PL child 3PL=NEG.FUT stay IN-PRS house tomorrow
'The children won't be in the house tomorrow.'

compare

(7-70) *Pita ‘e=[si Ø rao-na nima ra’ahore’e].
Peter 3SG=NEG-FUT IN-PRS house tomorrow
'Peter will not be in the house tomorrow.'

Whilst the language consultants did produce locatives in clauses with non-future tense without any verbal element and the non-verbal clauses with locative predicates were judged perfectly acceptable by the speakers, it seems that there is a strong preference for locative predicates to be verbal rather than non-verbal. While the nominal predicates are only used with a copular verb in future tense, the locative predicates can contain the copula ‘oni in non-future tense as well:
(7-71) Wau 'aikarua na kira ['oni rua-na kahu].
   PL canoe DET 3PL stay on.top-PRS water
   'The canoes are on the water.' (right now)

(7-72) Iiora 'e ['oni wau kahu naapon].
   canoe 3SG stay over.there water yesterday
   'The canoe was on/in the water yesterday.'

(7-73) Hanara 'e=[ma 'oni rao-na ma'imai'i naaponi].
   food 3SG=NEG stay IN-PRS basket yesterday
   'The food was not in the basket yesterday.'

The following examples illustrate the different uses of the verb 'oni; as a full verb meaning to live or stay (7-74) and as a copula (7-75). Usually, the meaning is clear from the context, although in some cases the sentence allows for an ambiguous interpretation where both 'be' and 'live' are possible candidates (7-76).

(7-74) 'O 'oni taihai?
   2SG live where
   'Where do you live?' (permanently)

(7-75) Hanara 'e 'oni ke?
   food 3SG stay EMPH
   'Is there any food?'

(7-76) Pita 'e=ma 'oni ha'itau.
   Peter 3SG=NEG stay far
   'Peter is not far.' or 'Peter doesn't live far.'

7.3.2.3 Other prepositional predicates

Other prepositions, not expressing a location or possession, can also appear as the head of a non-verbal predicate:

(7-77) Sisihora 'ee 'e [so'o-na Warutahana].
   story DEM 3SG about-PRS Warutahana
   'This story is about Warutahana (an eight-foot long snake spirit).'

Prepositional predicates can be negated using either the negative particle ma or the negative verb mao:
"This story is not about a frog; it is about a heron."

"This story is not about a frog; it is about a heron."

7.4 Pragmatically marked structures

7.4.1 Clausal negation

'Are'are uses several different negative particles, the use of which reflects the tense distinction future/non-future and also a negative verb. Table 7.1 shows the various negative elements used in 'Are'are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Form</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal predicate negation non-future</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal predicate negation future</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-verbal predicate negation non-future</td>
<td>ma, si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperative non-future</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperative future</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No!</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1 Negation in 'Are'are

The negative particles always immediately precede the verb and take the form *ma, si* or *man(i)*. The negative verb *mao* can occupy several positions in the clause, see below.

---

77 It is possible that *man(i)* is a fossilised phrase, perhaps originally a combination of *ma* and another element, but this is only a speculation at this point.
7.4.1.1 The negative particle ma

To negate clauses expressing states, events and actions that happened in the past or are in progress, the negative particle ma is used (most commonly with verbal predicates). This particle is used for stative as well as active verbs:

(7-79) Pita 'e=ma haata'ani=a nima naia ha-na John.
Peter 3SG=NEG show=3OBJ house 3SG.POSS PURP-PRS John
'Peter didn't show his house to John.'

(7-80) Mane 'ewau 'e=ka=ma weo.
man DEM 3SG=TAM=NEG be.tired
'That man is not tired.'

(7-81) Kahu na 'e=ka=ma sisiu'a.
water DET 3SG=TAM=NEG be.cold
'The water isn't cold.'

(7-82) Pita 'e=ka=ma ra'a hi Wairokai.
Peter 3SG=TAM=NEG go to W.
'Peter isn't going to Wairokai.'

The particle ma can also be used to negate a non-verbal predicate. In that case it also immediately precedes the predicate:

(7-83) Iinaia 'e=ma hahone-ku.
3SG 3SG=NEG sister-1SG.POSS
'She is not my sister.'

7.4.1.2 The negative particle si

Negation of clauses expressing events that are yet to happen, both declarative and prohibitive, use the particle si. This particle occupies the same slot as ma, that is immediately preceding the verb:

(7-84) Hurahura na 'e=si kapa, hurahura mauri nena.
spring DET 3SG=NEG,FUT dry.up spring live SIT.DEM
'The spring will not dry up; it is a living spring.'

(7-85) Na=si wate=a hanara aa-na John.
1SG=NEG,FUT give=3OBJ food OBL-PRS John
'I won't give food to John.'
(7-86) 'O=si  tau=a!
     2SG=NEG,FUT   do=3OBJ
    'Don't do it!'

7.4.1.3 The negative particle man(i)

Non-future prohibitives use the negative man(i). This particle is used in imperatives aiming to stop an action that is already in progress, and occupies the same position as ma and si, immediately before the verb. The forms man and mani were produced by the speakers. Since both forms were produced in the same context and without any change of meaning, I conclude that they are allomorphs. This analysis is further supported by the fact that high vowels are commonly deleted in fast speech when occurring word-finally in 'Are'are, especially in function words (see Chapter 2).

(7-87a) Pita, man  masi!
     Pita  NEG   laugh
    'Peter, stop laughing!'

(7-87b) Pita, mani masi!
    'Peter, stop laughing!'

(7-88a) Hi  mera, 'au  man  roto, pa'ewa  rao  aasi!
     PL   child  2PL  NEG   swim shark  IN   sea
     'You kids, stop swimming, there is a shark in the sea!'

(7-88b) Hi  mera, 'au  mani  roto, pa'ewa  rao  aasi!
    'You kids, stop swimming, there is a shark in the sea!'

7.4.1.4 The negative verb mao

Mao is commonly used to negate clauses whose predicates are non-verbal in positive. Unlike the particle ma, which always precedes the verb or the non-verbal predicate, mao can appear in different positions in the clause. As illustrated by the examples below, mao can occupy the position before the non-verbal predicate (7-89), (7-90) or after it (7-91), (7-92).

(7-89) Iiora  'e  mao  wau  kahu  naapon.
     canoe  3SG  be.not  PREP  water  yesterday
     '(The) canoe wasn't on the water yesterday.'
(7-90) Te nima 'e mao aa-ku.
IDF house 3SG be.not OBL-1SG.POSS
'I don't have a house.'

(7-91) 'Aikarua 'ee 'e 'aikarua Pita mao.
canoe DEM 3SG canoe Peter be.not
'This isn't Peter's canoe.'

(7-92) Mane nena aaraha mao nena.
man DEM chief be.not SIT.DEM
'That man is not a chief.'

When negating locative predicates and possessive predicates formed by the etymon aa-na, mao precedes the predicate, but when negating nominal predicates and identificational constructions, mao follows the predicate second noun phrase.

The negative verb mao cannot be used to negate a verbal predicate. Compare the following two examples:

(7-93a) Hi mane iiwera kira ma raa.
PL man be.many 3PL NEG go
'Many people didn't go.'

(7-93b) * Hi mane iiwera kira raa mao.
'Many people didn't go.'

Mao, but not ma, can function in elliptical constructions:

(7-94a) 'O ko mahea?
2SG TAM be.hungry
'Are you hungry?'

(7-94b) Mao.
be.not
'No.'

(7-94c) *Ma.
'No'
This canoe is old; maybe it will sink or maybe it won't.'

The following table illustrates the distribution of the negative verb *mao* compared with the distribution of the negative particle *ma*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of predicate</th>
<th>Position of <em>mao</em></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Possible with <em>ma</em>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes, routinely used to negate verbs: <em>Pita 'e ma raa</em>. 'Peter didn't go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>after predicate</td>
<td><em>Mane nena aaraha mao nena.</em> 'That man isn't a chief.'</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mane nena mane 'e ma aaraha nena.</em> 'That man isn't a chief.'</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>before predicate</td>
<td><em>Pita 'e mao karahini.</em> 'Peter is not closeby.'</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pita 'e ma karahini.</em> 'Peter is not closeby.'</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive PP</td>
<td>before predicate</td>
<td><em>Nima paina 'e mao aaku.</em> 'I don't have a big house.'</td>
<td>No, only verbal: <em>Na ma to'o aana te mera.</em> 'I don't have any children.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Nima paina 'e ma aaku.</em> 'I don't have a big house.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other PP constructions</td>
<td>before predicate</td>
<td><em>Sisihora 'ai'ee 'e mao so'ona ko'ese.</em> 'This story is not about a frog.'</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Sisihora 'ai'ee 'e ma so'ona ko'ese.</em> 'This story is not about a frog.'</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identificational constructions</td>
<td>after predicate</td>
<td><em>'Aikarua 'ee 'e aikarua Pita mao.</em> 'That canoe is not Peter's.'</td>
<td>No examples attested in my data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliptical constructions</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>'O ko mahea?</em> 'Are you hungry?*</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mao.</em> 'No.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2 Distribution of the negative verb *mao*
7.4.1.5 The identifier te and negation

The identifier te is used as a prenominal modifier. It can also correspond to English 'any' in negative sentences. When the negative particle ma or si or the negative verb mao are present, te has a negative interpretation:

\[(7-96) \text{Te wa'a-mu } 'e \text{ mao aa-mu.} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IDF} & \text{ brother-2SG.POSS} & \text{3SG} & \text{be.not OBL-2SG.POSS} \\
'You don't have any brothers.'
\end{align*}
\]

\[(7-97) \text{Te 'are 'e=ma 'oni rao-na manata-ku.} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IDF} & \text{ thing 3SG=NEG stay IN-PRS mind-1SG.POSS} \\
'I don't know anything.' (Lit. 'Anything isn't in my mind.')
\end{align*}
\]

\[(7-98) \text{Na=ma to'o aa-na te nima warita.} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG=NEG own OBL-PRS IDF house be.old} \\
'I didn't own any house / I didn't use to own any house.'
\end{align*}
\]

\[(7-99) \text{Pita 'e=si tisa te horo'a no'o.} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Peter 3SG=NEG.FUT teach IDF time DM} \\
'Peter will not be a teacher.'
\end{align*}
\]

7.4.2 Interrogatives

7.4.2.1 Polar interrogatives (yes/no questions)

Polar interrogatives, that is interrogatives to which the answer is yes or no, are distinguished from declaratives only by the rising intonation; there is no change to the word order. Compare the two following examples, where the intonation in (7-100a) is falling, whilst the intonation in (7-100b) is rising. The symbol \ marks falling intonation contour, the raising intonation contour is marked by the sign /:

\[(7-100a) \text{Pita } 'e \text{ \textbackslash ewa.} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Peter} & \text{ 3SG be.tall} \\
'Peter is tall.'
\end{align*}
\]

\[(7-100b) \text{Pita } 'e \text{ /'ewa?} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Peter} & \text{ 3SG be.tall} \\
'Is Peter tall?'
\end{align*}
\]
The lexeme ‘uria can be used to introduce polar interrogatives. I am not sure what lexical category ‘uria is; it is quite possible that it is a verb. Sentences containing a clause-initial ‘uria may be best translated as 'Is it so that…?';

(7-101) ‘uria Pita ’e ’ewa?
    be.so Peter 3SG be.tall
    'Is Peter tall?' (Is it that Peter is tall?)

(7-102) ‘uria Pita tisa nena?
    be.so Peter teacher SIT.DEM
    'Was Peter a teacher?'

The lexeme ‘uria can also introduce an embedded question, see section 8.2.3.1.1 in Chapter 8.

7.4.2.2 Content interrogatives

Several different lexemes act as the counterparts of English wh-words and can be used to ask about the identity of a person or an object, place or about a reason. Table 7.3 below lists the interrogative lexemes in 'Are'are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aatei</td>
<td>who, whose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aitaa / iitaa</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama-na iitaa</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'utaa</td>
<td>how, which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horo‘a ‘utaa</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taihai</td>
<td>where (location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maаниhai</td>
<td>where from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiihai</td>
<td>where to (direction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hita</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.3 Interrogative lexemes in 'Are'are

7.4.2.2.1 Aatei

Aatei 'who' can be used enquire about the identity of a person:

(7-103) Aatei  ‘e to‘i=a ‘aikarua na?
    who 3SG build=3OBJ canoe DET
    'Who made the canoe?'
As seen from the above examples, the word order in content interrogatives enquiring about the subject or its possessor is the same as in the corresponding declarative. The main marker of the difference is the question word. However there is a difference in the intonation contour raising in the interrogatives and falling in the declaratives.

7.4.2.2.2 'Aitaa/iitaa

'Aitaa, or its dialectal variant iitaa 'what', is used to enquire about the identity of an object or an animate other than human. Typically the question word appears clause-initially. Note that the verb still appears with the object clitic.

(7-109a) [Iitaa]  'o  hahi=a  nena?
  what  2SG  cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ SIT.DEM
  'What did you cook in the earth oven?'
(7-109b) *Hi keni na kira hahi=a [poo na].*

PL woman DET 3PL cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ pig DET

'The women cooked the pig in the earth oven.'

(7-110a) ['Aitaa] 'au tau=a me'etani na?

what 2PL do=3OBJ night DET

'What did you do at night?'

(7-110b) 'Are nena 'e tau=a ['o=ko ma'ahini].

thing DEM 3SG do=3OBJ 2SG=TAM scratch

'That thing makes you scratch. (e.g. a skin irritating plant)'

(7-111) 'Aitaa paina-ha 'o na?

what be.big-NMLZ 2SG DET

'What is your rank?' (When asking about a position in a tribe)

The above question could also be expressed as:

(7-112) Painaha 'o na 'aitaa?

'What is your rank?'

7.4.2.2.3 Tama-na iitaa

To enquire about a reason, the noun-like preposition tama-na is used together with iitaa in contexts where English would use 'why':

(7-113) 'E mae tama-na iitaa?

3SG die REAS-PRS what

'Why did he die? (Literally: He died because of what?)'

(7-114) 'E mae tama-na hanara.

3SG die REAS-PRS food

'He died because of food (it was bad, off).'

Again, the word order in the interrogative sentence is the same as in the declarative, but with a difference is in the raising (interrogative) versus falling (declarative) intonation contour.

---

78 Note that in both (7-122) and (7-123) the subject marker 'e may optionally appear, following 'aitaa and painaha respectively.
7.4.2.2.4  'Utaa

The lexeme 'utaa can be translated in different ways, depending on the context:

(7-115) Manata-mu  'e  'utaa?
    mind-2SG.POSS  3SG  how/which
    'What do you think? (Lit. How/which is your mind?)'

(7-116) 'Utaa  no'o,  hoe-ku?
    how  now  friend-1SG.POSS
    'How are you, my friend?'

(7-117) Kapu  'utaa  'o=ko   ko'u  maani=a?
    cup  which  2SG=TAM  drink  ABL=3OBJ
    'Which cup are you drinking from?'

The examples in (7-115) and (7-116) are structurally different from (7-117), as in (7-117) the
lexeme 'utaa modifies the noun kapu 'cup'. It is thus part of the noun phrase kapu 'utaa 'which
cup' functioning as the subject of the sentence.

7.4.2.2.5  Horo'a  'utaa

The expression horo'a  'utaa is used to enquire about time and corresponds to English 'when'.
It can occupy a clause-initial (7-118) or a clause-final position (7-119):

(7-118) Horo'a  'utaa  Pita  'e  raa?
    time  which  Peter  3SG  go
    'When did Peter go?'

(7-119) Pita  'e  raa  horo'a  'utaa?
    Peter  3SG  go  time  which
    'When did Peter go?'

7.4.2.2.6  Taihai

To enquire about a location of something or someone, the lexeme taihai is used. It appears that
taihai is a compound of tāi and hai, but it is difficult to establish the exact meaning of the
individual morphemes at this point. The morpheme hai is the one that is present in all
interrogative words regarding location/direction.
(7-120) **Hote** na ‘e **taihai**?
    paddle DET 3SG where
    'Where is the paddle?'

(7-121) **Taihai** 'o raa maani=a na?
    where 2SG go ABL=3OBJ DET
    'Where did you come from?'

### 7.4.2.2.7 **Maanihai**

Maanihai also seems to be a compound. Maani- is a verb-like preposition meaning 'from'. This compound is used to enquire about a location in terms of a starting point of a journey for example:

(7-122) 'O raa **maanihai**?
    2SG go from.where
    'Where did you come from?'

Note that (7-121) is synonymous with (7-122).

### 7.4.2.2.8 **Hiihai**

As the above location/direction question words, hiihai is also a compound. Its composition is possibly the locative preposition hi and the morpheme hai. It is used to enquire about a destination:

(7-123) 'O=ko raa **hiihai**?
    2SG=TAM go where.to
    'Where are you going?'

### 7.4.2.2.9 **Hita**

Hita is used to enquire about the number of referents expressed by a count noun:

(7-124) **Hita** wa’a-mu ‘e aa-mu na?
    how.many brother-2SG.POSS 3SG OBL-2SG.POSS DET
    'How many brothers do you have?'

The use of hita is discussed in detail in section 4.3.1.7 in Chapter 4.
7.4.3 Imperatives

Payne (1997:303) describes imperatives as “verb forms or construction types that are used to directly command the addressees to perform some action”. In König and Siemund's description, imperative sentences express directive speech acts, such as commands, orders, requests, but also include warnings and advice (2007). Payne as well as König and Siegmund note that imperatives are typically understood to refer to a second person subject.

7.4.3.1 Positive imperatives

Positive imperatives with second singular person subjects are most commonly formed by the verb only:

(7-125) Na' a!
speak 'Speak'!

(7-126) Ra a mai!
go AND 'Come here!' 

The presence of the subject pronoun is not ungrammatical; however, usually it appears with overt 2sg subjects only for emphasis or to distinguish an individual from others:

(7-127) 'O r io mai!
2SG look AND 'Look here (you)!'

It is also possible to use imperatives with vocatives:

(7-128) Pita, pooruru!
Peter kneel
'Peter, kneel down!'

7.4.3.2 Negative imperatives: Prohibitives

Prohibitives are negative imperatives, used to stop actions that are already in progress, or to prevent actions that are about to happen. As stated above in section 7.3.1.2., 'Are'are uses different negative particles for non-future and future tense prohibitives.
To stop action, the negative particle man(i) is used:

(7-129) ‘Au mani hara=a potete!
2PL NEG wash=3OBJ potato
'Stop washing the potatoes!'

To prevent an action from being carried out, the negative particle si is used:

(7-130) ‘O=si hanari-poo!\(^79\)
2SG=NEG eat-pork
'Don't eat pork!'

It is not possible to omit the subject marker when si is used in prohibitives, as si cannot appear clause-initially. This rule does not apply to man(i):

(7-131) Man na’a!
NEG talk
'Stop talking!'

### 7.4.3.3 Hortatives (first person imperatives)

Hortatives urge or encourage a group that includes the speaker to do something. The verb follows the subject marker and the particle ka. The 1pl inclusive subject marker koru and the particle ka are commonly fused into kouka:

(7-132) Kou=ka ‘ani=a poo na!
1PL.INCL=TAM eat=3OBJ pig DET
'Let's eat the pig!'

Note that the above sentence in (7-132) could also be translated as 'We are eating the pig.' or 'We are just about to eat the pig.' The various meanings would be distinguished by different intonation patterns.

### 7.4.4 Topicalisation (left-dislocation)

Dislocation is a term referring to “the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause” (Payne, 1997:273). The dislocated element is adjoined to the clause at a higher level but occupies a constituent structure position (TOPIC) that stands outside of the clause (Payne, 1997). Foley (2007) distinguishes between left-dislocation, where there is

---

\(^79\) Hanari=a is normally a transitive verb that compulsorily occurs with the object clitic =a. The absence of the object clitic in this sentence is due to object incorporation. The prohibitive refers to eating pigs in general, i.e. eating pork, as opposed to eating a specific pig. Compare with example (7-132).
a pronominal element in the clause referring to the topic NP, and *topicalisation*, where this pronominal element is not present. The fronted element is however called topic in both cases. In 'Are'are, subject, objects and other elements may occupy the TOPIC position at the left periphery. There is usually a slight pause following the topicalised element. Following Foley's terminology, 'Are'are employs left-dislocation more than topicalisation as in most cases the fronted elements are coreferenced in the clause, either by a pronominal subject marker (7-133) and (7-134), by a pronominal object clitic (7-135) and (7-136) or by a suffix (7-137).

I consider 'Are'are subjects to be default topics. In (7-133), the topic NP *Pita* is followed by the strong subject pronoun:

(7-133) *[Pita]*TOP iniaia 'e=ma tisa nena.
P. 3SG 3SG=NEG teacher SIT.DEM
‘Peter is not a teacher.’ (Lit. ‘Peter, he is not a teacher.’)

The object can also be topicalised and dislocated. The verb appears with the object clitic as if the object was following the verb:

(7-134) *[Hikeni na]*TOP kira hahi=a poo na.
PL woman DET 3PL cook.in.earth.oven=3OBJ pig DET
‘The women cooked the pig in the earth oven.’ (Lit. ‘The women, they cooked the pig in the earth oven.’)

Elements other than subjects and objects can be topicalised. In the following example, the dislocated expression *Pita* is coreferential with the object of the oblique preposition.

(7-135) *[Niu]*TOP na kira kaka=a aa-na hakesi.
coconut DET 3PL split=3OBJ OBL-PRS axe
‘The coconut, they split it with an axe.’

(7-136) *[Aikarua]*TOP na suna 'e 'ani=a.
canoe DET fire 3SG consume=3OBJ
‘The canoe was consumed by the fire.’ (Lit. ‘The canoe, fire consumed it.’)

Note that in example (7-135), *kira* does not refer to the coconut (which is singular) but to the people who split it. Again, there would be a short pause following the topicalised NP.

Elements other than subjects and objects can be topicalised. In the following example, the dislocated expression *Pita* is coreferential with the object of the oblique preposition.

(7-137) *[Pita]*TOP te iiora 'e=si 'oni aa-na.
Peter IDF canoe 3SG=NEG.FUT stay OBL-PRS
‘Peter will not have a canoe.’ (Lit. Peter, any canoe will not stay with him.)
When the topicalised element is plural, the preposition plus clitic is followed by the relevant plural pronoun:

\[(7-138) \ [\text{Wau mane wau'ee}]_{\text{TOP}} \ 'aikaruia \ aa-na \ kira.]_{\text{OBL-PRS 3PL}}\]

'The men over there have a canoe.'

In (7-139), the topic \text{ta'aa iiwera} 'many people' is not coreferential with an argument in the clause, but rather with the possessor of a noun:

\[(7-139) \ [\text{Ta'aa iiwera}]_{\text{TOP}} \ rae-na^{80} kira \ mao \ ha-na \ mauri-ha \ wau \ Honiara.]_{\text{OBL-PRS 3PL be.not live-NMLZ PREP H.}}\]

'Many people do not want to live in Honiara.'

Similarly in (7-140), \text{Pita} is the topic but not coreferential with an argument in the (second) clause:

\[(7-140) \ [\text{Pita}]_{\text{TOP}} \ horo'a \ 'e \ masika \ na, \ rape-na \ 'e \ ma \ paina.]_{\text{Peter time 3SG be.small DET body-POSS 3SG NEG be.big}}\]

'When Peter was small/young, his body wasn't big.'

### 7.4.5 Discourse markers

'Are'are uses a range of discourse markers. Some of the lexemes used as discourse markers have other functions as well. It is also possible to use more than one discourse marker in a sentence. Where there is an English translation equivalent used in a similar situation, an English gloss is used, otherwise the discourse markers are glossed as DM. Table 7.4 shows the discourse markers attested in my data.

---

80 \text{Rae-na} literally means 'his/her liver', but apart from its literal meaning it is also used to refer to one's essence of being, in expressing for example emotions, in a similar way to 'heart' in English.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haia</td>
<td>Greetings, okay, so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'ania</td>
<td>Used in a similar way to English 'like', filler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'urihana</td>
<td>Used in a similar way to English 'like', filler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nena</td>
<td>Situational demonstrative adverb, used to affirm that the state of affairs is indeed such as stated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nena ma</td>
<td>Endophoric demonstrative, used in narratives as 'and then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'o</td>
<td>Intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru'u</td>
<td>Intensifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.4 Discourse markers in 'Are'are

### 7.4.5.1 Haia

Haia is used in greetings, both when meeting and when parting with someone.

(7-141) **Haia!**

'Hello!' or 'Goodbye!' or 'Okay'

It is also used as a discourse marker at the beginning of a speech and narratives:

(7-142) **Haia, na=ka iiri=a sisihora 'ai'e so'o-na**

*okay 1SG=TAM tell=3OBJ story DEM.PROX about-PRS*

ko'e.

frog

'Okay, I am going to tell this story about a frog.'

(7-143) **Haia, ha'ania te horo'a maa na 'e 'oni~oni ma...**

*so DM once snake DET 3SG HAB~live and*

'So, …once upon a time, there lived the snake and…

Haia is also frequently used to link different parts of a narrative, in pretty much the same way an English speaker would use 'okay' to mark an end of one part of a narrative before moving onto the next one, or to fill a gap in speech when hesitating or gathering thoughts.

### 7.4.5.2 Ha'ania

The lexeme ha'ania has several different functions in 'Are'are. Commonly it is used as a verb-like preposition meaning 'with'. When used as a discourse marker, ha'ania is most often used as a filler, similar to English 'like'. Often there is a short pause before and after ha'ania. Speakers differ in how frequently they tend to use ha'ania in this context.
Totoraha aa-na 'Are'are ha'ania
custom OBL-PRS 'Are'are …ehm…

'e aapu, e aapu ha-na maihana
3SG taboo 3SG taboo PURP-PRS in-law
'According to the custom of 'Are'are, it is forbidden…it is forbidden for an in-law…'

7.4.5.3 'Urihana

'Urihana' has the closest translation equivalent in the English 'like'. It can be used in comparison, likening one thing to another:

(7-145) Oki'okira-ha kui na 'e 'urihana laione.
be.strong-NMLZ dog DET 3SG like lion
'The dog is strong as a lion.' (Lit. The dog's strength is like a lion.)

However, 'urihana' is used in contexts where no comparison is mentioned, and clearly has at least one other function. In the following example (7-146), the closest translation is again the English 'like', and 'urihana' is used in a similar way as the English discourse marker 'like'.

(7-146) Nena ma 'urihana e=ka nara no'o nena...
and then DM 3SG=TAM cry DM SIT.DEM
'And then …like…she is crying…'

(7-147) 'E wa'i=a maa na nena ma 'urihana
3SG kill=3OBJ snake DET and then DM

inaia 'e hua=a no'o mera naia...
3SG 3SG carry=3OBJ DM child 3SG.POSS
'He killed the snake and then…he, he carried his child…,'

Similarly to ha'ania, there is a great deal of variation between speakers in frequency of the use of 'urihana as a discourse marker.

7.4.5.4 No'o

No'o is used in several different functions: a) as a perfective marker (7-148), b) as an adverb meaning 'now' (7-149), including its function as a temporal reference in narratives to refer to a particular point in time in the story when something happens, which could be translated as 'at that time'. (7-150).
(7-148) Na hura no'o.  
1SG arrive PFV  
'I have arrived.'

(7-149) Na=ka tahi no'o.  
1SG=TAM leave now  
'I am leaving now.'

(7-150) Ruia mera na ka huta aa-na kiraurua no'o.  
two child DET TAM be.born OBL-PRS 3DU DM  
'Two children were born to the two of them at that time.'

For more discussion about no'o functioning as an adverb, see also Chapter 3.

Apart from being a time adverb, no'o has other functions which are not completely understood at this moment.

It is used in a construction meaning 'How are you?'; 'How is it going?':

(7-151) 'Utaa no'o?  
how DM  
'How are you?'

(7-152) Raa-ha 'au nena 'e 'utaa no'o?  
go-NMLZ 2PL DEM 3SG how DM  
'How was your trip?'

It seems to act as an emphasis marker:

(7-153) Pita no'o ne 'e 'ewa rika'a.  
Peter DM DET 3SG be.tall very  
'Peter is the tallest one.'

Note that this is not the usual expression of superlative.

In the following example, no'o serves to stress that the woman is the one doing all the work. This is also emphasised by the use of the strong pronoun iinaia instead of the 3sg subject marker 'e which would be more common in this context. These instances of no'o are stressed, and there is a slight pause following them.
The extent of possible uses for **no'o** is not exactly known at this time, and its detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this work.

### 7.4.5.5 Ru'u

Ru'u literally means 'again' but often it is used in other senses. In the following examples, ru'u seems to add emphasis:

(7-155) **Pita** 'e=ma rau ha-na tisa ru'u.
Peter 3SG=NEG become PURP-PRS teacher DM

'Peter didn't become a teacher.'

(7-156) 'Aru 'oni~'oni ru'u, na=ka raa no'o.
2PL INTS~stay DM 1SG=TAM go now

'You two stay, I am going now.'
8 Complex constructions (clause combinations)

This chapter discusses complex constructions in 'Are'are involving combinations of two verbs. The following scale, adapted from Payne (1997:307), illustrates the different degrees of grammatical integration between the two verbs in various types of complex constructions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two separate clauses</th>
<th>Coordination</th>
<th>Relative clauses</th>
<th>Adverbial clauses</th>
<th>Complement clauses</th>
<th>Serial verbs</th>
<th>One clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No grammatical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td>integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>integration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4 Grammatical integration of verbs

Coordination represents the lowest degree of integration of two verbs in one sentence as it involves two clauses that are not dependent on each other. In serial verb constructions, which are on the opposite end of the scale, the integration between the two verbs is very high as the verbs act as one verbal unit and these constructions can, in fact, be considered to represent a particular type of a single clause. Relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses are all types of subordinated (or dependent) constructions, as these clauses are dependent on the main clause.

The present chapter is structured as follows: section 8.1. discusses coordination (8.1.1. conjunctive, 8.1.2. disjunctive, 8.1.3. adverative, 8.1.4. causal), section 8.2. deals with subordination (8.2.1. relative clauses, 8.2.2. adverbial clauses, 8.2.3. complement clauses) and section 8.3. describes 'Are'are serial verb constructions (8.3.1. symmetrical SVCs, 8.3.2. asymmetrical SVCs).

8.1 Coordination

Haspelmath (2007:1) characterizes coordination as a property of syntactic constructions that allows two or more units of the same kind to be combined into one larger unit whilst preserving their semantic relations with other surrounding elements. The units that can be coordinated include noun phrases (8.2), (8-4a) and whole clauses (8-3). All coordinated constructions in 'Are'are require an overt coordinator. In Haspelmath's terminology, they are called syndetic coordinations (2007:6). Most coordinations in 'Are'are require only one
coordinator (syndetic coordinators), but some require two (bisyndetic coordinators). All 'Are'are coordinators are prepositive.

Three types of coordination corresponding to Haspelmath's analysis (2007, pp. 1-2) have been attested in 'Are'are: conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative. Each of these is discussed in the following sections.

8.1.1 Conjunctive coordination

Most conjunctive coordinations in 'Are're require an overt coordinator. Instances of two coordinated units without an overt coordinator are scarce in my data and limited to clausal coordination (8-1).

(8-1) Pita ka roha, John ka nuu.
    Peter TAM dance John TAM sing
    'Peter is dancing, John is singing.'

Most commonly coordinations include the coordinator ma 'and'. The commitative preposition ha'ania 'with' can also be used as a conjunctive coordinator; however, in my data it is attested only as a coordinator between two NPs, not clauses.

8.1.1.1 Ma 'and'

The conjunctive coordinator ma is used to coordinate full phrases (8-1), (8-2) and clauses (8-3), but not individual words.

(8-2) [Kui paina na] ma [kusi masika na] kira raa 'asia.
    dog be.big DET and cat be.small DET 3PL go away
    'The big dog and the small cat went away.'

(8-3) [Pita 'e=ka nuu] ma [John 'e=ka pe'a].
    Peter 3SG=TAM sing and John 3SG=TAM dance
    'Peter is singing, and John is dancing.'

As illustrated in (8-4b), it is not possible to coordinate just the nouns. Only whole phrases can be coordinated:

(8-4a) [Kui paina na] ma [kusi paina na] kira raa 'asia.
    dog be.big DET and cat be.big DET 3PL go away
    'The big dog and the big cat went away.'
(8-4b) *[[Kui ma kusi] paina na] kira raa 'asia.

8.1.1.2 Ha'ania - with, commitative

The commitative preposition ha'ania can also be used as a conjunctive coordinator:

(8-5) [Ru a iinaia mera na ma kukui] ha'ani=a [honu] kira raa
two 3SG child DET and doggie with=3OBJ turtle 3SG go

    no'o.
    now
'The two (of them), the child and dog (together) with turtle, they went.'

In (8-5), ha'ania coordinates the conjoined noun phrases, mera na 'the child' and kukui 'doggie', with honu 'turtle'. In (8-6), ha'ania coordinating the NP mera nena 'that child' with paketi na 'the packet'.

(8-6) Ko'e na 'e rio ma mera nena ha'ani=a paketi na
frog DET 3SG look and child DEM with=3OBJ packet DET

    ma kui na iikiraura no'o waiwau
and dog DET 3PL DM over.there
'The frog looks and (sees that) the child with the packet and the dog are over there now.'

(8-7) Na ka 'oni ha'ani=a Hea.
1SG TAM stay with=3OBJ Hea
'I am staying with Hea.'

8.1.2 Disjunctive coordination: moa 'or'

The disjunctive coordinator moa corresponds to the English 'or'. It can be used to coordinate words (8-8), phrases (8-9) and clauses (8-10).

(8-8) Mo'are na=ka 'oni ha'ani=a Hea moa Pita moa..
maybe 1SG=TAM stay with=3OBJ Hea or Peter or
'Maybe I will stay with Hea, or Peter, or…'
8.1.3 Adversative coordination: ta'a 'but'

Adversative coordination is used when two propositions are in contrast. In 'Are'are, the adversative coordinator ta'a is used.

(8-11) Rae-na kira ha-na raa-ha hi hanua^{82} ta'a
being-PRS 3PL PURP-PRS go-NMLZ to village but

haka na ma hura rawahia.
boat DET NEG arrive be.fast

'They wanted to go to the village but the boat didn't arrive on time.'

Unlike in English, it is not possible to coordinate the predicates only, i.e. it is not possible to elide the subject in the second clause in (8-12). Ta'a always coordinates whole clauses:

(8-12) Kira weo ta'a kira rae mano.
3PL be.tired but 3PL being be.happy

'They were tired but happy.'

8.1.4 Causal coordination

There is a particular type of coordination in 'Are'are where two clauses are linked by means of the causative morpheme ha'a. Whilst these clauses can function independently of each other, the presence of the causative coordinator signals that one event occurs as the result of the other.

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^{81} There does not exist any counterpart to English 'one' in 'Are'are.
^{82} The word hanua literally means 'place', but it is commonly used to also refer to someone's village.
The earthquake came, and as a result of it the village is destroyed now.'

'It rained yesterday, and as a result of it we didn't go to the garden.'

### 8.2 Subordination

Another strategy 'Are'are uses to link clauses is subordination. Unlike coordination, which links two clauses of equal status, subordination is a way of linking two clauses where one is grammatically dependent on the other (Payne, 1997). There are several types of subordinated clauses that may occur in 'Are'are: relative (8.2.1.), adverbial (8.2.2.) and complement (8.2.3.). Each of these types is discussed in the following sections.

#### 8.2.1 Relative clauses

Andrews provides the following definition of a relative clause: “A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC.” (2007:206). Relative clauses, also called restricting clauses (Payne, 1997:325), thus provide additional information about heads of noun phrases they modify. Following Andrews, the modified noun is called domain nominal here (2007:208). All instances of relative clauses attested in my data are embedded RCs (relative clauses), meaning they form a subconstituent of the noun phrase whose head they modify.

The domain nominal appears outside of the relative clause that modifies it. The modified head precedes the restricting clause. In Andrews's terminology, these are external RCs (2007:208). Further distinction may be made between reduced or unreduced relative clauses. Reduced RCs typically have reduced tense/mood marking and are less like full clauses whilst unreduced RCs are full clauses (Andrews, 2007:211).

'Are'are frequently uses reduced relative clauses to modify nouns by means of stative verbs in lieu of adjectives:

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83 Andrews further observes that in languages where reduced RCs appear in a different position from unreduced RCs, the reduced RCs appear in the same place as adjectival modifiers whilst the full RCs tend to occupy a position further from the domain nominal. Andrews considers this to be an indication that whilst the reduced RCs are phrasal in nature, the nature of the unreduced RCs is clausal (2007:212).
Reduced relative clauses are not introduced by any relativizer, and the subject marker 'e is usually omitted. Typically they express a property or a quality and are used in a way similar to adjectival modifiers. The modification of nouns by reduced RCS is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

Unreduced (full) relative clauses are used when the modification of the head noun involves more than just specifying an attribute or a property. Different constituents may be relativised: subject, direct object, indirect object, possessor. The relativisation of each of these is discussed below. The restricting clause itself is usually introduced by the relativizer ne, but ne can be omitted without any change to meaning in all contexts.

### 8.2.1.1 Subject

(8-16) Na reesi=a [mera [(ne) 'e hura naapon]RC na]NP.
1SG see=3OBJ child REL 3SG arrive yesterday DET
'I saw the child who arrived yesterday.'

(8-17) Na reesi=a [mera [(ne) 'e ka 'oni~'oni]
1SG see=3OBJ man REL 3SG TAM HAB~live
rao-na nima wau'ee]RC na]NP.
IN-PRS house DEM.DIST DET
'I saw the man who lives in that house.'

### 8.2.1.2 Direct object

(8-18) [Nima [(ne) Pita 'e to'i=a]RC na]NP 'ene.
house REL Peter 3SG build=3OBJ DET DEM.PROX
'This is the house that Peter built.' (repeated example (4-162)

(8-19) Na rae=a [mera [(ne) na reesi=a naapon]RC na]NP
1SG know=3OBJ man REL 1SG see=3OBJ yesterday DET
ke.
EMPH
'I know the man whom I saw yesterday.'
8.2.1.3 Indirect object / Oblique

Indirect objects are usually introduced by the oblique prepositional element *aa-na*, hence they are discussed in the same section as oblique elements introduced by other prepositions. In both instances, the relative clause is optionally introduced by *ne*:

(8-20) Na reesi=a [mera (ne) John 'e wate=a]
1SG see=3OBJ child REL John 3SG give=3OBJ

hanara aa-na]RC na]NP.
food OBL-PRS DET
'I saw the child to whom John gave the food.'

Note that in (8-20) above, the prepositional element *aa-na* appears by itself in the relative clause, without any nominal complement. The preposition *aa-na* forms an oblique phrase by itself, and the suffix –*na* has an anaphoric function, referring to *mera* 'child' from the main clause.

(8-21) Na reesi=a [mera (ne) 'o na'a-na'a]
1SG see=3OBJ child REL 2SG CONT-talk

ha'ani=a naapon]RC na]NP.
with=3OBJ yesterday DET
'I saw the child with whom you talked yesterday.'

(8-22) Na reesi=a [kui (ne) Pita 'e riikoo ha'ani=a]RC na]NP.
1SG see=3OBJ dog REL Peter 3SG play with=3OBJ DET

'I saw the dog Peter played with.'

(8-23) Na ra=a [mane (ne) 'o ko na-na'a so'o-na]RC]NP
1SG know=3OBJ man REL 2SG TAM CONT-talk about-PRS

nena.
SIT.DEM
'I know the man you are talking about.'

(8-24) Na reesi=a [nima (ne) Pita ka 'on~'on rao-i]RC
1SG see=3OBJ house REL Peter TAM HAB-live IN-3OBJ

na]NP.
DET
'I saw the house in which Peter lives.'
8.2.1.4 Possessor

In the examples below, the inalienable possession is indicated in the relative clause by the possessive suffix –*na* on the possessum. The expression *pau-na* can be translated into English as 'whose head' in this case:

(8-25)  
Na \(\text{reesi}=a\) [mera \((\text{na})\) pau-na \(\text{e}\) paparahi'a|RC  
1SG see=3OBJ child REL head-POSS 3SG be.white

\(n\)a|NP.  
DET
'I saw the child whose hair was blond.'

(8-26)  
Na \(\text{reesi}=a\) [kui \((\text{ne})\) kiki’i-na \(\text{e}\) koko'osu|RC na|NP.  
1SG see=3OBJ dog REL tail-POSS 3SG be.short DET

'I saw the dog whose tail was short.'

(8-27)  
Na \(\text{reesi}=a\) [mane \((\text{ne})\) kui naia \(\text{e}\)  
1SG see=3OBJ man REL dog 3SG.POSS 3SG

\(ooro\) 'asia|RC|NP.  
run away
'I saw the man whose dog ran away.'

8.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Subordinate adverbial clauses serve to provide additional information about the event expressed in the main clause. They function as modifiers of verb phrases or whole clauses (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007:238). In my data, the following types of subordinate adverbial clauses were found: time, location, manner, purpose, reason, simultaneous, conditional, concessive, substitutive. They are discussed in the sections below.

8.2.2.1 Time

Time adverbial clauses provide information about the time of the event mentioned in the main clause.

8.2.2.1.1 Purī'ana / na'ohana

The forms puri-‘a-na and na'o-ha-na carry the meaning behind and in front of, respectively. The status of *puri* and *na'o* is not clear, see section 6.4 for discussion. When used in time adverbial clauses, they refer to a position in time rather than in space and can be translated as after and before, respectively.
All the houses in the village were destroyed after the hurricane struck.

In the following example, the intended order in which events are supposed to happen is indicated not only by the _puri'a-na_ but also by the sequential marker _ta'a_:

> **(8-29)** _Puri'-a-na_ kou=ka raa hi Rutorea _ta'a_ koru  
> after-OBL-PRS 1DU.INCL=TAM go to R. SEQ 1PL.INCL
> rae₈⁴ hurai=a wa~wari koru na.  
> go.to meet=3OBJ RDP~uncle 1PL.INCL DET
> 'After we get to Rutorea, then we will go visit our uncle.'

The fact that one event needs to happen before another one can also be indicated by the precedentive particle _sii_ 'first':

> **(8-30)** _Na'o-ha-na_ koru ka hahi kou=ka hao  
> before-OBL-PRS 1PL.INCL TAM cook 1DU.INCL=TAM light.fire
> suna sii.  
> fire first
> 'Before we cook, we first make fire.'

However, the elements _puri'ana_ and _na'ohana_ by themselves are sufficient to specify the relative order of events, see (8-28) and (8-31).

> **(8-31)** _Mera_ nena 'e hokosi=a suu naia na  
> child DEM 3SG wear=3OBJ shoe 3SG.POSS DET
> na'o-ha-na 'e ra'au.  
> before-OBL-PRS 3SG go
> 'The child put on his shoes before he went.'

### 8.2.2.1.2 Horo'a 'when'

The lexeme _horoa_ can be loosely translated as 'time' and is used in a similar way to the English 'when'.

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₈⁴ This lexeme is used in a similar way to the English 'going to'. It precedes another verb to indicate that the action expressed by the second verb is about to happen or about to be performed by the agent.
The sequential marker *ta'a* can also be used with *horo'a*:

(8-33) **Horo'a kou=ka**
*Horo'a* kou=ka

*Horo'a* kou=ka *oori hi nima na*
when 1DU.INCL=TAM go to house DET

*ta'a* koru ka rao hana.
SEQ 1PL.INCL FUT eat

'We will go when Peter comes.'

To specify the time of an event, it is also possible to use the expressions *aa-na horo'a* 'at one time' (when) or *tara'ai aa-na horo'a* 'at the beginning of the time', 'when something first happened'.

(8-34) **Tara'ai aa-na horo'a haiara-ha 'e hura na**

*Tara'ai* aa-na horo'a haiara-ha 'e hura na

*Pita 'e mane masika ke.*
Peter 3SG man be.small EMPH

'We will meet you where Peter lives.'

### 8.2.2.2 Location

Location clauses serve to inform about the place where an event expressed by the main clause takes place.

(8-35) **'Ami=ka rao hurai='o aa-na rihi ne**

'Ami=ka rao hurai='o aa-na rihi ne

*Pita=ka 'oni~onia=i na.*
Peter=TAM HAB~live=OBJ DET

'We will meet you where Peter lives.'

### 8.2.2.3 Manner

Adverbial clauses may also express a manner in which an action is performed. The lexeme *'urihana'* is used in this context. *'Urihana* functions as a noun-like preposition taking
personal suffixes –ku, -mu for 1sg and 2sg respectively. When used in contexts like below, the generic personal suffix –na is used:

(8-36) *Tau 'uri-ha-na na iiiri=a ha-mu!*

\[
\text{do} \,\text{like-PREP-PRS} \,\text{1SG} \,\text{tell=3OBJ OBL-2SG.PRS} \\
\text{'}Do as I told you!\text{'}
\]

(8-37) *Ka na'a 'uri-ha-na hu'u ka rau-ni=a.*

\[
\text{TAM talk} \,\text{like-PREP-PRS} \,\text{cough TAM control-TR=3OBJ} \\
\text{'}(She) talks like she has a cold.'
\]

(8-38) *Ka raa 'uri-ha-na ka weo.*

\[
\text{TAM go} \,\text{like-PREP-PRS} \,\text{TAM be.tired} \\
\text{'}(He) walks like he is tired.' (repeated example (7-32)
\]

(8-39) *To'i=a 'are nena 'uri-ha-na na haata'ani=a aa-mu na!*

\[
\text{hold=3OBJ thing DEM like-PREP-PRS 1SG show=3OBJ OBL-2SG} \\
\text{DET} \\
\text{'}Hold this as I showed you!'\]

8.2.2.4 **Purpose**

Purpose clauses specify the purpose for which the action in the main clause was carried out. They “express a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event” (Thompson et al., 2007:250). The embedded clause is introduced by the lexeme *ha-na*. *Ha-na* is normally used as a noun-like preposition which takes personal suffixes.

(8-40) *Pita 'e oori hi nima ha-na ka rae hua-hanara.*

\[
\text{Peter 3SG go to house PURP-PRS TAM going.to} \\
\text{'}Peter went home to get food.'\]

(8-41) *Pita 'e oori hi nima ha-na ma'asu-ha.*

\[
\text{Peter 3SG go to house PURP-PRS sleep-NMLZ} \\
\text{'}Peter went home to sleep.'\]

---

86 The verb *hua* appears without the object clitic because the object is incorporated.
Ha-na can also take a clausal complement:

(8-42) Na=ka rekooti ha-na na=ka noro=a.
1SG=TAM record PURP-PRS 1SG=TAM listen=3OBJ
'I am recording so that I can listen (to it).'

(8-43) Ha'a-mae-si=a marika na ha-na
CAUS-die-TR=3OBJ fish DET PURP-PRS
kou=ka kuki=a!
1DU.INCL=TAM cook=3OBJ
'Kill the fish so that we can eat it!'

8.2.2.5 Reason

Similarly to purpose clauses, reason clauses also provide an account or explanation regarding
the occurrence of a particular state or action. However, the motivating event expressed in
reason clauses may be realized at the time of the main clause event (Thompson et al., 2007,
pp. 250-251). Reason clauses are normally introduced by the lexeme tama-na, another noun-
like preposition meaning 'because of'.

(8-44) Pita 'e oori hi nima tama-na
Peter 3SG go to house REAS-PRS
'e=ka weo no'o.
3SG=TAM be.tired now
'Peter went home because he is tired now.'

(8-45) Hi mera na kira raa mai hi nima
PL child DET 3PL come to house
 tama-na kira mahea.
REAS-PRS 3PL be.hungry
'The children came home because they were hungry.'

(8-46) Hi keni na kira hao=a hahita na
PL woman DET 3PL light.up=3OBJ earth.oven DET
 tama-na rae-na kira ha-na hahiana poo na.
REAS-PRS being-3PL.POSS PURP-PRS ovening.of pig DET
'The women prepared the hot stones because they wanted to oven the pig.'
8.2.2.6 Simultaneous clauses

Simultaneous adverbial clauses specify that the event expressed in the main clause takes place at the same time as another event. Thomson et al. state that “languages allow one of the simultaneous events to be signalled as providing the context or background for the other, or foregrounded, event” (2007:254). This seems to hold also for 'Are'are.

The expression tooto'orana horo'a is used in this context, translating roughly as the English 'whilst', 'during (the) time'. It is possible that tooto'orana is a complex word, but I am unable to offer any analysis of its components at this time.

(8-47) Tooto'orana horo'a 'ami 'oni maasi=a Pita na 'ami hana.
   'Whilst waiting for Peter, we ate.'

(8-48) Ketoro na ka rao 'ohu tooto'orana horo'a kou=ka
   kettle DET FUT boil during time 1DU.INCL=TAM
   hana na.
   eat DET
   'The kettle will boil whilst / around the same time as we are eating.'

8.2.2.7 Conditional

Following Payne (1997), conditional adverbial clauses in 'Are'are can be divided into three types. Simple conditional clauses relate to the state of affairs that will surely be true under particular conditions. Hypothetical conditional clauses express a state of affairs that is theoretically possible but may not happen. Counterfactual conditional clauses express an event that could have happened under particular conditions but did not happen because the conditions did not obtain.

The subordination involving conditional clauses requires two elements to be present. The subordinating lexeme 'aremara 'if’ usually introduces the subordinate clause expressing the condition under which the event in the main clause will, may or would have happened. In simple and hypothetical conditionals the two clauses are also linked by the coordinating lexeme ma 'and'; in counterfactual conditionals the linking element is the counterfactual particle ha'araa. The simple and hypothetical conditionals do not seem to be formally

87 'Aremara is likely a compound word rather than a single morpheme. Geerts (1970:63) lists mara as meaning 'as', 'like', 'according to', mara nena 'like this'.

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distinguished from each other, and the embedded conditional clauses are not structurally different from the matrix clauses.

8.2.2.7.1 Simple conditional

(8-49) 'Aremara  ka  uuta  ra'ahore'e  ma  
if  TAM  rain  tomorrow  and

kura=ka  'oni  nima\textsuperscript{88}  ke  na.  
1DU.INCL=TAM  stay  house  EMPH  DET  
'If it rains tomorrow, we (will) stay at home.' (repeated example (3-30))

8.2.2.7.2 Hypothetical conditional

(8-50) 'Aremara  na=ka  to'o  aa-na  pata  iiwera,  ma  
if  1SG=TAM  own  OBL-PRS  money be.many  and

na=ka  hori=a  nima  na.  
1SG=TAM  buy=3OBJ  house  DET  
'If I had lots of money, I would buy the house.'

8.2.2.7.3 Counterfactual conditional

(8-51) 'Aremara  'o=ko  to'i  'okira  ha'araa  
if  2SG=TAM  work  be.strong  CNTF

'o=ko  tari-are  na.  
2SG=TAM  acquire-thing  SIT.DEM  
'If you had worked hard, you would have acquired (a lot of) things.'

8.2.2.7.4 TAM marking in conditionals

As seen from (8-52) below, it is possible for both clauses to appear without any tense and aspect marking.

(8-52) 'Aremara  'e  uuta  naaponi  ha'araa  
if  3SG  rain  yesterday  CNTF

na  'oni  nima  ke  na.  
1SG  stay  house  EMPH  SIT.DEM  
'If it had rained yesterday, I would have stayed at home.'

\textsuperscript{88}It is possible to express 'in the house', 'at home' without any preposition.
However, the instances where none of the clauses bears any TAM marking are rare in my data. More commonly, tense and aspect are marked in both the subordinated clause and the matrix clause. The particle *ka* is normally used in both clauses when none of the clauses explicitly expresses future. Note that whilst normally *ka* does not appear in clauses expressing past, in conditionals it is possible:

(8-53) 'Aremara  *'e=ka*  *ma*  uuta  naaponi  *ha'araa*

> if 3SG=TAM  NEG  rain  yesterday  CNTF

*ka*  *tari-are*  no'o  nena.

> 1DU.INCL=TAM  acquire-thing  INTS  SIT.DEM

'It if hadn't rained yesterday, we would have gotten money (because we would have sold items at a market.)

(8-54) 'Aremara  *suna*  *'e=ka*  *eero*  *ma*  hanara

> if  fire  3SG=TAM  flame  and  food

*ka*  *'ehu.*

> TAM  be.burned

'It if the fire flames, the food burns.'

The particle *ka* is also used in clauses expressing a certain or very likely future:

(8-55) 'Aremara  *ka*  uuta  ra'ahore'e  *ma*  *kura=ka*

> if  TAM  rain  tomorrow  and  1DU.INCL=TAM

*oni*  nima  *ke.*

> stay  house  EMPH

'It if it rains tomorrow, we stay at home.'

It is possible for the matrix clause to be marked for future by *ka rao* or the negative future marker *si*. I suggest that the function of *ka rao* and *si* here is to signal the sequence of events or processes. The event expressed in the matrix clause is seen as happening subsequently, following the event expressed in the subordinated clause:

(8-56) 'Aremara  *suna*  *ka*  rakaraka  *ma*  hanara  *na*

> if  fire  TAM  be.hot  and  food  DET

*ka rao*  *'ehu.*

> FUT  be.burned

'It if the fire is too hot, the food will burn.'
I suspect that the matter of conditionals is possibly more complex than as described above, but it is not possible to conduct a deeper analysis without collecting further data.

8.2.2.8 Concessive

Concessive adverbial clauses are used to express that an event happened despite certain conditions that made it less likely to happen. In this context the expression *ta’a rihiai* is used. Whilst it seems to consist of two lexemes, *ta’a* and a possibly complex word *rihiai*, I am unable to offer any deeper analysis of it. For the purpose of this work, I use the gloss 'although' here as it seems the closest to the English translation.

(8-58) ‘E uuta *ta’a rihiai* na ‘ami raa hi aano ke.
3SG rain although DET 1PL.EXCL go to garden EMPH

‘Although it was raining, we went to the garden.’

8.2.2.9 Substitutive (counterfactual)

Substitutive adverbial clauses serve to express that an event happened or an action was performed contrary to expectations, instead of some other event or action. The counterfactual particle *ha’araa* is used in this context, together with the sequential marker *ta’a*.

(8-59) *Pita ha’araa ka nuu, ta’a ‘e pe’a ke.*
Peter CNTF TAM sing SEQ 3SG dance EMPH

‘Instead of singing, Peter danced.’

(8-60a) *Hi mera na, ha’araa kira ka raa hi aano*
PL child DET CNTF 3PL TAM go to garden

*ta’a kira raa hi kahu ke.*
SEQ 3PL go to river EMPH

‘Instead of going to the garden, the children went to (the) river.’

The meaning of the sentence in (8-60a) can also be expressed with a different word order:

---

89 Ta’a is glossed as a sequential marker throughout this work, but it is possible that its functions are manifold. Note its use in the concessive clauses in (8-53).
8.2.3 Complement clauses

In this discussion, complement clauses are clauses that function as an argument of another clause. Their function may be one of subject or object (Noonan, 2007). In my data only object complements have been attested. In those instances, complement clauses act as complements to the verb in the main clause and appear in the same position where a direct object would be. Verbs of cognition and utterance, such as rae=a 'know', iiri=a 'tell' or aariponosi=a 'forget' commonly take clausal complements.

A major distinction between complement clauses is whether they are finite or non-finite. Finite complements have properties of independent clauses in that they express their subjects directly and carry their own tense and aspect marking. Non-finite complements are characterized by the lack of tense and aspect marking, and also their subjects often must be the same as the subjects of the verb in the main clause (Payne, 1997, pp. 314-315). 'Are'are has both types although non-finite complements are scarce in my data.

8.2.3.1 Finite complement clauses

'Are'are finite complement clauses corresponding to English that-clauses do not require a complementizer. The embedded clause does not structurally differ from the main clause.

(8-61) Pita ’e rae=a [Tione ’e raa].
Peter 3SG know=3OBJ John 3SG go
'Peter knows (that) John left.'

(8-62) Mane ’ai’ee ’e iiri=a [ka rae ma’asu]
man DEM.PROX 3SG say=3OBJ TAM go.to sleep
 ta’a ka ri-rio ke.
but TAM CONT~be.awake EMPH
'This man said he was going to sleep, but he is (still) awake.

The finite complement may be introduced by a preposition:

(8-63) Na aaripono aa-na Pita ’e ra’au.
1SG forget OBL-PRS Peter 3SG go
'I forgot (that) Peter left.'
It is of interest that the verb in (8-56) above appears in its intransitive form.

8.2.3.1.1 Indirect questions

Indirect questions are considered by Payne (1997) as a subtype of complement clauses. In 'Are'are, they are finite. They may be introduced by the verb 'uria 'be so', which may be best translated here as 'if' or 'whether'\(^9\).

\[(8-64) \text{Na}=\text{ma } \text{rae}=\text{a} \quad [\text{uria Pita }'e \text{ ra'au}]. \]
\[1\text{SG}=\text{NEG} \quad \text{know}=\text{3OBJ} \quad \text{be.so} \quad \text{Peter} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{go} \]
'I don't know if Peter left.' (MH)

The lexeme 'uria is not a complementizer; it can appear at the beginning of a polar question functioning as an independent (matrix) clause:

\[(8-65) \text{'}Uria \quad Pita \quad 'e \quad 'ewa? \]
\[\text{be.so} \quad \text{Peter} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{be.tall} \]
'Was Peter tall?'

The lexeme horo'a also can be used to introduce a finite embedded clause. In this context, its translation is closest to the English 'when':

\[(8-66) \text{Na}=\text{ma } \text{rae}=\text{a} \quad [\text{horo'a Pita }'e \text{ ra'au na}]. \]
\[1\text{SG}=\text{NEG} \quad \text{know}=\text{3OBJ} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{Peter} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{DET} \]
'I don't know when Peter left.'

Similarly to 'uria, horo'a can also introduce a matrix question.

Embedded questions, as well as matrix questions, can be introduced by tamana iitaa 'because of what', 'why':

\[(8-67) \text{Na } \text{ma } \text{rae}=\text{a} \quad [\text{tama-na } \text{iitaa Pita }'e \text{ ra'au na}]. \]
\[1\text{SG} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{know}=\text{3OBJ} \quad \text{REAS-PRE} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{Peter} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{DET} \]
'I don't know why Peter left.'

Another wh-word that can be used to introduce both matrix interrogatives as well as an embedded complement clause is 'aitaa 'what':

\[(8-68) \text{Iiri}=\text{a} \quad \text{tare } \text{ami} \quad [\text{aitaa rao-na manata-mu}].! \]
\[\text{tell}=\text{3OBJ} \quad \text{ALL} \quad \text{1PL.EXCL} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{IN-PRE} \quad \text{mind-2SG.POSS} \]
'Tell us what you think!'

\(^9\) One speaker produced the form mo'are in this context. Mo'are is usually used in the sense of 'maybe'.
8.2.3.1.2 Hana 'to', 'so that'

In 'Are'are, the preposition *ha-na* takes nominal but also clausal complements. In the examples below, *ha-na* expresses the meaning of 'to', 'for'. Note that whilst in English these embedded clauses are non-finite, they are finite in 'Are'are.

(8-69) 'Aremara  'o=ko   iiri=a   **ha-na**   Pita=ka  'oni
if  2SG=TAM  tell=3OBJ  PURP-PRS  Peter=TAM  stay

*ha'araa  Pita=ka  'oni  ke  nena.*
CNTF  Peter=TAM  stay  EMPH  SIT.DEM

'If you had told Peter to stay, he would have stayed.' (Lit: 'If you had said for Peter to stay, he would have stayed.')</n
(8-70) Pita  'e  oori  hi  nima  **ha-na**  ka  rae  hua-hanara.
Peter  3SG  go  to  house  PURP-PRS  TAM  go.to  bring-food

'Peter went home to get food.'

8.2.3.2 Non-finite complement clauses

Only one example of what can be plausibly analysed as a non-finite complement clause has been found in my data. *Ha-na* in this case translates best as 'to' and the complement clause it introduces acts as the subject of the matrix clause:

(8-71) [**Ha-na**  to'iana  kara piakau]  'e=ka  tee
PURP-PRS  making  cassava pudding  3SG=TAM  INTS

tore~tore  'ewa'a.
INTS~last  be.long

'To make cassava pudding takes a long time.'

Note that whilst *to'iana* is translated as making, the exact analysis of this form is not without issues. See discussion in Chapter 6.

8.2.3.3 Causative complement clauses

A particular type of complement clauses is used to express causation. As discussed in section 5.2.2 in Chapter 5, causation is commonly expressed by means of the causative prefix *ha'a*. In addition to this, some verbs allow for causation to be expressed through subordination.
Compare the following examples:

(8-72a) **Kahu na 'e ma'a.**
water DET 3SG be.dry\(^{91}\)
'The water dried up.'

(8-72b) **Ha'a-ma'a=a 'are nena!**
CAUS-be.dry=3OBJ thing DET
'Dry up that thing!'

(8-73c) **Tau=a ha-na 'e ma'a!**
do=3OBJ PURP-PRS 3SG be.dry
'Make it dry up!'

(8-74) **Tau=a ha-na iisu!**
do=3OBJ PURP-PRS count
'Make (him) count!'

Expressing of causation through the embedded clause does not always involve the complementiser *ha-na*. It is possible that the presence or absence of the complementiser is due to inter- or intra-speaker variation, or it may be determined by the type of the verb and/or the nature of its subject. However, a more detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this work.

(8-75a) **John=ka masi.**
John=TAM laugh
'John is laughing.'

(8-75b) **Pita=ka ha'a-masi=a John.**
Peter=TAM CAUS-laugh=3OBJ John
'Peter is making John laugh.'

(8-76c) **Pita 'e tau=a John ka masi.**
Peter 3SG do=3OBJ John TAM laugh
'Peter made John laugh.'

The use of the embedded clause seems to indicate that the causation is less direct than when the causative prefix *ha'a* is used. For more discussion on causation, see Chapter 5.

\(^{91}\) *Ma'a* refers to dry in the sense of empty of liquid.
8.3 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are a relatively common feature of Oceanic languages although their properties may vary to some extent and several different types may be identified (Crowley, 2002; Lynch et al., 2002). Aikhenvald defines serial verb constructions (SVC) as “a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event” (2006:1). She further states that SVCs must have only one tense, aspect and polarity value, and they may share argument(s). Each of the components of SVC must be able to function independently of its own, and the individual verbs may have different transitivity values.

For the purpose of this paper, I define serial verbs in 'Are'are as constructions of two verbs in a single clause that are structurally linked and share nominal arguments, TAM markers and a negative marker (after Lynch et al., 2002). Either of the verbs participating in a serial verb construction can stand independently as a verb in its own clause. Serial verbs in 'Are'are display “nuclear serialization”, defined by Lynch et al. as a construction “where the verbs are bound together and have only a single set of arguments (i.e. the serial construction behaves just like a single verb)” (2002:47).

Aikhenvald (2006) classifies serial verb constructions according to several criteria:

- Composition - symmetrical or asymmetrical. Symmetrical SVCs contain two or more verbs belonging to a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class. Asymmetrical SVCs contain a verb from class that is grammatically or semantically restricted (motion, posture).

- Contiguity - whether the individual verbs do or do not allow another component to come between them

- Wordhood of components - whether or not the individual components form independent grammatical or phonological words

- Marking - verbal marking on every component or only once per construction
Following Aikhenvald’s classification criteria, 'Are'are has both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs. In both cases the components do not allow another component to intervene, they can function independently as verbs by themselves and the verbal categories are marked only once per construction.

(8-77) *Haka na 'e hura riu no'o.*

boat DET 3SG arrive pass.by PFV

'The boat already came (and) went.'

Both verbs can function independently on their own:

(8-78) *Haka na 'e hura.*

boat DET 3SG arrive

'The boat arrived.'

(8-79) *Pita 'e riu no'o.*

Peter 3SG pass.by PFV

'Peter went by.'

I have not found any SVCs with the causative prefix in my data yet, so the verbal marking is for the most part limited to the clitic pronoun =a. This clitic always attaches to the second verb in the construction, even when the first verb is transitive when functioning independently and would normally take the object suffix. When a SVC consists of two transitive verbs, the object is still marked only on the second verb.

(8-80a) *kuki waeri=a*

cook destroy=3OBJ

'cook in such a way that the food is spoiled'

(8-80b) *kuki=a*

'to cook'

(8-80c) *waeri=a*

'to hurt someone, to destroy something'

### 8.3.1 Symmetrical serial verb constructions

In symmetrical constructions, both verbs come from unrestricted class, “the order of components tend to iconic, reflecting the temporal sequence of subevents…symmetrical serial constructions are not ‘headed’…: all their components have equal status in that none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the construction as a whole”
Two subcategories of symmetrical SVCs have been found in the data: sequential serial verb constructions and simultaneous serial verb constructions.

### 8.3.1.1 Symmetrical sequential SVCs

Symmetrical SVCs can express a sequence of actions. Aikhenvald (2006:28) calls these 'sequential SVCs'. In this case the order of the components reflects the temporal sequence of the events or actions (8-81), also see (8-77) above.

(8-81) **Sisiho 'e uuhi aarakoe=a niu na 'asia.**

wind 3SG blow roll=3OBJ coconut DET away

'The wind rolled the coconut away. (blew and rolled)'

### 8.3.1.2 Symmetrical simultaneous SVCs

These constructions express events or actions that happen simultaneously rather than following one another:

(8-82a) **Tapa'ero 'e wa'i waeri=a rikimana komu.**

hurricane 3SG hurt destroy=3OBJ every village

'The hurricane destroyed every village.'

(8-82b) **wa'i**

'hurt'

*(Wa'i can be used both intransitively and transitively.)*

(8-82c) **waeri=a**

'hurt someone, destroy something'

(8-83a) **'oni maasi=a**

stay wait.for=3OBJ

'wait (for)'

(8-83b) **'oni**

'to stay'

(8-83c) **maasi=a**

'to wait for'

As Aikhenvald comments (2006), it is not uncommon for symmetrical SVCs to be lexicalized and acquire idiomatic characteristics. In the example below (**uuhi si'inia, (8-84a)**), the meaning of the serialized verb is related to but not entirely predictable from the meaning of its individual components:
(8-84a) *uuhi si'ini=a
   blow smell=3OBJ
   'smell for something (sniff)'

(8-84b) *uuhi
   'to blow'

(8-84c) si'ini=a
   'to smell (trans)'

*Uuhi* means to blow air out, but the above serial construction means the exact opposite, taking the air in and smelling it.

**Verbs that appear in SVCs only**

In the 'Are'are dialect described here, some verb forms appear in serial verb constructions only. Whilst *wa'i* 'to hurt' functions as an independent verb, the verb 'to kill' can appear only with the causative prefix when used outside of a serial verb construction. Its intransitive counterpart *mae* 'to die, be dead' is not restricted in this way. The form *maesia* cannot be used independently without the causative prefix. Whilst in some languages related to 'Are'are this form has the meaning 'to die of something', in 'Are'are this is not so. The transitive form of *mae* can be used only either with the causative prefix or in a serial verb construction:

(8-85) *Kui na 'e maе.*
   dog DET 3SG be.dead
   'The dog died / is dead.'

(8-86a) *Ha'a-maesi=a /\* maesi=a marika na!*
   CAUS-kill=3OBJ / kill=3OBJ fish DET
   'Kill the fish!'

(8-86b) *wa'i maesi=a*
   'to kill'

In some other closely related languages such as Kwaio or Arosi, the transitive form of *mae* has the meaning 'to die as a result of' or 'to die from' (Evans, 2003:78). According to Geerts (1970:57) *maesi* in 'Are'are can mean 'to be ill of, to die of'. This meaning has been disputed by my main consultant although it is possible that in other dialects *maesi* can be used in this way.
8.3.2 Asymmetrical serial verb constructions (manner)

In asymmetrical constructions, the first verb comes from a larger, unrestricted class whilst the second is a member of a restricted class. In this case one of the verbs “may describe the way in which the action of the other verb was performed” (Aikhenvald, 2006:29). In 'Are'are, the restricted class is stative intransitives. The first verb is the head of the SVC and the second verb acts as modifier to the first verb (manner verb). In Aikhenvald's terminology these are manner constructions. The meaning of the serial construction is to a large extend predictable from the meaning of its individual components.

(8-87) *Poo 'e si'ini ta'aa.*
    *pig 3SG smell be.bad*
    '(The) pig smells bad.'

(8-88) *'E si'ini marimari.*
    *3SG smell be.sweet*
    'It smells sweet (the fruit).'

(8-89) *'E marimari rete mane.*
    *3SG be.sweet be.good DM*
    'It is sweet. (It is nicely sweet, it is so sweet)

When the whole SVC is transitive, the second (modifying) verb appears with the object clitic even when this verb is normally intransitive:

(8-90a) *kuki rete=a*
    *cook be.good=3OBJ*
    'cook (it) well'

(8-90b) *kuki=a*
    *cook=3OBJ*
    'to cook something'

(8-90c) *rete*
    *be good*

(8-91) *Sisihora na 'e siko\textsuperscript{92} no'o.*
    *story DET 3SG finish PFV*
    'This is the end of the story.' (Lit. The story is finished now.)

\textsuperscript{92} Siko has exhaustive meaning, not only meaning 'be finished'; it can be also used to modify the quantifier rikimana 'all': rikimana siko 'all, completely all'. It can also be used with a pronoun, such as 'au siko 'you all', all of you'.

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(8-92) Pita 'e 'ani=a poo.
   Peter 3SG eat=3OBJ pig
   'Peter ate pork.'

(8-93) 'E 'ani siko=a.
   3SG eat finish=3OBJ
   'He ate it all.'

'Ani=a is the transitive counterpart (suppletive form) of hana, both meaning 'eat'. 'Ani=a is always transitive and cannot appear without the object suffix, except in the serial construction.

8.3.2.1 Transitive suffixes in SVCs

A transitive verb that normally appears only with the transitive suffix may be used without its transitive suffix in an intransitive serial construction:

(8-94a) rapusi=a
   'hit, slap something', (always used with the suffix -si when independent)

(8-94b) rete
   'be good'

(8-94c) Hari-mu 'e rapu rete aa-ku.
   bottom-2SG.POSS 3SG hit be.good OBL-1SG
   'I like hitting your bottom'

(8-94d) Rapu 'okira!
   hit be.strong
   'Hit strongly!' (or 'Strike strongly!')

8.3.2.2 Multi-verb SVCs

Whilst most SVCs consist of two verbs, constructions involving three verbs are also possible:

(8-95a) hana
   'eat' (intransitive)

(8-95b) marimari
   'be sweet'

(8-95c) rete
   'be good'
'(The) thing tasted very good (and) sweet.'

In the sentence above, the SVC *hana marimari* 'taste sweet' is modified by *rete* 'be good'. The whole SVC is modified by the adverb *rika'a* 'very'.
Appendix 1: Language affiliation

'Are'are is part of the Southeast Solomonic family, which belongs to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family. The full genealogy is as follows (after Lynch et al., 2002). The subgroups are separated by a vertical line:

Austronesian
   Malayo-Polynesian
      Central Eastern
         Eastern Malayo-Polynesian
            Oceanic
               Central-Eastern Oceanic
                  Southeast Solomonic
                     Longgu/Malaita/Makira
                        Malaita/Makira
                           Malaital
                              Southern
                                 'Are'are

Figure 5 Position of 'Are'are in the Oceanic family (after Lynch et al., 2002)

The Longgu/Malaita/Makira subgroup was formerly called Cristobal/Malaitan (Lynch et al., 2002).
Appendix 2: Language vitality

This language vitality assessment has been done using the guidelines published by Unesco ad Hoc group on Languages (2003). The assessment should be considered as preliminary. For the most part it is based on my observations from the fieldwork and reports from the speakers living in the areas where the fieldwork was conducted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Intergenerational transmission</td>
<td><strong>Grade 5- Stable yet threatened</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The language is spoken in most contexts by all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Absolute number of speakers</td>
<td>cca 18 000 (1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Proportion of speakers within the total population</td>
<td><strong>Grade 5 – safe</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All speak the language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Trends in existing language domains</td>
<td><strong>Grade 4: Multilingual parity</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whilst 'Are'are is the language used in the home and for interaction between 'Are'are speakers, English and Pijin are used in most public domains such as education, business, media and politics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Response to new domains and media</td>
<td><strong>Grade 1: Minimal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The language is used only in a few new domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Materials for language education and literacy</td>
<td><strong>Grade 0-1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Practical orthography is a work in progress as is available only to some speakers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies Including Official Status and Use</td>
<td><strong>Grade 3: Passive assimilation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Community Members’ Attitudes toward their Own Language</td>
<td><strong>Grade 5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Amount and Quality of Documentation</td>
<td><strong>Grade 1-2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There are some grammatical sketches, wordlists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6 Language vitality assessment
Appendix 3 Wordlist

The items below were elicited using Claire Bowern's resources for fieldwork published on a website accompanying her book Linguistic fieldwork (Bowern, 2008). Items that usually appear marked for inalienable possession appear with the suffix -na, verbs that are normally transitive appear with the object clitic =a. Where several forms are given, the one listed first is the most common one in my data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>'Are'are</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paina</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>'ewa, 'e'ewa</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wide</td>
<td>aaroka</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thick</td>
<td>hauhau'a</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>hi'a</td>
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<tr>
<td>small</td>
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<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td>koko'osu</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narrow</td>
<td>koko</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>thin</td>
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<tr>
<td>warm</td>
<td>rakaraka</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>sisiu'a</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full</td>
<td>honu</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>haoru</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>rahu'a, warita</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>rete</td>
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</tr>
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<td>bad</td>
<td>ta'aa</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirty</td>
<td>pipiri'a</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straight</td>
<td>ootooto</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round</td>
<td>morimori'a</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>to'o, waru</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smooth</td>
<td>uununu'a</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet</td>
<td>pisu'a</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry</td>
<td>'ate'a, 'ate'a</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>correct</td>
<td>ootooto (straight)</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>ha'itau</td>
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<td>right</td>
<td>po'o mauri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left</td>
<td>popo mauri, po'o maemae</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>tatare</td>
<td></td>
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<td>fish</td>
<td>marika</td>
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<td>dog</td>
<td>kui</td>
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<td>louse</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td></td>
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<td>snake</td>
<td>maa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>worm</td>
<td>maasika</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>sisima-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>hinasu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>aapu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>susuri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fat  momona
egg  aapota
horn  N/A
tail  'iki'iki-na, 'imi'imi-na
feather  iihihu-na
hair  iihihu-na, uuhuhu-na
head  pau-na
ear  roroa-na
eye  maa-na
nose  pano-na
mouth  nusu-na
tooth  niho-na
tongue  mea-na
fingernail  sisiki-na 'u'u-na
foot  'a'e-na
leg  'a'e-na
knee  uururu-na
hand  kaika'i-na
wing  'apa'apa-na
belly  oopa-na
guts  kakawe aana oopa-na
neck  rua-na
back  kosu-na
breast  susu-na
heart  tou-na
liver  rae-na
drink  ko'u
eat  hana (intransitive), 'ani=a (transitive)
bite  ke'e
suck  nomi
spit  musu
vomit  moa
blow  uuhi
breathe  manuhuto
laugh  masi
live  mauri
die  mae
red  nonorohi'a
green  mamarawa'a
yellow  koko'ara, ko'ako'ara
white  paparahi'a, parapara
black  pupuruhi'a
with  ha'ani=a
and  ma
if  'aremara
because  tama-na
tree  'ai
forest  ma'asu
stick  'ai, maasuni 'ai
fruit  roto, rotoni 'ai
seed  'u'u
leaf  po'era, 'oporen 'ai
root  'iki'iki-na, 'imi'imi-na
bark  hahao-na, haohao-na, sisima-na
flower  tataka
grass  harisi
freeze  N/A
sun  rato
moon  hura, hurahura
star  purupuru
water  kahu
rain  uuta
river  kahu
lake  namo
sea  aasi
salt  aasi, maimami'a, soro (E)
stone  hau
sand  oone
dust  mokamoka
earth  mako
cloud  wawaha, wahawaha
fog  N/A
sky  raro, rararaa
wind  sisiho
snow  N/A
ice  N/A
smoke  rasu
fire  suna
ashes  'ora'ora
burn  'ehu (intransitive), sura=a (transitive)
road  tara
mountain  iira, iire
woman  keni
man  mane
child  mera, wera
wife  huka
husband  poro
mother  tete-na, neke-na
father  mama-na
name  rata-na
sing  nuu
play  haitatapa, riikoo, hiikoo
swell  uuupu
kill  wa'i maesi=a
fight  haiara, ooho
hunt  ru'u, siri, tarai kui (hunting with dogs)
cut  tapa=a, tohu=a
split  aapi=a, hora=a, kaka=a, kakasi=a
scratch  ma'ahini
dig  'eri
The reconstructed Proto-Oceanic form is *ronor, which is reflected in other Malaitan languages as ropo. (Greenhill et al., 2008). All my consultants produced noro 'hear' or paanoro 'listen'. Greenhill et al. (2008) list rono for the 'Are'are village Masupa, but the form listed in Waiahaa village is panoroha. At least some parts of 'Are'are thus display an interesting and rather rare case of metathesis here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>day</th>
<th>hairasoa, hairatoa, taitani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>harisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope</td>
<td>waro, wareta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>wate=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hold</td>
<td>toʻi=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squeeze</td>
<td>rosi=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rub</td>
<td>'usuri=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>hara=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipe</td>
<td>'usuri=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull</td>
<td>uukumi=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throw</td>
<td>'ui, 'uiru'ani=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tie</td>
<td>taki=a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4: Dialects

It is difficult to specify the exact number of dialects spoken amongst the 'Are'are speakers, their individual characteristics and estimate the number of speakers as no comprehensive dialectal survey has been carried out to date. Moreover, the same dialect may be known under different name in various areas. According to my main language consultant Eric Naitoro, 'Are'are speakers themselves recognize at least ten different dialects. Starting in the southern tip of Malaita and going north, the following names of villages mark the (very) rough boundaries of each dialect spoken in the west coast of 'Are'are:

1) from Make to Uuhu
2) from Uuhu to Nari'ekiara
3) from Nari'ekiara to Pipisu
4) from Pipisu to 'Ai'arai
5) from Ta'arutona to Rohinari
6) Waisisi
7) from Kiu to Waia raha
8) from Waia raha to Afulatara, on the borders with Kwaio.

In addition to these, the main consultant suggests that there are several dialects spoken in the east coast and in the higher located inland areas.

Differences in dialects have been also observed by Chief Ishmael Irisitapa'a. In the preface to his vernacular publication 'Are'are 'auaapu ha'ananau (2009:6), Irisitapa lists several items from three different dialects (English glosses added):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Ai'aiisi</th>
<th>Ratosuu</th>
<th>Raroi'su'u</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kini</td>
<td>keni</td>
<td>keni</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanaa</td>
<td>naina</td>
<td>nena</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naona</td>
<td>raona</td>
<td>raona</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raia</td>
<td>naia</td>
<td>naia</td>
<td>'his/hers'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a significant amount of variation in the data collected during fieldwork. In some cases the difference is in reduplication only, more commonly the variants suggest a systemic variation regarding the phonemic systems of the dialects. There are also instances of metathesis, although these are not very common in my data. Finally, some variants are completely unrelated word forms. The variants in the column headed Form 1 represent the form which is more common in my data.

Reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kakato</td>
<td>kato</td>
<td>'basket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ima'i</td>
<td>ma'i</td>
<td>'basket'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Possible systemic variation in phonemic systems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/ - /w/</td>
<td>mera</td>
<td>wera</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii Mera</td>
<td>ii Wera</td>
<td>'be many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mamarawa'a</td>
<td>wawawawa'a</td>
<td>'be green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ - /n/</td>
<td>tete-na</td>
<td>neke-na</td>
<td>'his/her mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hairatoa</td>
<td>hairasoa</td>
<td>'today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ - /k/</td>
<td>'ate'ate</td>
<td>'ake'ake</td>
<td>'be dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ - /l/</td>
<td>kosu-na</td>
<td>koru-na</td>
<td>'his/her back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/ - /h/</td>
<td>riikoo</td>
<td>hiikoo</td>
<td>'play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/ - /l/</td>
<td>musura'ani=a</td>
<td>musuta'ani=a</td>
<td>'spit out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ - /m/</td>
<td>huka</td>
<td>huahu'a</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ - /m/</td>
<td>'iki'iki</td>
<td>'imi'imi</td>
<td>'root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/ - /m/</td>
<td>hoi=a</td>
<td>moi=a</td>
<td>'scratch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/ - /h/</td>
<td>ko'u</td>
<td>kohu</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i:/ - /u:/</td>
<td>ii waera</td>
<td>uuwaera</td>
<td>'be many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ihihuu</td>
<td>uuuhu'uhu'</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/ - /i/</td>
<td>'aiaa</td>
<td>iitaa</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - /e/</td>
<td>'apa'apa</td>
<td>'epe'epa</td>
<td>'wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/- /au:/</td>
<td>'erua</td>
<td>'aurua</td>
<td>'2dual.excl'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metathesis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
<th>Form 3</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>po'era</td>
<td>'opore</td>
<td>po'orea</td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisiu'a</td>
<td>'u'usi'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>'be cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko'ara</td>
<td>ko'ako'ara</td>
<td></td>
<td>'be yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tararii=a</td>
<td>riutarao=a</td>
<td></td>
<td>'compared with'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unrelated forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
<th>Form 3</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'iki'iki</td>
<td>'imi'imi</td>
<td>'ikisi</td>
<td>'root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ate'ate</td>
<td>'ake'ake</td>
<td>hutu hute</td>
<td>'be dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko</td>
<td>kokota'i</td>
<td>'iri'a</td>
<td>'be narrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'oka'oa</td>
<td>ro'uro'ua</td>
<td></td>
<td>'bay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonorata-na</td>
<td>rua-na</td>
<td></td>
<td>'his/her voice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonorohi'a</td>
<td>memera'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>'be red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papare'a</td>
<td>sisike'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>'be clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raemanoha</td>
<td>raesenaha</td>
<td></td>
<td>'happiness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rete</td>
<td>sena</td>
<td></td>
<td>'be good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rorou</td>
<td>hitahita</td>
<td></td>
<td>'thunder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tataka</td>
<td>taitari</td>
<td></td>
<td>'flower, blossom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uununu'a</td>
<td>tatapera'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>'be smooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eetana horo'</td>
<td>tai horo'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'once'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is challenging to assign a particular form to a particular variant, as often the different variants are used interchangeably by the speakers. For example it is not uncommon for the same speaker to use the forms nekena and tetena 'his/her mother' in the same sentence in a narrative. Similarly, whilst there appear to be sound correspondencies between the different dialects, the use of the variants does not seem to be always consistent. For example whilst the speakers used mera 'child' more often than the variant wera, the more common form for 'be many' was iiwera and not iimera. So while one member of the pair has /m/ where the counterpart has /w/, it is not possible to say that speakers from the particular area consistently favour one over the other.

Whilst most of the variation in my data is likely due to different dialectal variants being used by the same speakers, some word choices may be determined by discourse factors. It is possible that some forms that originally belonged to different dialects are now part of the inventory of one dialect. I also cannot exclude the possibility that some forms are synonyms rather than dialectal variants.
Appendix 5 Custom story: Hai'ae'ae ma Ninikowau

Haia, te sisihora na=ka iiri=a
okay, IDF story 1SG=TAM tell=3OBJ

'e=ka so'o-na Hai'ae'ae ma Ninikowau.
3SG=TAM about-PRS H. and N
'Okay, the story I going to tell is about Hai'ae'ae and Ninikowau.'

Ninikowau mera 'a'e-na 'e mao aa-na.
N. child leg-POSS 3SG be.not POSS-PRS
'Ninikowau did not have any legs.'

'E huta ma 'a'e-na 'e mao aa-na.
3SG be.born and leg-POSS 3SG be.not POSS-PRS
'He was born and he didn't have any legs.'

So rikimana horo'a, Ninikowau ka 'on~'on
so all time N. TAM HAB~stay
wau nima te rikimana horo'a
PREP house IDF all time
'So allways, Ninikowau stays in the house, all the time.'

Okay iinaia Hai'ae'ae mane 'e
okay 3SG H. man 3SG

to'o aa-na hai wari 'a'e
own OBL-PRS four unit leg
'Okay Hai'ae'ae, he had four legs.' (Lit. 'four lots of legs')

'E to'o aa-na hai wari 'a'e aa-na iinaia
3SG own OBL-PRS four unit leg OBL-PRS 3SG
maraa-na.
by.oneself-PRS
'He has four legs to himself.'

Okay iinaia Ninikowau ka 'on~'on ha'ani=a neke-na
okay 3SG N. TAM HAB~live with=3OBJ mother-POSS
'Okay, N. lives with his mother.'
Rikimana horo'a neke-na ka raa hi aano
every time mother-PRS TAM go to garden

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

Ka tau-tau aakau aa-na hanara ha-na
TAM HAB-tau ? OBL-PRS food PURP-PRS

mera na kae94 'oni-'on maraa-na wau,
child DET FUT HAB-stay by.oneself-PRS PREP

wau nima na.
PREP house DET
'She prepares food for the child (who) will stay by himself in the house.'

'Aare 'e=si raa 'ohi=a te 'are ru'u moa
thing 3SG=NEG.FUT go get=3OBJ IDF thing INTS ?
'Things he won't be able to get things (for himself).'

'E=si rae hua=a te 'are ru'u ma 'e=si
3SG=NEG.FUT go.to bring=3OBJ IDF thing INTS and 3SG=NEG.FUT

reko=a te 'aa95 'a-na 'one ha'a neke-na
prepare=3OBJ IDF thing BEN-PRS ? therefore mother-PRS

ka tau-tau 'are 'e reko-reko hanara 'a-na no'o
TAM HAB-tau thing 3SG HAB=prepare food BEN-PRS INTS
'He won't be able to get anything, and won't make anything/prepare anything for himself, as a result mum makes, prepares food for him.'

Aai te horo'a ma neke-na 'e ra'au, 'e raa
EXCM IDF time and mother-POSS 3SG go, 3SG go
'One day his mother went, she went to (the) garden.'

hi aano. Ka iiri=a ha-na:
to garden TAM say=3OBJ REC-PRS
'Mum went, she went to the garden, she says to him:

94 Variant of ka rao
95 Variant of 'are
“Ninikowau, noni ka raa mai poi~poi
N. person TAM go VENT INTS~call

ma iinaia 'o=si ta~taha tara-na na”
and 3SG 2SG=NEG.FUT RDP~open ?-PRS SIT.DEM
‘Ninikowau, (if) someone comes calling, do not open the door for them.’

Ninikowau ka iiri=a: “aa’a, ‘e rete ke teetee”.
N. TAM say=3OBJ yes, 3SG be.good EMPH mother
‘Ninikowau says: ”Yes, it’s okay mum.”’

Ka iiri=a: “hanara ‘o, ma ko’uko’u ‘o ma
TAM say=3OBJ food 2SG and drink 2SG and
rikimana ‘are ‘o na=ka na’i=a ‘api-mu tai na”
all thing 2SG 1SG=TAM put=3OBJ beside-PRS place DET
'(She) says your food, and your drink and everything for you I will put with you there.’

“Noni ka raa mai poi ‘o=si ta~taha tara-na”.
person TAM go VENT call 2SG=FUT.NEG RDP~open ?-PRS
‘Anyone (who) comes and calls, don't open the door for them.’

Neke-na ‘e raa hi aano no’o.
mother-POSS 3SG go to garden PFV
‘His mother went to (the) garden.’

Neke-na ‘e raa hi aano, puri-’a-na
mother-POSS 3SG go to garden after-OBL-PRS
‘e raa ‘e=ma ‘ewa ma aai!
3SG go 3SG=NEG be.long and EXCM
‘His mother went to the garden, it wasn't long after she went and oi!’

Hai‘ae‘ae ka hura.
H. TAM arrive
‘Hai‘ae‘ae arrives.’

Hai‘ae‘ae hura nena ma ka poi no’o:
H. arrive and then TAM call now
‘Hai‘ae‘ae arrived and now he is calling:’
“Aai! Ninikowau, taha tara-ku!”
EXCM N. open ?-1SG.PRS
'Oi! Ninikowau, open the door for me!

Ninikowau ka iiri=a: "Aai! Mao!"
N. TAM say=3OBJ EXCM no
'Ninikoway says: "Oi, no!'"

“Teteku 'e iiri=a na=si taha
mother-1SG.POSS 3SG say=3OBJ 1SG=NEG.FUT open

'tara-n te noni.'
?-PRS IDF person
'My mum said me not to open the door to anyone.'

“Aai! Ninikowau, taha tara-ku!”
EXCM N. open ?-1SG.PRS
'Oi, Ninikowau, open the door for me!'

“Ha'ania kura=ka rae ri'o-hi=a
DM 1DU.INCL=TAM go.to see-TR=3OBJ

uuura, wau kahu.”
crayfish PREP river
'Oh, we'll go look for crayfish over in the river.'

“Ma na=ka wate=a rua 'a'e ha-mu,
and 1SG=TAM give=3OBJ two leg REC-2SG.PRS

ha-na kou=ka raa ta'i.”
PURP-PRS 1DU.INCL=TAM go together
'And I will give you two legs, so that we go together.'

Ninikowau ka iiri=a: "tete-ku 'e iiri=a
N. TAM say=3OBJ mother-1SG.POSS 3SG say=3OBJ

na=si raa ha-na te rihi.”
1SG=NEG.FUT go PREP-PRS IDF place
'Ninikowau says: Mum said not to go anywhere.'
Hai'ae'ae now says: Okay, I give you two legs.'

"Ma kou=ka raa, kou=ka rae hua=a and 1DU.INCL=TAM go, 1DU.INCL=TAM go.to get=3OBJ

uura, 'o=ko hua=a rua a'e-na no'o crayfish, 2SG=TAM take=3OBJ two leg-POSS INTS

'a-mu-a.' POSS-2SG.PRS-?
'And we'll go, we'll go get crayfish, you'll take two legs for yourself.'

Aai, Ninikowau 'e noro=a ke ma ha'a 'e EXCM N. 3SG hear=3OBJ EMPH and CAUS 3SG
rae taha tara-na Hai'ae'ae no'o. go.to open ?-PRS H. now

'Ninikowau heard that and as a result went to open the door for Hai'ae'ae.'

Hai'ae'ae raa mai hi rao-'i ma 'e raa mai H. go VENT to IN-OBJ and 3SG go VENT
hana ma 'e 'ani siko=a hanara Ninikowau na 'urihana. eat and 3SG eat finish=3OBJ food N. DET DM
'Hai'ae'ae came inside and he came, ate and he ate all of Ninikowau's food.'

'E tahuri=a te rua 'a'e-na ha-na Ninikowau 3SG take.off=3OBJ IDF two leg-POSS REC-PRS N.

ma 'urihana'e wate=a ha-na ma 'urihana and DM give=3OBJ REC-PRS and DM

ka iiri=a: TAM say=3OBJ
'He took off two legs for N. and gave them to him and says to them (himself and Ninikowau): 'Let's go.' They took a basket and went.'

Ninikowau ma Hai'ae'ae kiraurua raa,
N. and H. 3DU go

kiraurua raa, kiraurua raa so'o-n kahu.
3DU go 3DU go after-PRS river

'Ninikowau and Hai'ae'ae went, they went, they followed the river.'

"Kou=ka ha'e ri'o-hi=a uura."
1DU.INCL=TAM CONT see-TR=3OBJ crayfish
'We look for crayfish.'

Kiraurua rii~ri'o-hi-uura, rii~ri'o-hi-uura,
3DU CONT~see-TR-crab CONT~see-TR-crab
raa~raa~raa ma ka raa~raa no'o hi raurahi ma
CONT~CONT~go and TAM CONT~go now PREP evening and

Hai'ae'ae ka poi no'o:
H. TAM call now
'They looked for crayfish, looked for crayfish, and now it's going towards the evening, and Hai'ae'ae calls out:'

"Ninikowau, hua=a mai kakato-ni uura 'o na
N. bring=3OBJ VENT basket-AS crayfish 2SG DET

kau, kou96 reesi=a!’
for.a.time 1DU.INCL see=3OBJ
'Ninikowau, bring me your basket of crayfish, so that we can see (the content)!'

"Raa mai ku=ka97 'aka=a kakato kura-i98 na!'
go VENT 1DU.INCL=TAM empty=3OBJ basket 1DU.INCL-OBJ DET
'Come here, we'll empty our basket (pour the content out)!'

96 Variant of kura
97 Same as kura=ka
98 The anaphoric -'i refers to the basket
'He came (Ninikowau), he came, emptied (the basket) and Hai'ae'ae went there and pulled off two legs from Ninikowau.'

'Hai'ae'ae went with four legs.

'He put Ninikowau's crayfish in his own basket and he went, he ran away from Ninikowau with his four legs.'

'And then they went (Hai'ae'ae only) and then H. went away from N.'

'Oi, N. is crying, (he) is crying at the river a lot now.'

'Mother arrives at the house and oi, the door is open.'
The door is open and then (she) goes to look and oi!

Nininikowau is not inside the house.

(And then) she want and she is asking.

Oi, Ninikowau passed by with Hai'ae'ae, they carried a basket, they said they were going get crayfish.' (The people she asked answered.)

Mother ran to the river, she looked and oi! Ninikowau is crying on the bank over there.'

'She goes towards (Ninikowau), she went (and) carried Ninikowau and she asks (Ninikoway about what happened) and then the two of them go.'
"Aai! 'O raa 'utaa ne, 'o raa mai hura ke nena?"
EXCM 2SG go how ? 2SG go VENT arrive EMPH SIT.DEM
'Oi! How did you get here?' (Lit. 'How did you go that you got here?')

Ninikowau ka nara.
N. TAM cry
'Ninikowau is crying.'

"Hai'ae'ae 'e kae-si=nau."
H. 3SG lie-TR=1SG
'Hai'ae'ae lied to me.'

"'E iiri=a na=ka raa hani=a ma
3SG say=3OBJ 1SG=TAM go with=3OBJ and
ka wate=a te rua 'a'e-na 'a-ku=a ta'a
TAM give=3OBJ IDF two leg-POSS BEN-1SG.PRS=3OBJ SEQ
'e iiri=a 'eu=ka101 'aka=a kakato-ni uura
3SG say=3OBJ 1DU=TAM empty=3OBJ basket-AS crayfish
'erua na ma 'ami 'aka=a ma 'e oookemi=a
1DU.EXCL DET and 1pl empty=3OBJ and 3SG snatch=3OBJ
'a'e-na aa-ku ma 'e to'oni=a wau uura
leg-POSS POSS-1SG.PRS and 3SG put=3OBJ QUANT crayfish
nau na ha'ani=a uura naia ma 'e tahi
1SG.POSS DET with=3OBJ crayfish 3SG.POSS and 3SG go.away
ke maani=nau."
EMPH from=1SG
'He told (me) to go with him and he will give me two legs but then he said we empty our basket of crayfish and then we emptied it and he grabbed/snatched the legs off me, he put my crayfish with his crayfish and ran away from me.'

Neke-na ka iiri=a: "ha'a iinaia na iiri=a na."
mother-POSS TAM say=3OBJ DM 3SG 1SG say=3OBJ DET
'Mum says: I told you so.'

"'O=si taa~taha tara-na te noni."
2SG=NEG.FUT RDP~open ?-PRS IDF person
'Don't open to anyone.'

101 Variant of 'eru=ka
Okay it is the next morning again and mother prepares food for Ninikowau and went again, and said to Ninikowau: "If someone comes calling don't open the door."

'And then oi!'
"Te horo'a 'o=ko raa ha'an Hai'ae'ae ma
IDF time 2SG=TAM go with H. and

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

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

"'O=ko 'ani=a ha-na niho-mu ka
2SG=TAM eat=3OBJ PURP-PRS tooth-2SG.POSS TAM

pupuruhi'a na."
be.black DET
'You eat it so that your teeth go black.'

Aai te horo'a ma Hai'ae'ae ka hura ru'u.
DM IDF time and H. TAM arrive again
'Okay, one day Hai'ae'ae arrives again.'

"Ninikowau, taha tara-ku!"
N. open ?-1SG.PRS
'Ninikowau open (the door) for me!'

Ninikowau ka iiri=a: "aai, tete-ku
N. TAM say=3OBJ EXCM mother-1SG.POSS

'e iiri=a na=si tara taha-m."
3SG say=3OBJ 1SG=NEG.FUT open ?-2SG.PRS
'Ninikowau says: "Oi, mum said not to open to you."'

Ka iiri=a: "aai, hore'e na=si kae-si='o
TAM say=3OBJ EXCM this.time 1SG=NEG.FUT lie-TR=2SG

no'o Ninikowau."
INTS N.
'(Hai'ae'ae) says: "This time I won't lie to you Ninikowau."

"'O=ko raa ha'an=nau 'urihana na=ka wate=a
2SG=TAM go with=1SG DM 1SG=TAM give=3OBJ

no'o te rua 'a'e-ku 'a-mu=a wa'emori."
INTS IDF two leg-1SG.POSS REC-2SG.PRS=OBJ truly
'You come with me (and) I will really give you two legs.'
Ninikowau raa 'e rae taha tara-na Hai'ae'ae.
N. go 3SG go.to open ?-PRS H.
'Ninikowau went, went to open the door for Hai'ae'ae.'

Ha'i'ae'ae 'e raa mai ma 'e 'ani=a
H. 3SG go VENT and 3SG eat=3OBJ

rikimana hanara Ninikowau ma
all food N. and

'e tapara'ani=a te rua 'a'ae-n 'aa ha-na
3SG chuck=3OBJ IDF two leg-AS thing REC-PRS

ma kiraurua hua=a kakato kiraurua ma
and 3DU take=3OBJ basket 3DU and

kirau raa no'o.
3DU go now
'Hai'ae'ae came in and ate all of Ninikowau's food and he chucked two legs to Ninikowau and they took a basket and they went.'

Ha'i'ae'ae ka iiri=a: "Ninikowau, raa sii!"
H. TAM say=3OBJ N. go PREC
'Hai'ae'ae says: "Ninikowau, go first!!"

Ninikowau: "Mao, iinau ka raa~raa haupuri,
N. be.not 1SG TAM RDP~go behind

'e rete ke."
3SG be.good EMPH
'Ninikowau: " No, I am going behind (you)/at the back, it's okay."

Kiraurua ha'e raa~raa~raa~raa, kiraurua rae hura
3DU CONT CONT~CONT~CONT~go 3DU go.to arrive

na nari puru so'o-n rooti na ma
? canarium nut PREP-PRS road DET and

Ninikowau 'e si'ohi=a tai wari nari aa-i
N. 3SG pick.up=3OBJ one unit nut OBL-OBJ

ma ka ha'e 'ani=a no'o.
and TAM CONT eat=3OBJ now
'They kept (on going), they came to the black nuts on the road, Ninikowau picked up one (piece of) nut of ? and eats it.'
'He keeps on eating (whilst) following the road, he keeps on eating (whilst) following the road, keeps (on eating) and they are going to be catching crayfish.'

They are catching crayfish, keep (on catching crayfish) and it's coming to evening and Hai'ae'ae calls: "Ninikowau, come here empty your crayfish so that we see!" (how many we've caught)'

'Ninikowau went there and went there emptied his basket of crayfish, they caught a lot.'

'Hai'ae'ae emptied his basket of crayfish and'
‘E ‘amira’i, ‘amira’i tama-na mera ne
3SG be.surprised be.surprised REAS-PRS child DET
niho-na ‘e pupurúhi’a na, ‘are ‘e aapu
3SG tooth-POSS be.black DET thing 3SG be.taboo
aa-na kira Hai’ae’ae, Ninikowau ‘ani=a nena
OBL-PRS 3PL H. N. eat=3OBJ DEM
nari puru.
canarium nut
‘Hai’ae’ae was surprised, surprised because the child’s teeth were black, it is taboo for Hai’ae’ae’s people, Ninikowau ate that canarium nut.

Aai! Ninikowau aai! Hai’ae’ae ‘e poto’a’i ma ha’a
EXCM N. EXCM H. 3SG turn and DM
‘e ooro no’o, ‘e ooro no’o, ‘e ooro no’o,
3SG run INTS 3SG run INTS 3SG run INTS
‘e ooro no’o, ma ‘e ooro no’o, ma ‘e ooro no’o
3SG run INTS and 3SG run INTS and 3SG run INTS
ma ‘e ooro oori hai’i no’o tare=a
and 3SG run run? with=OBJ INTS towards=3OBJ

hanua kira na.
home 3PL DET
‘Oi! Ninikowau, Hai’ae’ae turned and he ran, he ran and he ran…and he ran for it, ran to the home (village) of his people.’
'E ma ni'irae no'o tari=a kato-ni uura
3SG NEG remember INTS PREP=3OBJ basket-AS crayfish

naia na ma 'e ooro no'o maani=a rua 'a'e-na
3SG.POSS DET and 3SG run INTS from=3OBJ two leg-POSS

'api-na Ninikowau.
on-PRS N.
He didn't remember the basket of crayfish, and he ran away from the two legs (that were) on Ninikowau.

'E tahi no'o ma 'e raa no'o ma
3SG go.away INTS and 3SG go INTS and

'e ooro no'o ma ha'a iinaia Ninikowau 'e raa ma
3SG run INTS and CAUS 3SG N. 3SG go and

'e to'oni=a wau uura naia ha'ani=a wau
3SG put=3OBJ QUANT crayfish 3SG.POSS with=3OBJ QUANT

uura Hai'ae'ae ne 'e to'oni-'i 'a-na ma
crayfish H. DET 3SG put=PL.OBJ BEN-PRS and

rua 'a'e-ni 'aa nena 'e ha'e raa no'o aa-i
two leg-AS thing DEM 3SG CONT go INTS INS-OBJ?

hi nima ma ka ha'e nuu~nuu so'o-n roti na
to house and TAM CONT CONT~sing PREP-PRS road DET

ma rae-na ka ha'e mano~mano.
and being-POSS TAM CONT INTS~be.happy

'He ran away and he ran and he ran and as a result Ninikowau went and he put in his crayfish with crayfish of Hai'ae'ae, he put them (in the basket) for himself, he used the two legs to walk on home and he is singing along the road and he is happy.'

Aai! 'E hura wau nima ma aai! neke-na ka
EXCM 3SG arrive PREP house and EXCM mother-POSS TAM

pi'i hura~hura ke ra'o.
IMM INTS~arrive EMPH truly

'Well, he arrived home and oi!, his mum is arriving too, (or just arrived).'

Ka iiri=a no'o: "'Arii! Teetee, rau wari 'a'e-ni 'are'e
TAM say=3OBJ now EXCM mum two unit leg-AS thing

aa-ku no'o!"
POSS-1SG.PRS now

'He says: "Oi mum, I've got two legs now!"
“Rua wari 'a'e-ni 'are 'e aa-ku, ka~kato nau two unit leg-AS thing 3SG POSS-1SG.PRS RDP=basket 1SG.Poss
na 'e honu aa-na uure.” DET 3SG be.full OBL-PRS crayfish
"I've got two legs and my basket is full of crayfish."

Hai'ae'ae, na masi tare=a, na 'ani=a
H. 1SG smile towards=3OBJ 1SG eat=3OBJ

nari puru ma 'e ooro no'o, 'e tahi no'o,
canarium nut and 3SG run INTS 3SG go.away INTS

' e tahi no'o mara rae-na ma
3SG go.away INTS if? being-POSS and

' e ooro ma 'e raa no'o 'asia.
3SG run and 3SG run INTS away
'Hai'ae'ae, I smiled at him (=showed him teeth in a smile), I ate nari nut and he ran away, he ran away as if his life depended on it.'

Neke-na ka iiri=a: "'O=ko weiti,
mother-POSS TAM say=3OBJ 2SG=TAM wait

ri-ri'o-hi-'aa, kou=ka rio ha-na ra'ahore'e.”
CONT~see-TR-thing 1DU=TAM look PURP-PRS tomorrow
'Mum says: "Wait, look for thingy (Hai'ae'ae), we look for him tomorrow.'

Aai! Hai'ae'ae=ma raa mai kari no'o.
EXCM H.=NEG go VENT ? INTS
'Oi, Hai'ae'ae did not come / show up.'

'E=ma raa mai kari no'o ha-na Ninikowau.
3SG=NEG go VENT ? INTS PURP-PRS N.
'He didn't come to visit Ninikowau.'

'E=ma raa mai kari no'o ha-na 'a'e-na ma
3SG=NEG go VENT ? INTS PURP-PRS leg-POSS and

'e=ma raa mai tau=a te 'aa 102
No'o ma
3SG=NEG go VENT do=3OBJ IDF thing INTS and

102 Variant of 'are
'He didn't come to visit Ninikowau, he didn't come for his legs, didn't come to do anything, and Ninikowau, he has luck by having two legs, and as a result N. has legs.

'A'e-na 'e aa-na 'urihana ka rae hai~hairapo
leg-POSS 3SG POSS-PRS DM TAM go.to HAB~gather.food

ha'ani=a neke-na wau aano no'o.
with=3OBJ mother-POSS PREP garden INTS
'He's got legs and then he goes working (gathering food) with his mum in the garden.'

'E 'o'oa ha'ani=a rikimana mera,
3SG be.like with=3OBJ all child

kira ka ha'e pahe~pahe nena no'o.
3PL TAM CONT HAB~walk.about SIT.DEM INTS
'He is as all the kids (that) are walking about.'

'Urihana sisihora na 'e siko tai na no'o.
DM story DET 3SG finish place DET now
'And the story finished there now.'
References


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